Mārg

Patrons Of Art – The Mughals And The Medici

CUE-HOb364-15-KP2057

PAL

THE PREMIER AUTOMOBILES LTD.

Lal Bahadur Shastri Marg, Kurla, Bombay 400 070
Phone: 512 5190 • Telex: 011-71448 PALBIN • Cable: 'PREMOBILES', Kurla, Bombay 400 070
Regd. Office: 92/93, Maker Towers 'F',
9th Floor, Cuffe Parade, Colaba, Bombay 400 005.

Anonymous, the football game in Via dé Tornabuoni; second half of the 17th century.

Marg

NATIONAL CENTRE
FOR THE
PERFORMING ARTS

Patrons Of Art
The Mughals And The Medici

Volume XXXIX No. 1

A MAGAZINE OF THE ARTS

15

Calcutta University Library
ALIPORE CAMPUS

Editorial Panel
Karl Khandalavala
Roshan Sabavala
Sadashiv Gorakshkar

Guest Editor
Dalu Jones

Senior Editorial Executive
Radhika Sabavala

Editorial Executives
Sudha Seshadri
L. K. Mehta

Executive-in-Charge
(Design and Production)
Behroze J. Bilimoria

Design and Production Assistant
Vivek Panchal

Executive Manager
Secretary, Managing Committee
A. D. Katrak

Chief Accountant
K. P. S. Nambiar

Articles, photographs and drawings sent with a view to publication will be carefully considered, but the editors will not undertake responsibility for loss or damage. All articles and illustrations should bear the name and address of the sender, and postage should be sent to cover their return.

Marg Publications publish with each of their quarterly journals, a book on the same theme. Designed as a de-luxe edition of the journal, the book is bound in hard cover and contains additional information on the subject in the form of erudite articles as well as excellent reproductions in black and white and colour.

Annual subscription for 4 books:
Inland Rs. 650.00 inclusive of packing and registered A.D. postage.
Foreign U.S. $ 85.00 inclusive of packing and registered sea mail postage.

Annual subscription for 4 magazines:
Inland Rs. 295.00 inclusive of packing and registered A.D. postage.
Foreign U.S. $ 40.00 inclusive of packing and registered sea mail postage.
Single copy: Rs. 85.00, U.S. $ 12.00 plus postage.

All cheques should be crossed and payable to MARG PUBLICATIONS

MARG PUBLICATIONS, ARMY AND NAVY BUILDING, M. G. ROAD, BOMBAY 400 023.

Published by J. J. Bhabha for Marg Publications at Army and Navy Building, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 400 023. Printed by K. Sanjiva Rao at the Tata Press Limited, Bombay 400 025. MARG is a quarterly, printed and published from Bombay, India.

CONTENTS

Chronological Chart		**2**
Introduction	*Kapila Vatsyayan*	**3**
Patronage Under The Medici And The Mughals **Cultural Parallels And Artistic Exchanges**	*Dalu Jones*	**9**
Pietre Dure And Other Artistic Contacts Between The Court Of The Mughals And That Of The Medici	*Ebba Koch*	**29**
The City As An Image Of The King **Some Notes On The Town-Planning Of Mughal Capitals In the Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries**	*Attilio Petruccioli*	**57**
Hanging Gardens In The Princely Capitals of Rajasthan And In Renaissance Italy **Sacred Space, Earthly Paradise, Secular Ritual**	*Jan Pieper*	**69**
Metaphysical And Ephemeral Architecture	*Giusto Puri Purini*	**91**

Cover: *Orpheus among the animals,* pietra dura *at the Diwan-i 'Amm at the Red Fort in Delhi, painted in watercolour for Lady Clive Bayley Metcalfe "Delhie Book"; 19th century; India.*

I would like to thank Countess Gaia Ceriana Franchetti, President of the Associazione Italia-India in Rome for her generous and continuous support to this project, as well as all the staff of the Associazione; in particular Alberto Bracci Testasecca and Alessandra Pennisi for their encouragement and help.

Special thanks also go to Angelo-Andrea Di Castro who temporarily set aside his own research into the art of the Gandhara at the University of Rome to help collate the illustrations for this volume and in countless other ways.

I would like to thank AIR-INDIA in Rome particularly Dott. Assuero Fanelli for his courtesy and for AIR-INDIA's crucial role as courier for the manuscripts and illustrations; Prof. Bianca Maria Alfieri of the Dipartimento di Studi Orientali of the University of Rome, for the use of their photographic archive; William Broadhead who did the translations from Italian into English.

I would like to express my gratitude to Mrs. Roshan Sabavala without whose encouragement and support this volume would not have been possible. Special thanks to Cav. C. Rossi and Mr. Jamshed Bhabha for their unfailing support to this project.

Chronological Chart

Chronology of the Medici Family

Cosimo il Vecchio (1389-1464 A.D.)

Piero il Gottoso (1416-1469 A.D.)

Lorenzo il Magnifico (1449-1492 A.D.)

Piero II (1471-1503 A.D.)

Lorenzo II (1492-1519 A.D.)

Alessandro (1510-1537 A.D.)

Cosimo I (1519-1574 A.D.)

Francesco I (1541-1587 A.D.)

Ferdinando I (1549-1609 A.D.)

Cosimo II (1590-1621 A.D.)

Ferdinando II (1610-1670 A.D.)

Cosimo III (1642-1723 A.D.)

Gian Gastone (1671-1737 A.D.)

—Clemente VII de'Medici, Pope. (1478-1531 A.D.)

—Leo X de'Medici, Pope. (1475-1521 A.D.)

—Caterina de'Medici, queen of France, wife of Henry II of France. (1519-1583 A.D.)

—First Duke of Florence, 1537, first Grand Duke of Tuscany, 1569.

—Maria de'Medici, queen of France, wife of Henry IV of France. (1573-1642 A.D.)

Chronology of the Mughal Dynasty

Babur, first Mughal emperor (1483-1530 A.D.)

Humayun (1508-1556 A.D.)

Akbar the Great (1542-1605 A.D.)

Jahangir (reigns from 1605 to 1628 A.D.)

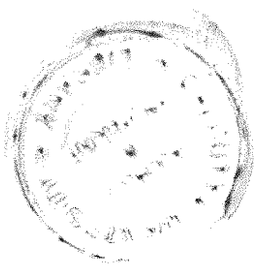
Shah Jahan (reigns from 1628 to 1658 A.D.)

Aurangzeb (reigns from 1658 to 1707 A.D.)

After 1707 A.D. nine emperors of lesser importance.

The dynasty ends in 1858.

MP 2057



Introduction

Kapila Vatsyayan

The Medici and the Mughals were contemporaries. They were patrons of the arts *par excellence.* An exhibition which will focus on parallels of outlook and ambition and exchanges between the two courts will be held in Italy and India. It will lay on the emphasis on the visual arts fostered under their respective patronage. Divided into three main sections, comprising the following:

1 Father Rodolfo Aquaviva in the presence of the Emperor Akbar; Rome, Biblioteca della Compagnia del Gesũ.

A. *Two courts* with sub-sections on prince as collector, palace as workshop, *Mirabilia,* royal iconography.

B. Conceptual parallels relating to concept of ideal city, cosmography, use of perspective.

C. Actual interchange between the two courts, specially objects, techniques such as *pietra dura* inlay and travellers.

Through all this, the exhibition hopes to communicate how the Medici and the Mughals, each in their own way, rose to parallel peaks of civilisation and eventually while Tuscany's artistic patrimony grew torpid and provincial, the Mughal empire expanded and gradually faded away.

Amongst the three sections, one will be exclusively devoted to architecture, especially the territory as geometry of power, concept of the ideal city, construction of roof gardens and the feasts and processions held. Another will be devoted to actual interchanges specially *pietra dura* technique and mutual influences in painting. Through all this, the splendour which illumined the courts of Europe and Asia in the 16th and 17th centuries will be communicated. The Marg volume supplements the exhibition through essays written by architects, art-historians who have been stimulated and enthused by the epoch. Dalu Jones in her article has outlined the contours of the various facets of these parallels, analogies, contrasts, some direct influences, others indirect, all testifying the flights of fancy of these men of commerce, who undertook courageous voyages, offered commissions, for dynamic artistic activity in Florence as also those others in India, who came to conquer but who lived to be Indians, and to absorb and assimilate as also to influence the course of Indian history, political and artistic.

Comparative art history or comparative exhibitions are a challenge. While many parallelisms can be discussed at first observance of another culture and there are obvious commonalities, sharp differences surface on deeper analysis. Also in the matter of establishing a strict chronological sequence of influence many knotty problems arise. The most fundamental being that of making a one to one equation with a visual exposure and its consequent artistic expression derivative in quality. Thus comparisons of contemporary cultures/artistic modes in different geo-physical, political entities are fascinating journeys into visual parallels, intellectual affinities, as also contrasts of world view at deeper levels.

Besides historical time contemporaneity, the Medici and the Mughals share little with each other in respect of their cultural development. Medici with their mercantile background of a small province of Italy, rose to be princes and heads of political power. Babur, the first of the Mughals and for that matter, his descendants, Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan were by lineage 'royal'. The former rose to power in their native land; the second came to conquer and settled to rule. Babur came to India, as one who had inherited Fargana at fifteen, had taken Samarkand, (one of the most beautiful cities of great buildings, public baths and gardens), conquered Kabul and entered India after the first battle of Panipat. This battle-war background was opposed to the rise of the mercantile power. Moving from business beginnings to regal, temporal and spiritual authority is a very different journey from that of the Mughals, Babur who arrived from far-off lands or Humayun who was once exiled and later re-established the empire and Akbar who expanded and consolidated it, and their successors Jahangir and Shah Jahan who ruled vast territories, not without the constant threat of wars/battles etc.

Also the evolution of the Medici cannot be unrelated to the immediately preceding history of the Byzantine empire, the explosive energies of the Italian Renaissance and the succeeding Counter-Reformation. The Mughals on the other hand came to an alien land with a religious faith but more memories of landscape, flora-fauna, sense perception of other climes and yet very soon were deeply influenced by the cultural ethos, even cults and faiths of the land of their governance.

Nevertheless despite these sharp differences of background, once in the seat of temporal power, as rulers, both hold themselves as ideals of human endeavour. Each court patronises and cultivates the arts assiduously. Great architecture, sculpture, painting and music develop. The Medici as is well known, while still drawn to Christian themes, transform perceptions and techniques; a new naturalism and humanism permeates artistic expression. The Mughals add a new chapter to the Indian arts especially architecture, painting and music, which is neither imitatively Persian nor a direct continuation of early medieval Indian traditions. What was the first level of affinity? Can this be identified? Perhaps first and foremost was the psychical need of the patron to equate himself to a spiritual power above. He was not the first servant of God.

1

He was the representative of God or like him. Examples of a similar attitude can be observed in other contemporary courts. Be it on account of the scientific discoveries or the momentous happenings, after the fall of Constantinople, the great desire of the emperor, prince or chieftain to see himself as a centre of the world is almost universal in the 16th and 17th centuries. This immediately leads to a total change of perception. Now 'man' and therefore king or prince stands in the middle of this universe. Once this fundamental change in world view is conceded, all else follows. There cannot be any longer a nature, environment and man relationship in their aspects of interdependence. Man is no longer one amongst all living human beings but man is necessarily now conqueror and observer. Basically this was the great parallelism in world view between Renaissance Florence and Mughal India. Understandably therefore the emperor or the ruler wanted to build ideal cities. "Ideal cities" to them were ideal in the sense that they would reconstruct in stone and mortar their fantasy of an ideal city located in a mythical landscape. It was not God's creation communicated through a supplicant human agency: it is man's creation of the mythical landscape. Giusto Puri Purini's article brings out the details of various heraldic structures, the citadel, the basilica which are related symbolically to the Tower of Babel, the Garden of Solomon. Rightly he has observed, that in this ideal city the possibilities of light structures precise in form but impermanent and transparent in structure were essential because such structures could be used for the architecture of festivals and feasts, the light frames and trellis could be put up and dismantled. This was an aspect which was brought out very clearly in the Leonardo da Vinci exhibition held in India last year. The theme of the laying of this ideal city is taken forward by the article of Attilio Petruccioli. He looks at the laying of the city as "an image of the king or the city seen in a theatre". This is basic to the town planning of the Mughal capitals in the 16th and 17th centuries; he compares it to the same instinct amongst the Italians for public festivals, the pomp of processions and public spectacles, carnivals and masked balls. In the 15th century the piazza served as the arena theatre. In the 16th, the scene moved inward into the palaces. Naturally in the centre of this theatre (i.e. the centre of this ideal city) the principal hero was the king or the patron. Here as Petruccioli remarks—"a drama is played out, a drama of ambiguity which celebrates a half-divine origin of the prince". Of course, ironically the status of spiritual authority is acquired through profits of commerce. Mughal kings came to power through very different routes, battles, wars, invasions and matrimonial alliances. Nevertheless once in power, they also had to establish and project the royal image throughout the country; and for spreading this royal image, both the spectacle of outdoor as also indoor theatre was crucial. The imperial journeys of hunt were most important. Akbar was accompanied on simple hunting parties by 100 elephants, 500 camels, 400 wagons and the lot. An outdoor drama of royalty was performed. It was this theatrical instinct and the splendour of procession which was translated into architecture, ephemeral and permanent and constituted the ground plan of large cities. In India, by and large this was in contrast to fortified palaces and forts of the preceding period where the king was distanced from the populace. Mughal architecture was so laid out, that from the centre of his palace, through the series of enclosures the 'ideal king' emerged so to say as playing out his role as the Half-Divine Hero in a theatre. From this point of view the analysis of the architectural schema of Fatehpur-Sikri becomes as Petruccioli perceptively states, a sequence of enclosures of the Diwan-i 'Amm, the Diwan-i Khass from the Khwabgah to the so-called palace of Jodhbai; all make up a setting for a theatrical space of arrangements "an Aula Regis as a Simulacrum of the Cosmos," where a liberetto of performance takes place simultaneously and like a fresco sequence reiterates the divine origin of the godlike prince. In Florentine Italy, the transition from the piazza as the arena theatre (where political and cultural drama was enacted) to 'palaces' and constructed in the 16th century, the drama moves indoors to the palace courtyard. This is a parallel but different development.

Complementary to the urge for fostering and projecting an image of the half-divine origin of the king/or prince is the ambition to recreate an illusion of 'paradise'. In the imagination of some, 'paradise' was the heavenly garden of trees, flowers, water fountains, colour and perfume, and of course fairies. The half-divine king replicated this image through construction of hanging/or terrace gardens. The 'heavenly garden' could not be on the ground. It had to reach/approximate the skies. The patron/maker of these gardens had to replicate the Creator of Nature. In so doing, the Man in Nature relationship is transformed to Man the maker of Nature i.e. gardens. Nature organised and groomed as an artistic presentation. Thus logically a contrived unity among Man, Nature and Art is established. The half-divine prince/king can only create however concretely and enchantingly an illusion of 'paradise' but not 'heaven'. Here the 'Image of Paradise' becomes the theatrical space of a contrived garden, with trees on roof, water pumped through several tiers for rippling cascades and fountains. In this fairyland the secular ritual of music, dance is performed. Jan Pieper's sensitive article lays bare the contours

2 Ferdinando di Cosimo III with musicians, A. Domenico Gabbiani; Florence, Palazzo Pitti.

2

of the reversal of roles of architectural structure and tree. The Hanging Terrace Roof garden is another articulation of this changed Man-Nature relationship, where Nature is subordinate or at least Man-made. Jan Pieper pertinently draws attention to the literary sources of the 15th century specially the work of Antonio di Averlino where the changed world view is reflected.

In the Near East hanging gardens remained an attribute of royal power, a notable early example being the gardens called "House of the Forest of Lebanon". Prima facie similar but in fact quite dissimilar in conceptualisation is the image of the Mountain, Maha-Meru in Iran, India etc. Sacred architecture, stupas, temples and mosques represented the Maha-Meru. The tree, the pillar, the stupa, the temple symbolised the perennial "axis-mundi", the structure, the mountain. In each case, Man was subsumed in a Higher Reality. In Mughal India, a fundamental change or at least a shift in emphasis takes place. The ruler/prince is neither representative or 'god' nor an aspirant for merging with the omniscience. He is like the Divine. Thus through a different route, the half-divine origin of the king and prince is legitimised. He empowers himself to build multi-tiered mountains with gardens, symbolising paradises and trees of happiness. The terraces become the mountain and the artificial trees, the *Kalpavriksha* of Hindu mythology. The 'illusion of paradise' was in fact the abode of worldly pleasures. A convincing case study of Maunbari built in the vicinity of Amber is presented by Pieper. Amber may well be the culmination, at one level of all that Akbar attempted and achieved in Fatehpur-Sikri. Akbar had his throne in Fatehpur built in the form of a stone tree from where he could proclaim his will, dispense justice and determine the fate of each of his subjects. Akbar, metaphorically sat on the *Kalpavriksha* for moral and social goals. The Rajput princes went further and planted the *Kalpavriksha* on roof gardens for amusement and pleasure.

Amongst the parallels, besides construction of cities and gardens, there is another parallel especially in the context of Mughal painting relating to naturalism and perspective. It is generally accepted that the use of perspective and vanishing point was the gift of European Italian art; however is this its distinguishing feature from Mughal painting? While it is true that Mughal painting evolved as a consequence of the interaction of many traditions, some Indian, some Persian, some European, some Ottoman and was truly eclectic in character in the last analysis, its character in content, form and tonality is distinctively Mughal Indian. To identify the employment of visual perspective and vanishing point as one amongst its many characteristics is valid; however its fascination lies in the fact it co-exists within a single painting with notions of spatial narration recalling Persian, Jaina or even ancient and medieval Indian mural static or isometrical visions and technique. The vigour of Mughal painting emerges from the gay abandon with which all these elements jostle together in a new contrived

harmony and not mere derivative proximity to Italian prints/graphics brought to Mughal courts as gifts. What links the two, at the fundamental level, is the changed attitude to Nature. As in architecture, the half-divine origin of the prince provided centrality, in painting also Man is not part of Nature; he is observer, hunter, conqueror. Life-like appearances of animals and birds are no longer archetypals of mythical animals and birds of the Indian past but animals in life and blood. Deer, fawns, camels, lions, hawks, eagles populate this universe because it is nature observed to the last detail. Perhaps this was conditioned by scientific discoveries, the new-found experiments in dissection, or even visual models from abroad, but fundamental was the change in 'outlook'.

Fauna like flora was for Man's delight. The animal vehicles, the *vahanas* of Indian iconography are no longer aspects of his nature. They leap out from below, in large canvases, to be pursued, hunted, or as actors on a stage in combat for the benefit of the ruler-observer. Obviously and logically, the culmination of this approach is seen in the new-found love of portraiture. Portraiture assumes importance not only because some portraits were carried from Italy into the courts of the Mughals, but also portraiture is important because now man is important. Portraiture could have no meaning in another earlier world view distinctive to India. Now when Man (i.e. emperor) is the giver of justice, is the centre of the universe, then life-like painting is necessary. All models, whether it was that of the Madonna or others brought to the Mughal court by travellers from Portugal and Italy, were welcome. Also, the development of portraiture in Mughal Indian painting has to be viewed against the tabooed figurative portraiture in a milieu of countless images of deities.

Despite these affinities and influences, the difference in composition (except some obvious imitations), tenor, tonality and fervour, each is distinctive, almost incomparable.

The exhibition and the volume also deal with actual exchanges, accounts of travellers and influences in technical skills. Outstanding amongst these is the art of *pietra dura* or marble inlay. This was an enriching Florentine input into Mughal architecture. In a painstaking article, E. Koch reopens the debate on independent development versus direct influences. She believes that "the technique employed by Mughal artisans corresponds so exactly to the Italian one that a direct connection must be assumed". Be as it may, it is clear, that through exposure, interaction or direct training, the art was not only learnt but also refined. The final result left no imprint of imitation, because the Mughal artist was the great observer/absorber and assimilator. He received, renewed and regenerated but was never without cultural moorings. The marble inlay exemplifies a unique symbiosis between foreign techniques executed through the hands and fingers which had inherited centuries of indigenous traditional skills of stone inlay. There were other contacts both obvious and not so obvious. Amongst these were costumes, headgears, furniture, music and musical instruments. The list can be enlarged.

The exhibition as also the articles in the Marg magazine and book will present vividly points of both confluence as also divergence and through it underpin the intrinsic nature of inter-change of cultures and civilisations. Many aspects, conceptual and technical have been debated for some time and it will be interesting to watch solutions which will be offered by the exhibition. Undoubtedly whether definitive resolutions to intellectual debates are found or not, many further avenues of exploration will open up. The changes that were taking place in the human psyche in many parts of the world in those exciting times of 16th and 17th centuries continue to draw our admiration and curiosity. The volume and the exhibition will recreate the robust vitality, the paths of mobility and nature of interaction, influence and distinctive regional identity.

□

Patronage Under The Medici And The Mughals

Cultural Parallels And Artistic Exchanges

Dalu Jones

I

The theme of this volume is linked to the project for an exhibition, to be held in Florence and in India, undertaken by the Associazione Italia-India with myself as its curator, as part of a series of events to foster cultural exchanges between India and Italy, following the success of the exhibition on Leonardo da Vinci held in Bombay at the National Centre for the Performing Arts, and in New Delhi at the Lalit Kala Akademi in 1986.

As a member of the Associazione Italia-India and as guest-editor of Marg I have therefore had the opportunity to initiate new research on a theme—that of patronage as the mirror of princes—which stresses the continuity of cultural traditions and ideas and their transmission between countries and civilisations at first sight widely different.

Hence this is 'work in progress', not a definitive statement.

The exhibition, like this volume, has been conceived as a series of questions and answers, of conceptual and visual stimulations; as a journey of discoveries and surprises, which, through analogies and contrasts, should stimulate a new perception, a fresh approach and further research into the nature of artistic patronage as a tool of power. By examining the relationship between patron and artist and the nature of the personal choices of individuals with discerning taste and with exceptional possibilities to exercise these choices, we explore some of the ambiguities inherent in the concept of patronage and clarify the affinities between exceptional individuals who—although different by birth and culture—have in common to have become synonyms of enlightened patronage, of unfailing taste, of genuine originality, of a masterly understanding of the importance and the complexity of the iconography and the ritual of power as a means for creative expression.

Neither this volume nor the exhibition is meant to be comprehensive nor rigidly chronological. It is hoped that they will be taken for what they are meant to be: a springboard for further thinking and, hopefully, a deeper understanding of complex, fascinating, and still mysterious worlds. The choice of objects and the illustrations should provide further associations and further occasion for a reappraisal of the familiar and a discovery of the new.

II

The dynasties of the Medici in Florence and of the Mughals in India were contemporary. Florence was the mercantile capital of a small province of Italy. The Medici were businessmen who became princes and popes—they ruled more by influence than by direct power. Mughal India was a vast continent ruled by emperors: "the Shadow of God on earth", wielding absolute power.

Despite their different histories, the two courts became centres for cultural excellence and enlightened patronage in Asia and in Europe. They left behind works of art of superlative refinement, literature, music, but above all they stand out for having created for centuries a cosmopolitan and syncretistic milieu which nurtured and encouraged artistic activity.

The relationship between the two courts was never direct. It was limited to specific undertakings: trade—royal gifts—missionary and diplomatic activities—and is documented by travellers' accounts, by trading records and by the chronicles of the Mughal court.

The travellers' accounts encouraged the "exotic" myth of the fabled East and the mysterious West. *Mirabilia* were ostrich feathers or the miraculous image of the Catholic Virgin Mary as much as the unicorn's horn or a "baroque" pearl; not only objects but people were "mirabilia" as much in the East as in the West. Both cultures created myths about each other and both collected exotic goods from each other. Both cultures discovered a further land of wonders: the Americas, from where came to Florence, and to India, strange animals, precious stones, peculiar foodstuff. Both collected "china" from China. Distortions abound yet one glimpses a genuine interest and a feeling of sympathy between the Italian visitors—between the man of war, Manucci, the Florentine merchants and learned missionaries and their magnificent Indian hosts.

Perhaps only the Italians—because of their own cultural background—of all the Europeans that visited India at the time, and the Florentines more specifically, were best equipped to comprehend the complexities of a court like that of the Mughal family—its powerful headstrong personalities—its streak of mysticism—its pragmatism—and above all its aristocratic taste and its intellectual curiosity. Italians furthermore have always had a culture which has encouraged a feeling for textured surfaces, a reverence for quality in craftsmanship, for balance of volumes, for harmony in proportions, for clarity of lines, for sobriety in luxury, for a conceptual approach to architecture and art, for poetic and musical tonalities, for geometric simplicity. It is not surprising therefore that they should have responded to Mughal art and that a craft like that of the *pietra*

1 Western inspiration scene; Mughal, ca. 1595-1605; Paris, Musée Guimet, MA 2475.

2 Allegorical figure; Mughal, ca. 1590; Paris, Musée Guimet, 3619. J. A.

3 The Ascension of Jesus dressed as a Jesuit; Mughal; Edwin Binney Collection.

1

2

3

4

5

6

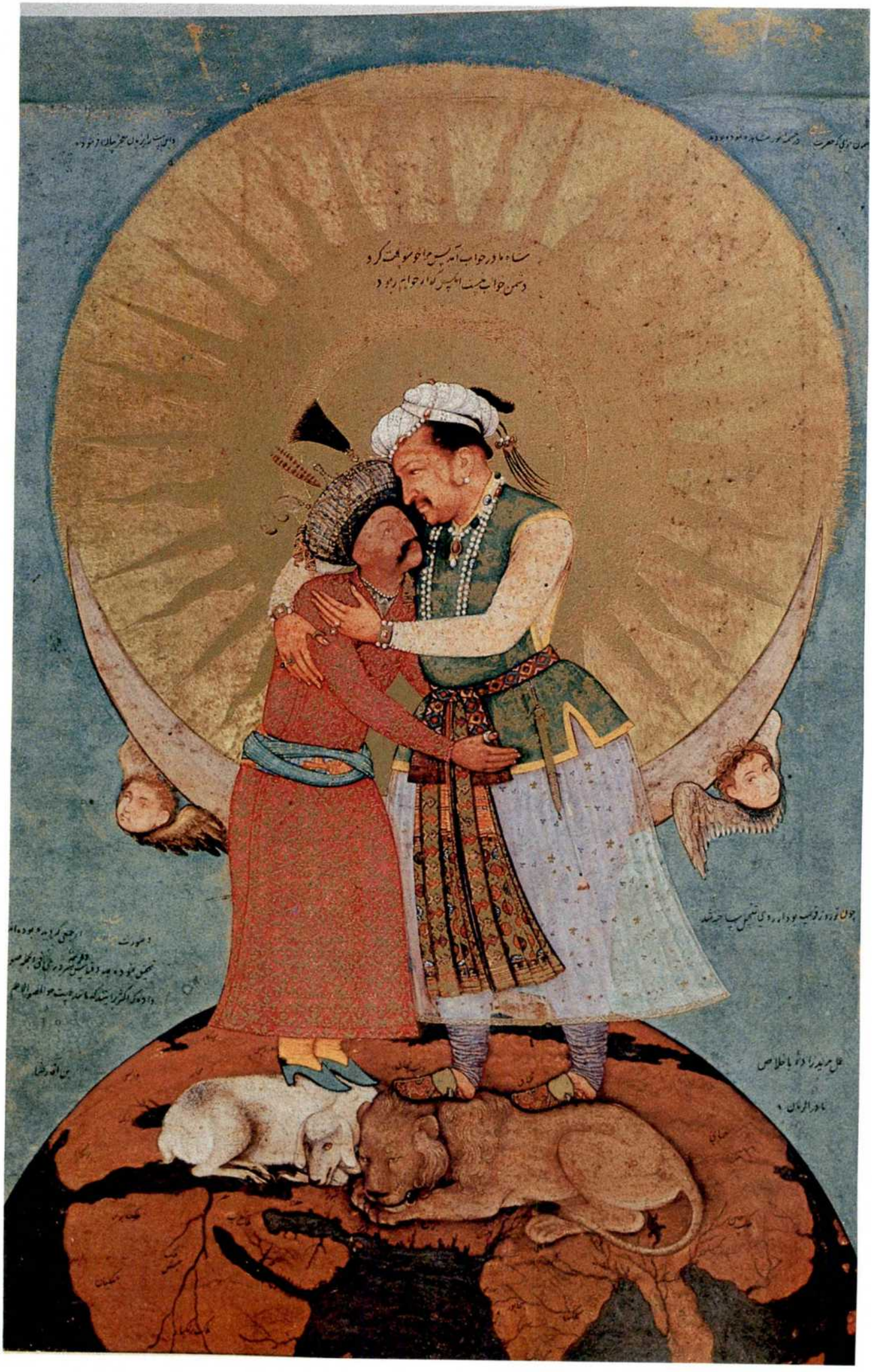
7

4 Allegorical portrait of the god Mars, attributed to Madhu; ca. 1595; Private Collection.
On the reverse there are three seal impressions, two of which are of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.

5 Mythological scene referring to the personification of the planet Mercury; Mughal, 18th century; Paris, Musée Guimet.

6 Allegorical figure of a woman with a string instrument, attributed to Basawan; Mughal, 16th century; Paris, Musée Guimet.

7 'Izzat Khan with officers and wise men, attributed to Bichitr; ca. 1640-1650; Edwin Binney Collection.



8

8 Jahangir's dream, signed Abu'l Hasan, Nadir al-Zaman "The Wonder of the Age"; ca. 1618-1622; Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art.

9 Noah's ark, attributable to Miskin; ca. 1590; Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art.

9

10

dura could develop with equal success both in Florence and in India using the same materials and often the same symbolism.

In Mughal art however there is a coherence of design permeating the smaller objects, the courtier's clothes, the grandest architecture. There is a miniaturization or magnification of the same motifs from one medium to another. There is continuous innovation within a tradition which is not broken but expanded. Renaissance Florence lacks this coherence between all media. Almost every generation breaks new ground and produces a different taste and a different style, but the concern for quality remains.

10 "Encomi del Gran Duca Ferdinando de'Medici . . . e del valore in materia di governo di stato . . . ." (Praise to the ruler); A.D. 1610; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale.

11 Ferdinando II, painted by Sustermans when ill with small-pox; 1626; Florence, Palazzo Pitti.

12 'Inayat Khan dying; ca. 1618; Oxford, The Bodleian Library, Ouseley add. 171 b 4 r.

III

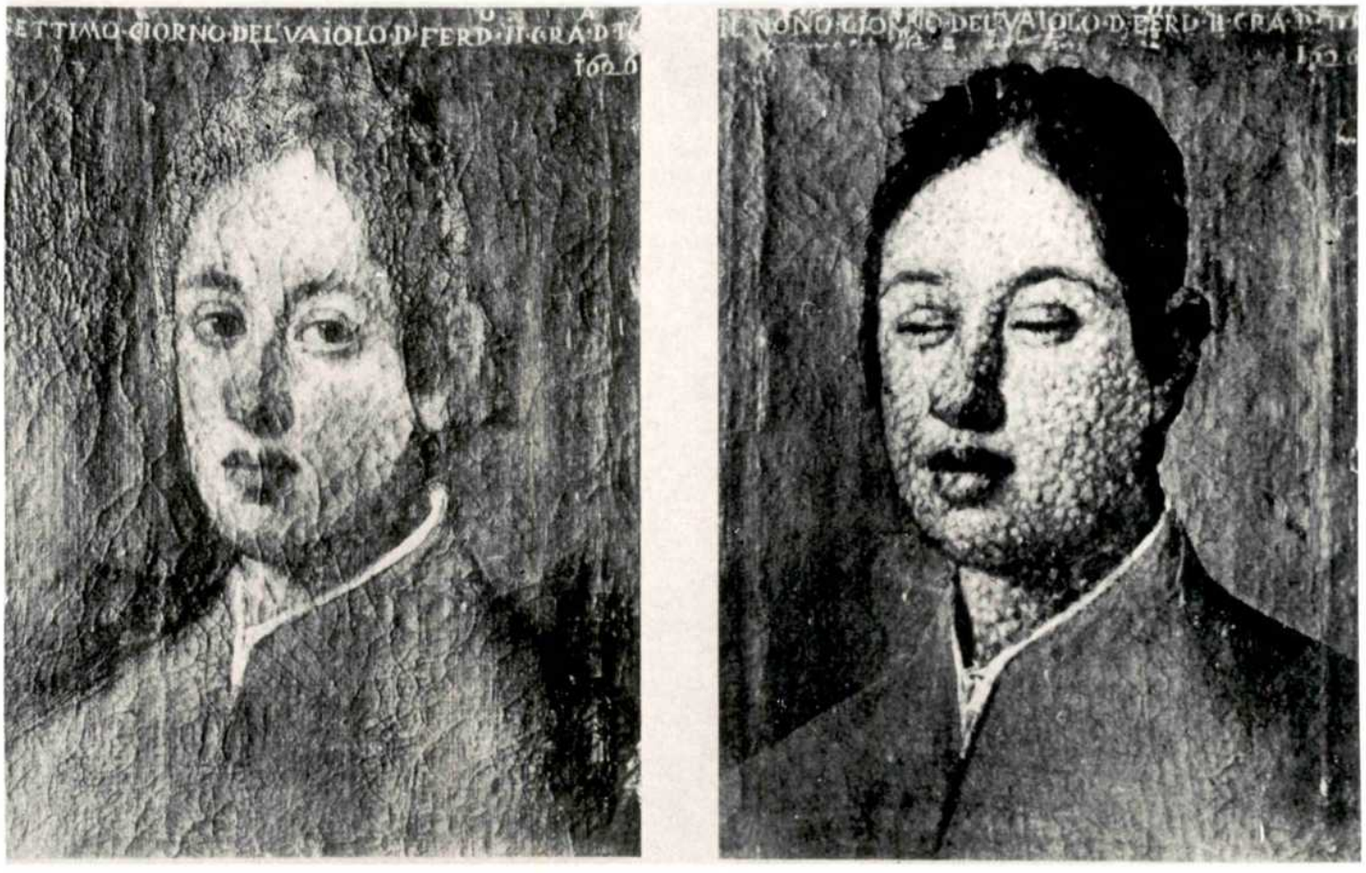
Medici patronage was born from wealth acquired through industry and trade, from the desire for primacy between "free" trading oligarchies and democratic townships and between merchants' guilds and merchant families who chose to be represented by works of art to consolidate and transmit their fame in their city and abroad. Artists could not but flourish in this context.

The first Medici exercised their patronage and imposed their taste by contributing larger sums of money than their rivals and by suggesting the choice of an artist rather than another for a particular commission. Only later did they exercise power directly as princes or popes.

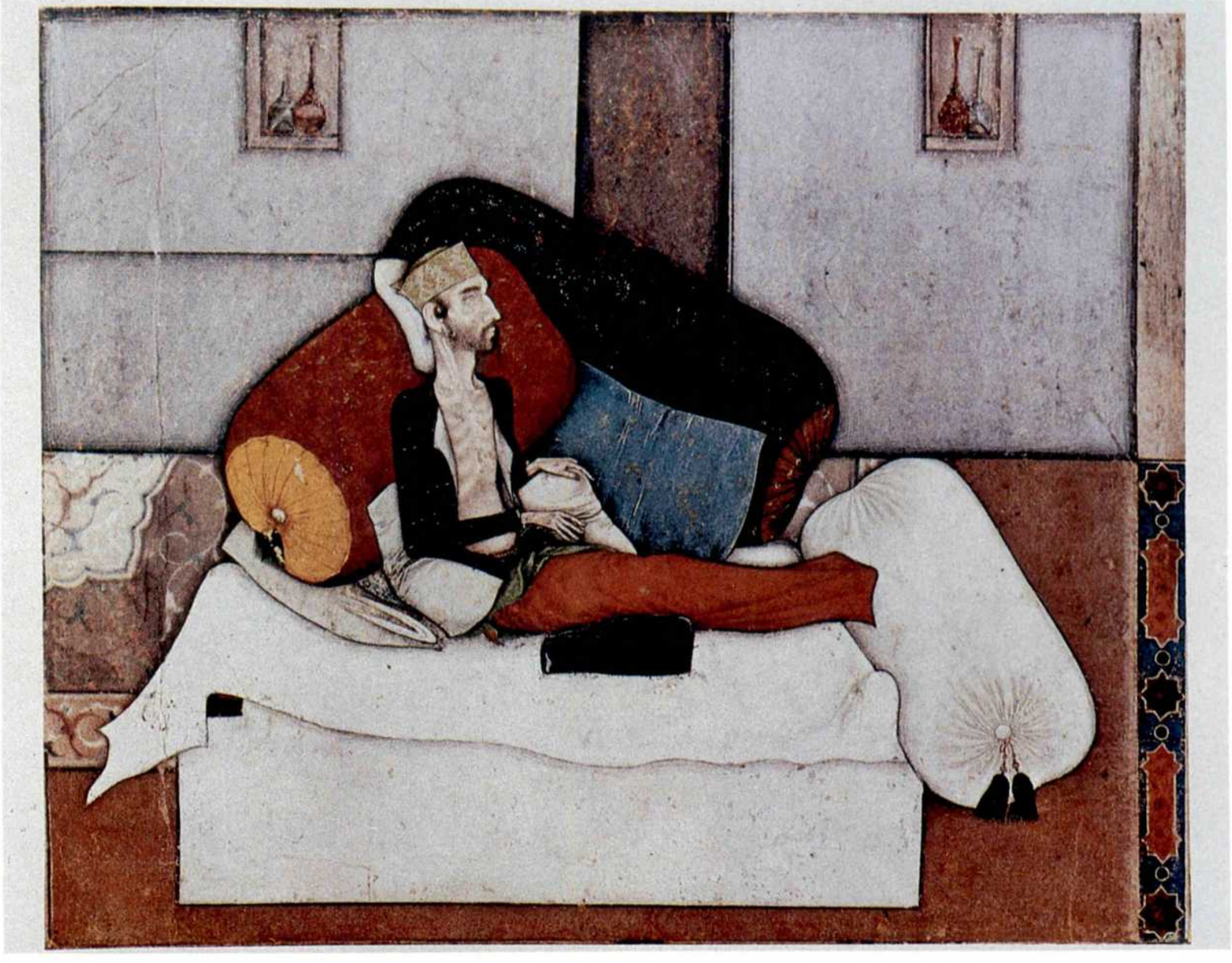
Mughal patronage instead is the patronage of princes—it is courtly in character.

Yet the personal relationship between patron and artist was of the same nature between the merchant, the duke or the emperor and his artists. It was direct and personal, discerning and generous. With the Medici, artists were "di casa", companions and friends in everyday life, equals by intellect and talent. At the Mughal court artists were part of the inner circle of courtiers and followed the emperor on his numerous journeys, often called to entertain with poetry or music or to record details of the campaigns, of the hunts, of all the activities of the ruler and what had caught the imperial eye: an unusual fruit, a beautiful flower, the fight of elephants, the punishment of a thief.

Intellectual curiosity and the enquiring and unsentimental minds of the Medici and of the Mughals led to the encouragement at court of the sciences and of the depiction of nature with an elegant but detached objectivity. Man too is under scrutiny—as if he were an insect—as a body to dissect, as the face of a courtier that it is political to analyse and remember. A dying courtier is depicted by order of the emperor with the same ruthless attention to details that Ferdinando II de'Medici (1626) demands from his painter when he wants his own illness observed and recorded.


ETTIMO·GIORNO·DEL·VAIOLO·D·FERD·II·GRA·D·T
1620
NONO·GIORNO·DEL·VAIOLO·D·FERD·II·GRA·D·T

11



12

The Mughal emperors themselves wrote about their artists in their memoirs and gave them titles like "Nadir ul-Zaman" (wonder of the realm) or "Nadir ul-Asr" (wonder of the age). The artists however signed themselves "the humble", "the slave"; they partook of the glory of the emperor but did not claim fame as individuals.

The chronicler of Akbar's court, Abu'l Fazl—like Vasari for the artists in Florence—provides us with a list of names of the major artists who worked for the Mughals, together with brief notes on the special gifts of masters like Daswant and anecdotes about their lives.

The founder of the Mughal dynasty, the Emperor Babur, wrote poetry and prose. His "Babur-nama" (the history of Babur) ranks amongst the best "memoirs" ever written, full as it is of precise yet lyrical descriptions of moods, people, landscapes, trees, flowers, birds and animals. He was the great garden-builder of the dynasty. His are the monumental and magical Mughal gardens of Kashmir. Gifted artists had entered the service of his son Humayun—and followed his fortunes in exile.

Jahangir and Shah Jahan met their artists regularly and personally approved the making of the objects for their own use. Some of these objects—a nephrite inkstand, jade drinking cups, bejewelled thumb rings—were then engraved with the name of their imperial user—Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan—just as Lorenzo il Magnifico had his hard stone cups inscribed "LAU. R. M.".

Aurangzeb's rigorous following of the letter of the law may have been bigoted but even he had good taste. A more than competent calligrapher—certainly in the first years of his reign—he continued his family tradition of artistic patronage, particularly in architecture and painting.

13 Album painting, A zebra; dated 1621; 18.3 x 24.1 cm. miniature/26.8 x 38.7 cm. folio; London, The Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 23-1925.
Inscribed by Jahangir, "A Zebra which the Rumis (Turks) brought from Abyssinia with Mir Jaffar painted by Nadir al-'Asr, the Miracle of the Age, Ustad Mansur, in 1621, the sixteenth year of the reign".

14 A turkey cock painting by Mansur; 1612; 23.5 x 16.3 cm.; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, I.M. 135-1921.
There is a magnificent bronze turkey sculpted by Giambologna, at the Bargello Museum in Florence, of this period.

IV

It was in Renaissance Italy, under the Medici, that the concept of the patron of the arts was born in its modern meaning, as an expression of individual taste and private money.

It is not until the 19th century, in Europe, that the artist becomes a free agent, an independent, who offers his work for sale. Until then artists worked for commissions—the patron decided what subject was to be painted or sculpted; in the case of paintings the size, the number of people to be represented, the colours and the materials to be used.

It was the discretion of their relationship with artists that makes most of the Medici stand

13

14

NP 2051

15 A. Navante, "Monte delle scienze", in Tommaso Sardi, "L'Anima Pellegrina"; Roma Biblioteca Corsiniana.
Presented to Giovanni de' Medici when he became pope, where we see the Medici's evergreen tree, a laurel, and at the bottom of the allegorical mountain the diamond ring with the three ostrich feathers of Lorenzo il Magnifico.

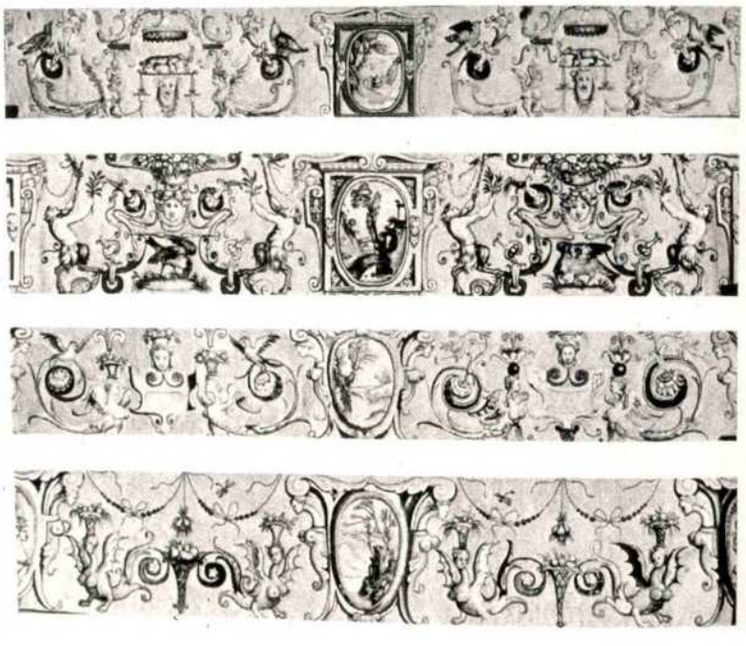
16 Alessandro Allori (1535-1607), Hanging with hunting scene, Florence, Depot for Hangings of the Superintendent for the Artistic and Historical properties of Florence.

17 Allegorical figure, attributed to Basawan; 17th century; Jerusalem, Israel Museum.

18 Giovanni Stradano, Portrait of Francesco I as an Alchemist; 1570; Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.

19 Alessandro Fei, Portrait of Francesco I as a goldsmith, working at a ducal crown in his workshop; 1570; Florence, Palazzo Vecchio.

15



16

17

18

19

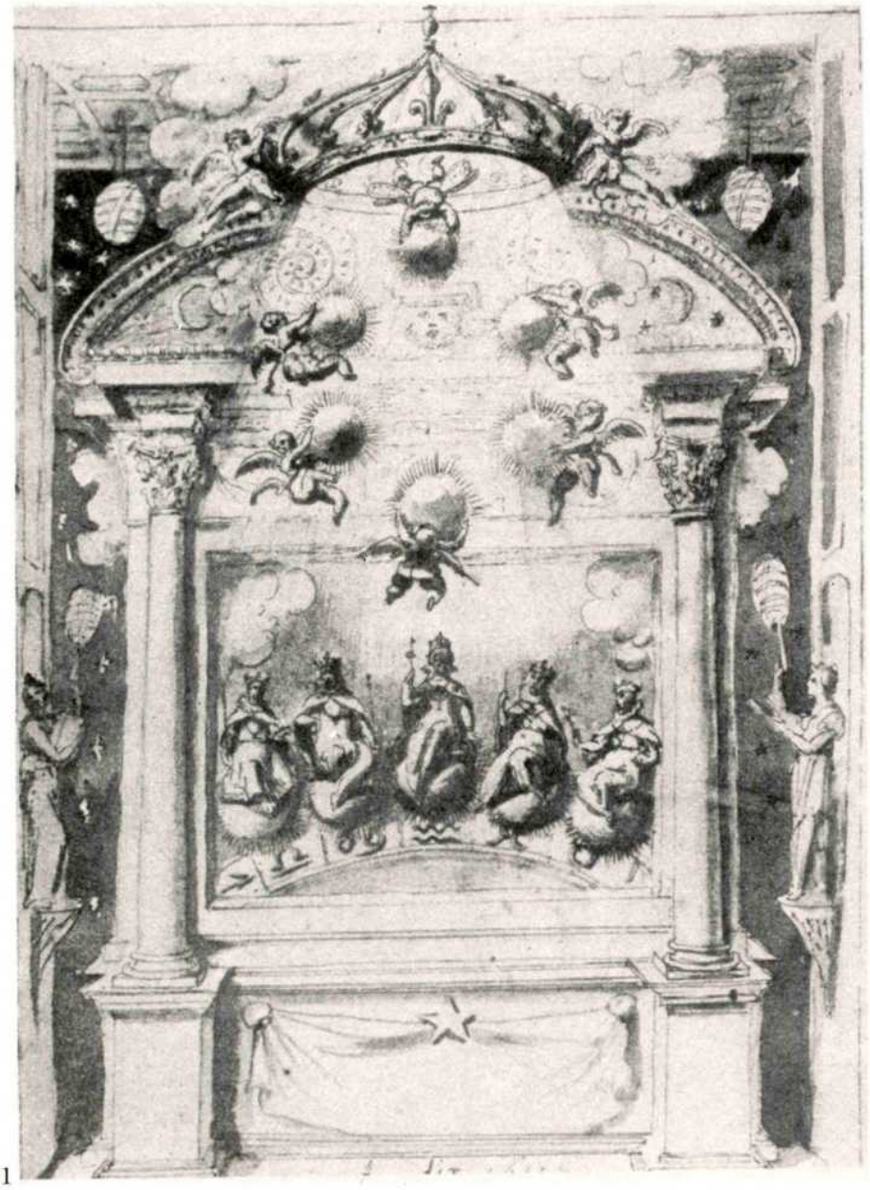
out and deserve to be remembered as true patrons of art. They did commission specific works of art but did not impose their will and taste on the artists they chose. That makes them exceptional. They suggested rather than demanded and they established between artist and patron a relationship of equals.

It was this kind of attitude that allowed for artists as complex in character as Michelangelo and Leonardo to express themselves. Not all patrons were as enlightened at the time—Benvenuto Cellini could still say in 1537 that it was assumed that the patron was the creator, and the artist the mere executor but payment could no longer ever again be considered enough to earn "de facto" a share in creativity.

The first art academy was founded in Florence, the Accademia del Disegno, with Michelangelo and the Grand Duke of Tuscany Cosimo I as principals. There was a momentary halt of the trend towards recognising the individuality of the artist with the advent of the absolute 'monarchies' in Europe and the Counter-Reformation in the Catholic Church.

The nature of patronage changed. Artists became courtiers, patronage became, again, an official attribute of princes, in Europe, as it had been in Antiquity and in the East; true connoisseurship became rare. Strict rules as to what should or should not be the subject of art were brought back as kings and popes understood fully the power of art as a means for propaganda and prestige.

Declining prestige was boosted by lavish expenditure in the arts as an investment. The Medici coffers were replenished by royal art factories that made art into consumer goods for other courts. Collecting and court patronage substituted direct commissioning—what had been an instinct, a personal inclination for the early Medici, became an upper class fashion for their descendants and an economic necessity. Quality declined. The astonishing, the curious rather than the meaningful was sought. Exotica were introduced. The palace workshops sought to penetrate foreign markets with exclusive goods marketed by the Medici abroad; the prestige of Italian art and of the Medici thus spread into the rest of Europe. The Kharkhana and the Farrash-kana which employed architects, textile designers and artists under the direct



21

20

22

20 Detail of a capital of the Diwan-i 'Amm in Delhi.

21 Jean Challette, "Astra Medicea"; Carpentras Bibliothèque Inguimbertine, MS. 803.
Dedicated to Maria de' Medici. It shows the planets connected to the Medici.

22 Composite elephant; Mughal, 17th century; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
To be compared with Arcimboldo's compositions of the same period.

23 *Pietra dura* coat of arms. There is an actual crystal object similar to the crystal mountain shown here from the treasury of the Medici, in the Museo di Mineralogia in Florence, which must have been part of a complicated allegorical composition.

supervision of the emperor, on the other hand, produced more exclusive works of art for the Mughal court and for diplomatic gifts.

Lack of confidence made the patron a collector of the past, of the safe rather than of the original, an adventurous co-explorer of creativity. What is remarkable however with the Medici is that although their fortunes changed and their wealth decreased, nevertheless even the most feeble characters in the family felt bound by tradition, but more often by temperament, to patronise the arts and this they did consistently always expressing the quirkiness of individual taste which unfailingly discovered the best artists, writers, scientists, musicians, craftsmen in their entourage.

V

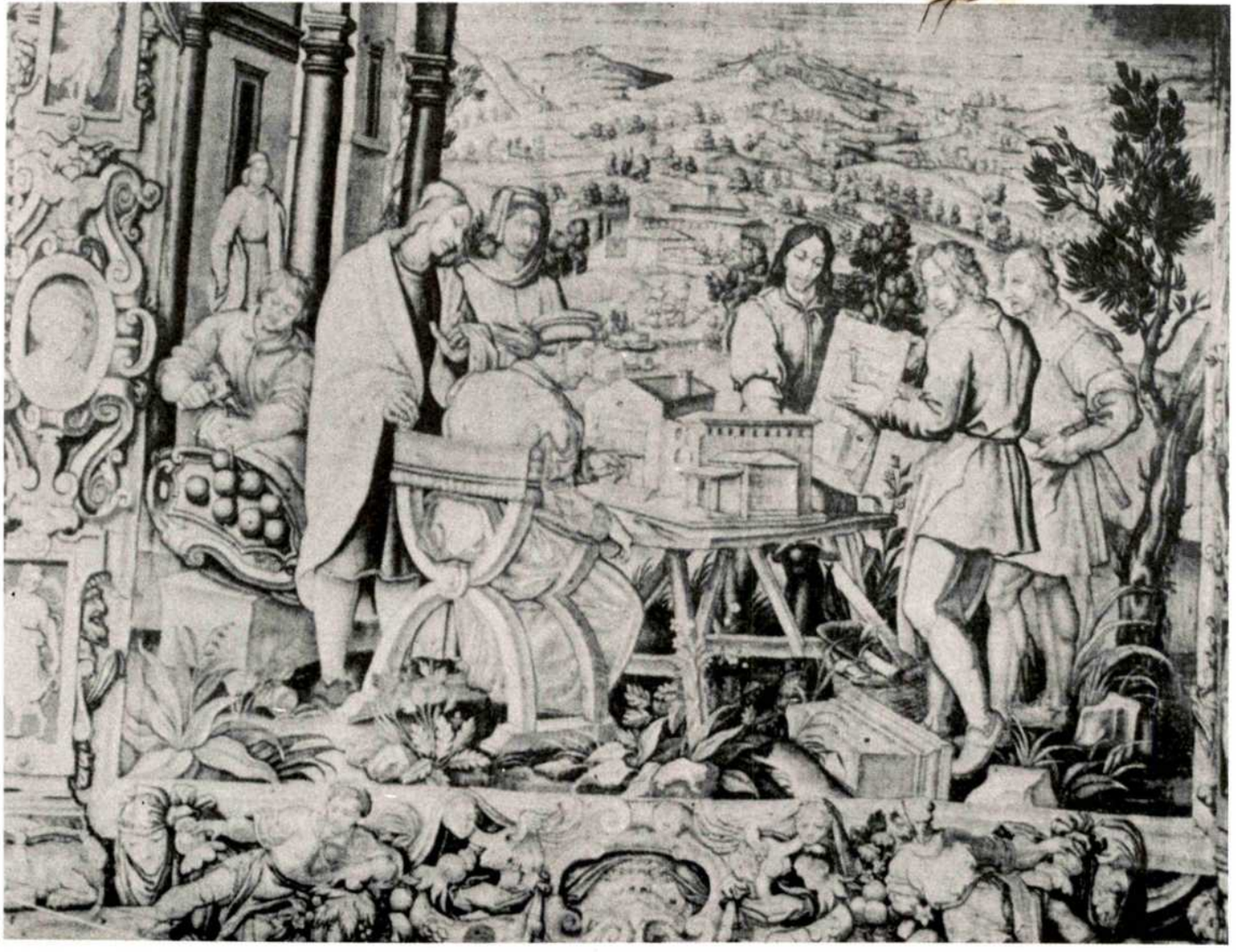
Occasionally, it is true, taste faltered and opulence became vulgarity—the late Medici art collections are astonishing but not beautiful. Often they were made up of curiosities rather than works of art—the pip of a fruit encased in diamonds was praised for its whimsical properties.

It must be noted here that India was not at the time an exporter of raw materials but of fashioned goods. Many European jewels of the late Renaissance did not only use Indian stones, diamonds and pearls—baroque ones particularly praised for their unusual shape—but also used Indian mounts in various combinations together with European ones. Mughal jewels too incorporated European elements. Both the Medici and the Mughals collected antique cameos and wore them as personal jewels.

Medici and Mughals were eager collectors of hard and precious stones for their beauty and rarity, but principally for their apotropaic qualities and their association with astrology—a common preoccupation of all the courts and of the learned, esoteric, circles of the time—in Asia

23

24

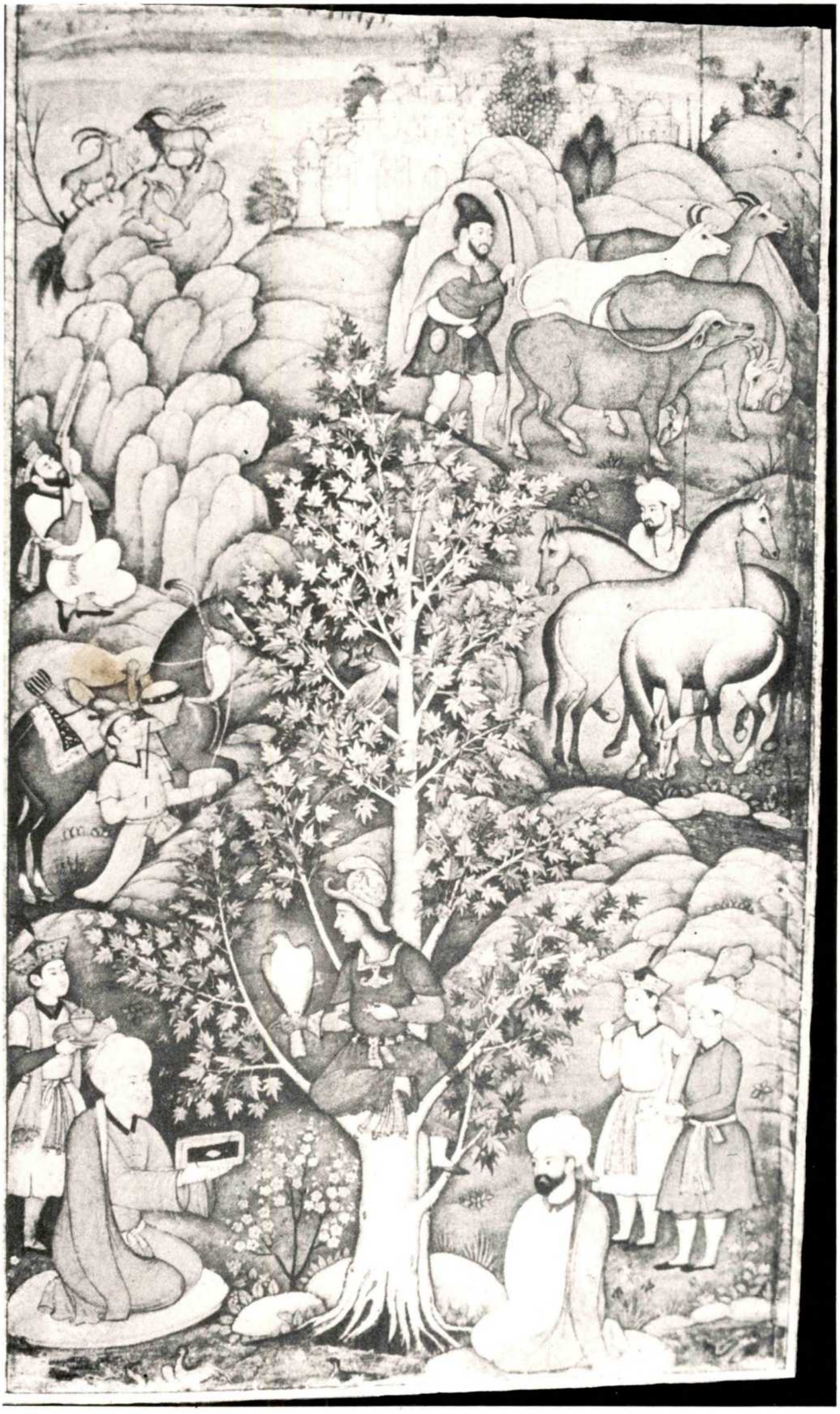


25

24 Ferdinando I orders the building of the fortifications of Livorno, engraving by J. Callot; Pisa Archivio di Stato, Stampe.

25 Cosimo "pater patriae" supervises the building of the Badia Fiesolana, tapestry from a drawing of G. Stradano.

26 Alexander the Great in a tree, from the "Akbar Nama"; Mughal.



26

شبیه حضرت جهانگیر بادشاه که شبیه حضرت اکبر بادشاه را می بیند

27 Jahangir contemplating the portrait of his father, Akbar; Mughal, ca. 1599; Paris, Musée Guimet.

28 Mughal manuscript with European figures along the margin.

29 Allegorical figure; Mughal, 17th century; Private Collection.

28

29

perhaps more openly than in Europe, where it was used as an underground code between a few adepts, who knew how to read beyond the surface.

Complex astrological symbolism was part of the attributes of power and we find for example series of coins with the signs of the zodiac minted for Jahangir (Bibliothèque Nationale—Paris) or the Capricorn of Florence on Medici coins. Horoscopes were cast for the founding of cities, for court ceremonies, for every major decision of the rulers.

Crystal was the touchstone par excellence. The "pietra di paragone" was used for princely portraits to underline the role of the prince as the touchstone, the exemplary ruler. Crystal was found in the Diwan-i 'Amm in front of the peacock throne, in Delhi. The cosmic mountain bearing the evergreen tree of the Medici was also of crystal. Already in the *Arthasastra* of the 4th century the king sits on a crystal throne.

VI

Mughals and Medici had, in common, to be practitioners of the art they encouraged. We can compare what was said of Cosimo de' Medici with the tale of Akbar learning drawing as a child and associating with the "learned", the "wise"; "..... *se praticava con pittori o con scultori, egli se ne intendeva assai, e aveva alcuna cosa in casa di mano di singolari maestri. Di scultori, egli n'era intendentissimo; e molto favoriva gli scultori e tutti gli artefici degni. Fu molto amico di Donatello e di tutti i pittori e scultori . . . .*" (Cf. da Bisticci, *Vite di uomini illustri; Cosimo de' Medici*, Bologna 1893) "..... he knew much about sculpture (.....) and was a close friend of Donatello and of all painters and sculptors ....." It is also said of Cosimo that he could draw well and that he made architectural drawings. His son Piero was also a friend of artists and most knowledgeable in the techniques of each craft. Ferdinando di Cosimo III was an accomplished musician. Ferdinando II was the patron of Galileo. Francesco was a craftsman of considerable skill.

Lorenzo, although the most renowned as a patron of the Medici family, was less a patron of figurative art than a patron of literature and was no mean poet himself. Having less means than his forefathers at his disposal, he made of necessity virtue. He became an arbiter of taste and encouraged artists to emigrate from Florence to other courts, Leonardo to Milan, Verrocchio to Venice, Botticelli and others to Rome, as a form of propaganda for himself and for Florence.

The Medici had started as members of a progressive bourgeoisie whose taste tended towards the classical—towards realism and austerity; with Lorenzo we get the beginning of an aristocratic Medici taste tending towards allegory, the oneiric, the fantastic.

VII

The mirror of princes has many facets but the constant is that the prince is the model, the "exemplum", the perfect man whose image, the "imago", is expressed both by a re-elaboration of well-established allegories and by a revival of naturalism in portraiture. The man is depicted—and therefore recorded in history—as he is, with his individual traits—and as an allegory of himself, as a perfect ruler. In both instances he transcends himself and becomes an archetype.

The Medici wants to be seen not only as the perfect man of the Renaissance who embodies all the virtues of the "ancients" but increasingly wants to partake of the virtues of the perfect ruler.

In the Medici the transformation from "vir probus" into ruler is a slow one. The Mughals came to India as rulers. The Medici has to become something; the Mughal is the "Axis Mundi", the "qutb" from the very beginning of the dynasty. Both the European and the Eastern rulers must however create their "image", they must appear to their subjects as the "architect", the "philosopher prince", hence, the perfect ruler. Plato had defined the task of the ruler and statesman "to give a lead—to be the *architect* who directs his workmen by his knowledge not by manual labour".

Plato's metaphor was of the greatest significance in 15th century Florence, and later, deeply imbued as it was with Neoplatonism. For the Renaissance philosopher Marsilio Ficino as for Plato creation is the work of God as architect. Alberti reiterates the image in his "De re aedificatoria" (1485) aptly dedicated to Lorenzo il Magnifico. *"E chi è stato quello infra i grandissimi e prudentissimi principi che tra le prime lor cure, o pensieri di perpetuare il nome e la posterità sua, non si sia servito dell'Architettura?"* Filarete too links the concept in his "Trattato di architettura" with the activities of Cosimo de' Medici and his sons. "The prince must erect great buildings in order to win honour during his lifetime and cause his memory to live on for posterity." Plato and Ficino had their political counterparts in Castiglione's "Il cortegiano", and Machiavelli's "Il Principe", a practical guide for the Renaissance ruler addressed specifically to the Medici who—lacking tradition—were prone to follow or had to pretend to follow classical models for the ideal ruler.

In India the *Arthasastra* had set a precedent for the "mirror of princes", for the ruler as an architect, in the 4th century A.D. The "A'in-i-Akbari"—"the mirror of Akbar" expresses the same concept in its praise of Akbar, the "architect", the perfect ruler, the Solomon, the Alexander of his age. The metaphor is increasingly underlined in Mughal iconography both in painting and in architecture and culminates with the construction of the Taj Mahal as the throne of Solomon on earth (the Florence cathedral was also meant to be the seat of Solomon—for example in Andrea di Giusto's "Christ and the Apostles in the temple", ca. 1455).

"Ideal cities" with the palace of the just ruler at their centre are at this time imagined, described and sometimes built (Sforzinda, Pienza, Cosmopolis [Portoferraio on the island of Elba]—Fatehpur-Sikri, Shahjahanabad). The floral decoration, with its superb balance between stylisation and naturalism—the sobriety and understated elegance that proliferates at the Mughal court serves the same purpose: to enhance the idea of the court as paradise on earth (Shah Jahan's insistent: "it is here, it is here" at the Diwan-i Khass in Delhi ["If there be a Paradise upon earth, it is this, it is this, it is this."]). Paradise and the "Golden Age" where the lamb and the lion sit together under the tree of Justice are recurring themes. Paradise gardens, *hortus conclusus,* memory gardens and gardens of death proliferate.

The quintessential images for both dynasties, the best expressions of their munificence, of the quality of their spirit, are two dynastic tombs: the Taj Mahal which embodies both a personal tomb as well as the representation of the throne of Solomon, and Michelangelo's masterpiece: the Tombe Medicee where we find the tombs of Lorenzo il Magnifico and his brother Giuliano set in a perfect geometric space surrounded by allegories of the Day and the Night.

Just as in the allegorical miniatures of the Mughal emperors are found Western Neoplatonic concepts, Biblical and Christian iconography, "grottesche" and masks, Italian "chiaroscuro" used to give psychological insight to a meeting of a Sufi at night or the vanishing point of Tuscan perspective depth to an Indian landscape; so does the acanthus leaf and the tree of life link the temporal and the spiritual symbolic associations of Hellenistic, Roman and Christian art with those of the many cultures of India. The "gusto all 'antica" of Donatello inspired by the Ara Pacis of Augustus in Rome echoes the plasticity of Gandharan and Mauryan art. Through different themes we see the thread of the mirror of the prince as a unified one—the distances disappear, the analogies emerge.

□

Pietre Dure And Other Artistic Contacts Between The Court Of The Mughals And That Of The Medici

Ebba Koch

The Interest Of The Mughal Emperors In European Rulers

1 Jahangir preferring a Sufi shaykh to the Turkish sultan and James I of England; Mughal, ca. 1615-1618; paper, 25.3 x 18.1 cm.; Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Acc. no. 42.15.

The juxtaposition of the artistic patronage of two dynasties belonging to such different cultural spheres as the Mughals and the Medici does need some explanation and if I propose to illustrate the issue from the Mughal point of view I do so not only because I am a student of Mughal art but also because there is more tangible evidence for an interest of the Mughals in Medici art than vice versa.[1]

Nobody would want to question the decisive role which Italy—as the main heir of classical antiquity—has played again and again for the development of the arts of the other European countries. But it is striking to note that 17th century Mughal India also drew inspiration from this source and that Medici art was a contributory factor among the various heterogeneous artistic traditions which in their synthesis became the Mughal imperial style.

Like the Medici, the Mughals were a young dynasty and thus felt a particularly strong need to legitimate their claims to sovereignty. The Mughals were keenly aware of their position because as Muslim rulers in a conquered country they had to come to terms not only with their own Timurid-Islamic background but also with the strong and ancient culture of their Hindu subjects. Furthermore they had to establish their status as rulers vis-à-vis the Muslim dynasties, which ruled India before them and—of particular importance in our context—vis-à-vis the rulers of other countries.

If we are to believe a letter which, as has been assumed on good grounds, was written by Akbar (1556-1605) to King Philip II of Spain in 1582, Akbar saw a kinship (*nisbat*) among "the exalted group of rulers who enjoy the noblest of distinction in consequence of a greater share of divine favour" and, according to him, the claims of this kinship were "well-established among mighty potentates, and acknowledged to be the chief conditions of amicable relations."[2]

This interest in European rulers included also an interest in their arts. The arts, as Mughal court writers such as Muhammad Salih Kanbo tell us, were considered an important means of emphasising the status of the ruler in the eyes of his subjects and of demonstrating superiority over other rulers.[3] Not surprisingly, the Mughal emperors were keen to know how their European counterparts handled this issue.

The Relevance Of European Art To The Mughal Court

From the reign of Akbar onwards European art played a considerable part in the arts of the Mughal court. Important transmitters of European art and artistic ideas were the Jesuit missionaries who reached the Mughal court from 1580 onwards. In their apostolic endeavours the Jesuits made use of pictorial material—mainly engravings of Christian subjects produced by Flemish print-makers. They were also assiduous in informing the Mughal emperors about their European counterparts, "the Christian princes" to encourage the Mughals' own conversion to Christianity.

Contrary to the Christian faith which was never adopted by the Mughal emperors, European art was received with considerable enthusiasm. There are several reasons for this.

First, the interest of the Mughals in European pictures was intensified by the theoretical justification for their use provided by the Jesuit Fathers. Since their mission led them to the court of a Muslim ruler, where an iconoclastic attitude was to be expected, the Jesuits had acquainted themselves thoroughly with the arguments of the Counter-Reformation defending the use of images. When these arguments were put forward by the Jesuits during discussions at court, the Mughal emperors recognised them as suitable for justifying their own interest in figural naturalistic representations vis-à-vis the orthodox factions.[4]

Second, the European form was appreciated for its realistic potential. The keen observation of the visual world had become something like a dynastic quality of the Great Mughals and it determined the character of their art.

Third, the Europeanising mode of expression had the power of synthesising various artistic traditions—especially those of the Muslims and Hindus—on a new neutral level.

Fourth, European pictures provided the Mughal emperors with a means of using the representational arts for a new purpose. Jahangir's court painters adopted compositional techniques of Mannerist allegories in order to put them into the service of Mughal iconography. Thus it was possible to picturise imperial themes of rulership which had so far, if at all, been expressed only in writing.[5] For reasons still unknown, certain themes were from then onwards expressed only in the arts; these include also the interest of the Great Mughals in European rulers.

Thus, on the one hand, in his memoirs Jahangir (1605-1627) never refers to Sir Thomas Roe,

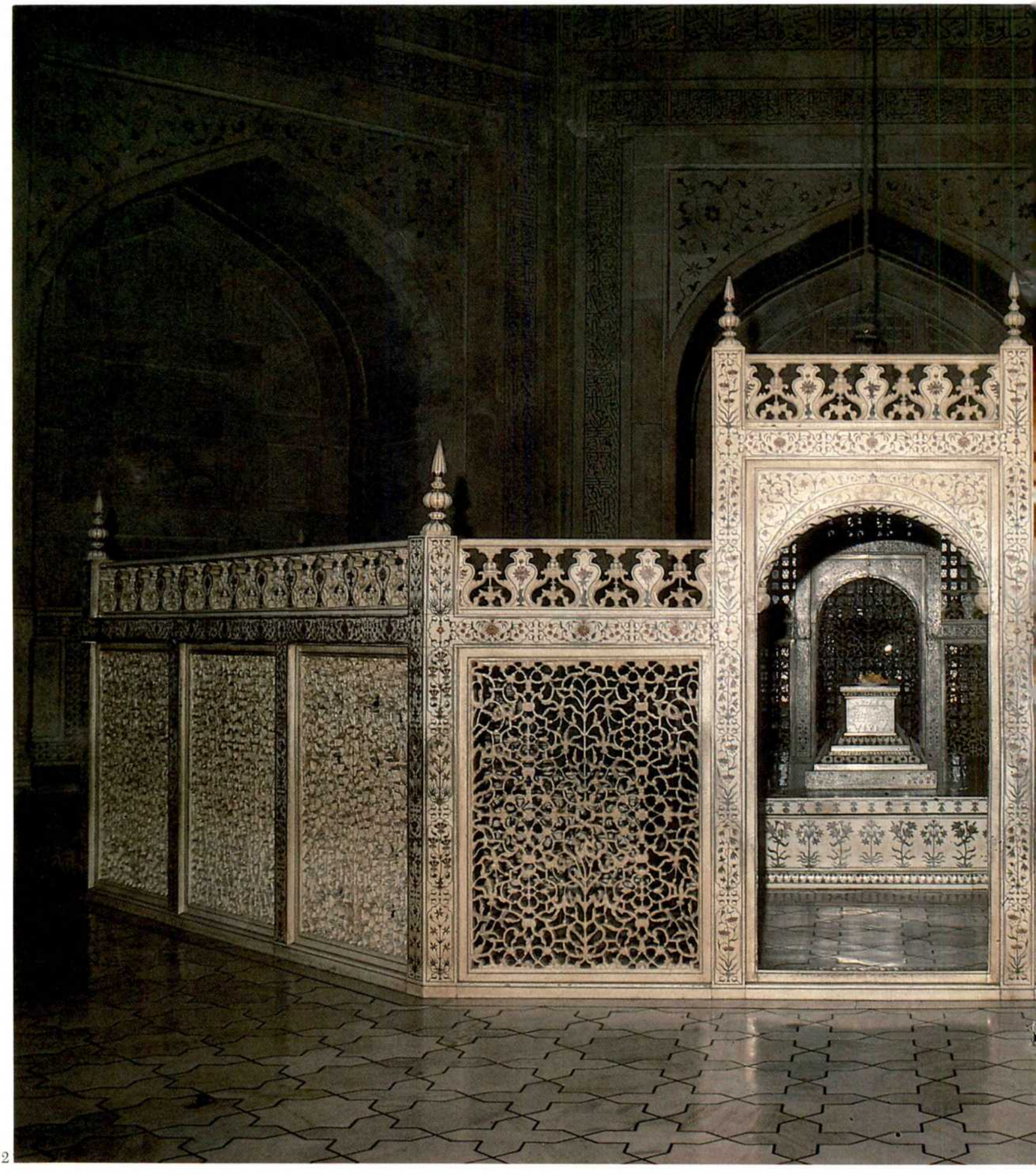
پادشاه صورت و معنی است از لطف اله
شاه نورالدین جهانگیر ابن اکبر بادشاه
گرچه در صورت شهان دارند درویش قیام
لیک در معنی بدرویشان کنند ایام نگاه

1

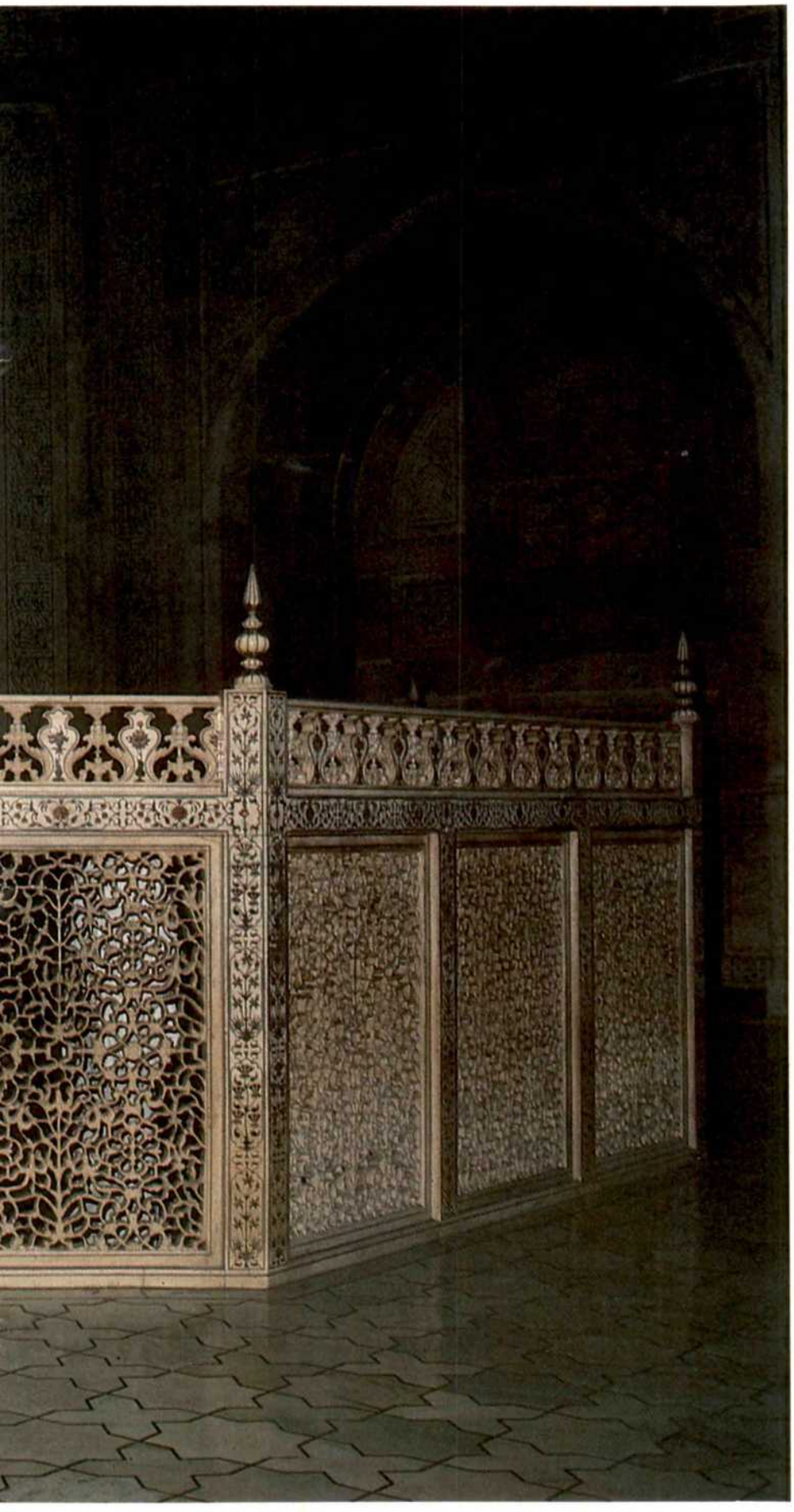
2 Railing and cenotaphs of Shah Jahan (dated 1666) and Mumtaz Mahal (dated 1631), Taj Mahal, Agra; marble inlaid with *pietre dure*. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

3 Flower in *commesso di pietre dure* from the railing around the cenotaphs, Taj Mahal, Agra; 1642. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

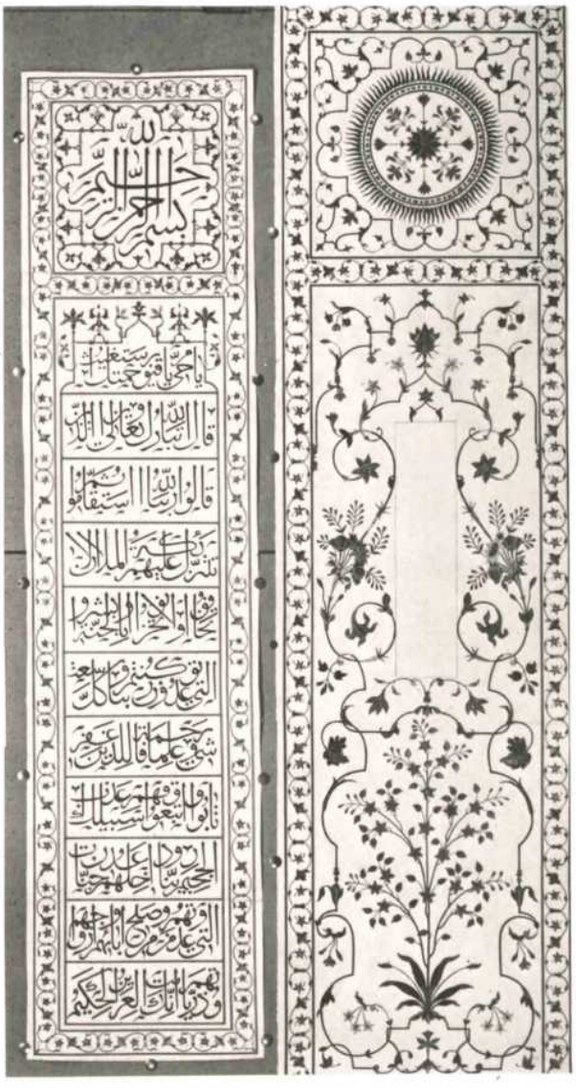
4 Drawing representing Koranic inscriptions and flower decoration in *pietre dure* on Shah Jahan's cenotaph, dated 1666; 19th century; water-colour on paper; London, by permission of the British Library, Stowe, Or. 17 A, fols. 5 and 6.



2



3



4

5

6

5 Cenotaph of Jahangir, Shahdara near Lahore; ca. 1628-1638; marble inlaid with *pietre dure*. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Pakistan.

6 Flowers in *pietre dure* from the cenotaph of Jahangir; 1628-1638. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Pakistan.

7 Cenotaph of 'Asaf Khan, Shahdara near Lahore; 1641; marble inlaid with *pietre dure*. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Department of Archaeology, Pakistan.

envoy of James I to his court on behalf of the East India Company, nor to James I himself, despite the fact that Sir Thomas stayed at Jahangir's court for over three years, from 1615 to 1619, and wrote a whole book about his experiences there, which represents one of the most important sources for this period. On the other hand James I is one of the rulers who are made to appear before Jahangir in one of the emperor's political allegories which were painted by Abu'l Hasan to conform to the wishes of his patron.[6] *Fig. 1*

Similarly, Mughal texts are silent about connections between the Mughals and the Medici. But the evidence provided by the arts speaks quite clearly.

Shah Jahan's *Pietre Dure*

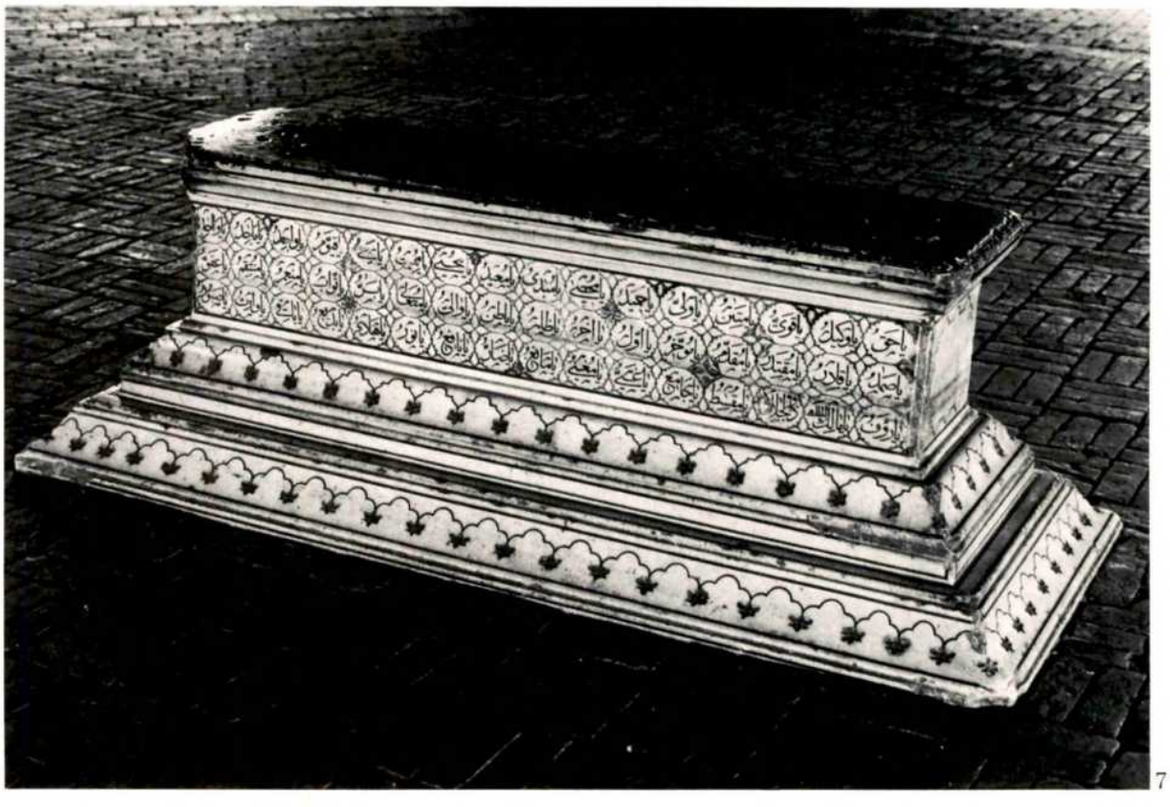
The main impulse to relate Mughal art to the arts of the Medici has come from the use of *pietre dure* inlays in the buildings of Shah Jahan (1628-1658). From its very first appearance in Mughal architecture this particular form of inlay technique belonged—although by no means exclusively—to the sphere of tomb art. Here it reached its nadir in the decoration of the interior of the Taj Mahal, in particular on the cenotaphs of the emperor (dated 1666) and his wife (dated 1631) on the main floor and on the marble railing which surrounds them (1642). *Figs. 2, 3,4*

About the same time or slightly earlier than the first *pietre dure* of the Taj Mahal the cenotaph of Shah Jahan's father Jahangir in his tomb at Shahdara near Lahore (ca. 1628-1638) was decorated with inlay work in the same technique. We also find it on cenotaphs of persons of a particular standing such as 'Asaf Khan, Shah Jahan's father-in-law who died in 1641. *Figs. 5, 6* *Fig. 7*

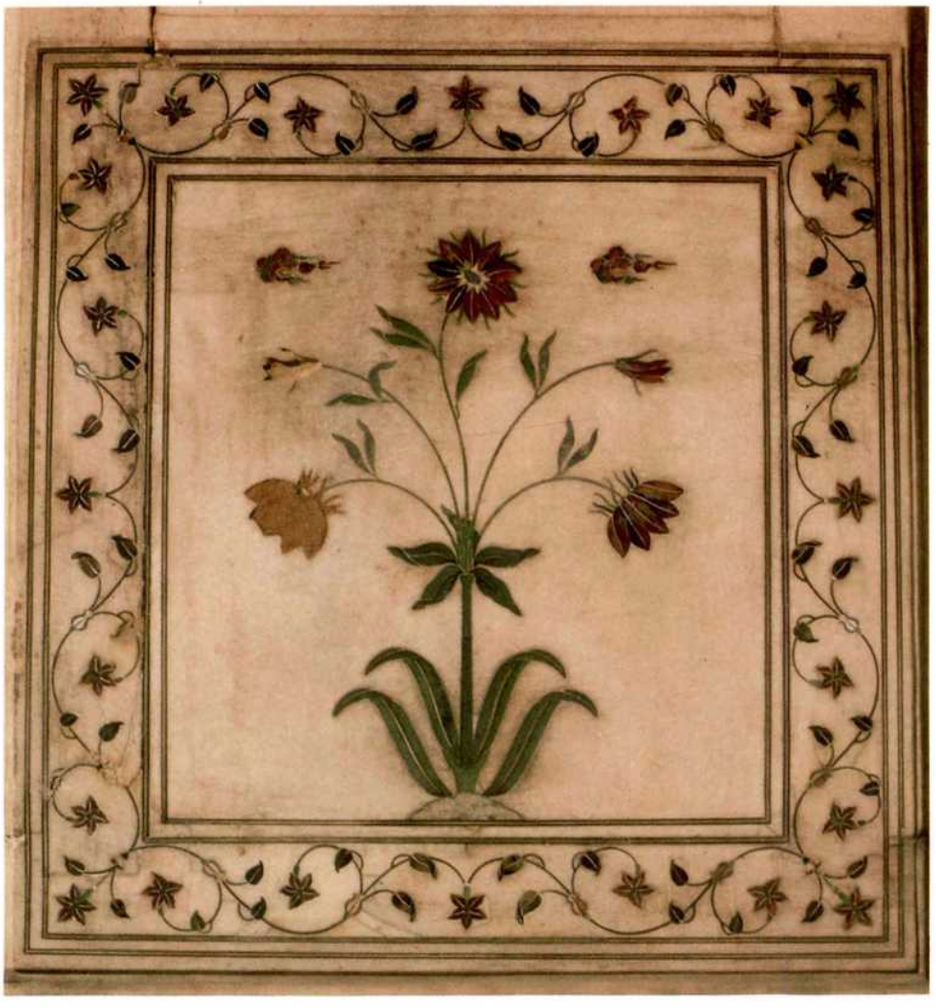
Within the context of palace architecture the use of *pietre dure* was reserved for the decoration of buildings of special importance, such as the pavilions used by the emperor himself in the great fortress palaces of Agra, Delhi and Lahore. *Figs. 8, 9,10*

Already the European travellers to India of the 17th century related this form of architectural decoration to the Cappella dei Principi, the mausoleum of the Medici in the church of San Lorenzo in Florence. In a letter dated July 1663 Francois Bernier describes the interior of the Taj Mahal: "Everywhere are seen the jasper, and *jachen*, or jade, as well as other stones similar to those that enrich the walls of the *Grand Duke's* chapel at *Florence*".[7] Jean Baptiste Tavernier, who travelled repeatedly around India between 1640 and 1665, reports that Shah Jahan planned to enrich the hall of public audiences, the Diwan-i 'Amm of the Red Fort at Delhi, "throughout by wonderful works in mosaic, like those in the chapel of the Grand Duke in Italy", but that in the end the emperor contented himself "with a representation of different flowers."[8] *Fig. 11*

In this passage Tavernier clearly refers to the place of appearance of the emperor



7



8 Flowers in *pietre dure* on a pillar of the Diwan-i Khass, Red Fort, Delhi; 1638-1648. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

9 *Pietre dure* ornaments in the floor of the Hammam of the Red Fort at Delhi; 1638-1648. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

10 Flower from the so-called Naulakha pavilion with most of its *pietre dure* missing, Lahore Fort; 1631. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Department of Archaeology of Pakistan.

11 Coat of arms of the city of Florence, Cappella dei Principi, Florence; end of 16th-beginning of 17th centuries. Photo: Robert Skelton.

12 Back wall of the niche behind Shah Jahan's throne—*jharoka* in the Red Fort of Delhi; 1638-1648. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

8

9

10

11

12

13

13 Giovanni Battista Foggini, Two white lilies tied with a ribbon, relief in *pietre dure* from the tomb of St. Francis Xavier in the church of Bom Jesus at Goa; 1698. Photo: Ebba Koch.

in the audience hall, the so-called *jharoka,* which here takes the form of a throne. In this throne arrangement we find indeed solid evidence for direct interaction between Mughal and Florentine *pietre dure* because the wall of the niche behind the throne is decorated with 318 Florentine *pietre dure* plaques showing flowers, birds, lions and a panel of *Orpheus playing to the beasts.* The interstices between the Italian panels are filled with Mughal *pietre dure* work showing flowery arabesques in the lower area and birds, fashioned after the ones of the Italian plaques, in the lunette-shaped section of the wall. The technique employed by the Mughal artisans corresponds so exactly to the Italian one that a direct connection must be assumed. *Fig. 12*

Direct Influence Or Independent Development?

The question of direct influence versus independent development has led to a heated debate between Indian and Western scholars, which began in about the middle of the 19th century. One of the reasons why the discussion has so far remained without any satisfying result, is that the difference between the more common stone intarsia or stone inlay, and the highly specialised technique of the *commesso di pietre dure,* to use the full Italian term, has not been sufficiently stressed.

Both techniques are closely related, the *commesso* having been developed from the stone intarsia. In both cases the design is carved out of the stone surface. For the simple stone intarsia, solid pieces of all types of stones—often marble—were used, cut into the appropriate shape and fastened in the hollowed out depressions. For the *commesso di pietre dure* compositions of stones of extreme hardness, like jasper, chalcedony or agate were inlaid in the cavities. The stones were cut into various sizes and shapes and fitted together so that the colours and natural marking of the stone formed the desired image. Extreme skill was required of the artisan in the handling of the material, especially in the sawing of the hard stones into the required thin slices, and in the joining of the pieces. Ideally, after the composition was polished, the lines of the junctures would not be visible in the final design. Thus it was possible to obtain effects similar to painting, which led to surprisingly naturalistic representations.

Commesso Di Pietre Dure—A Monopoly Of Italian Artists

Whereas the origins of the Italian *commesso di pietre dure* are still not certain, it has been established that it received its final form in the Grand Ducal workshops at Florence from the end of the 16th century onwards, especially in connection with the production of *pietre dure* work for the Cappella dei Principi. Of special relevance in our context is the fact that the *commesso di pietre dure* technique was among the branches of craftsmanship in which Italy had a monopoly. Whenever schools of *commesso di pietre dure* came into being in or outside of Italy, an Italian artist, or an artist trained in Italy, was involved in their foundation.

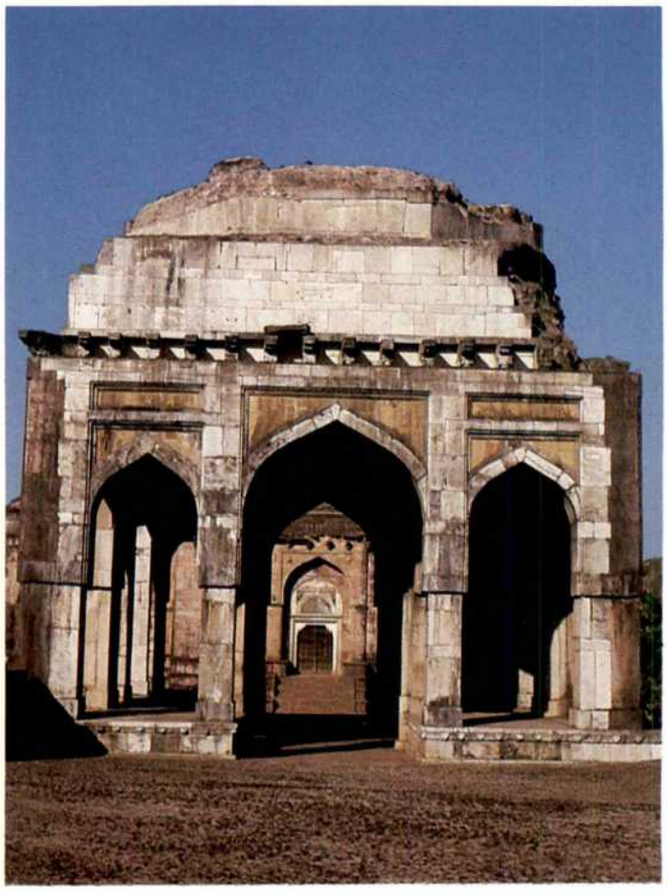
The *commesso* was also a reserve of especially rich princes or princes ruling over countries rich in precious stones—both proverbial attributes of the Great Mughals. This seems to have motivated the attempts by Ferdinandǫ I de' Medici in 1606 and 1608 to send buyers of semi-precious stones to India.[9] We still do not know if this attempt was successful.

At the end of the 17th century, however, a contact in hard stone matters is documented between Medici Florence and India: in 1698 Cosimo III de' Medici sent a tomb made of marble and semi-precious stones for St. Francis Xavier to Goa. It was the work of Giovanni Battista Foggini (1652-1737), and Francesco Ramponi assembled it in the tomb chapel of the saint in the church of Bom Jesus.[10] *Fig. 13*

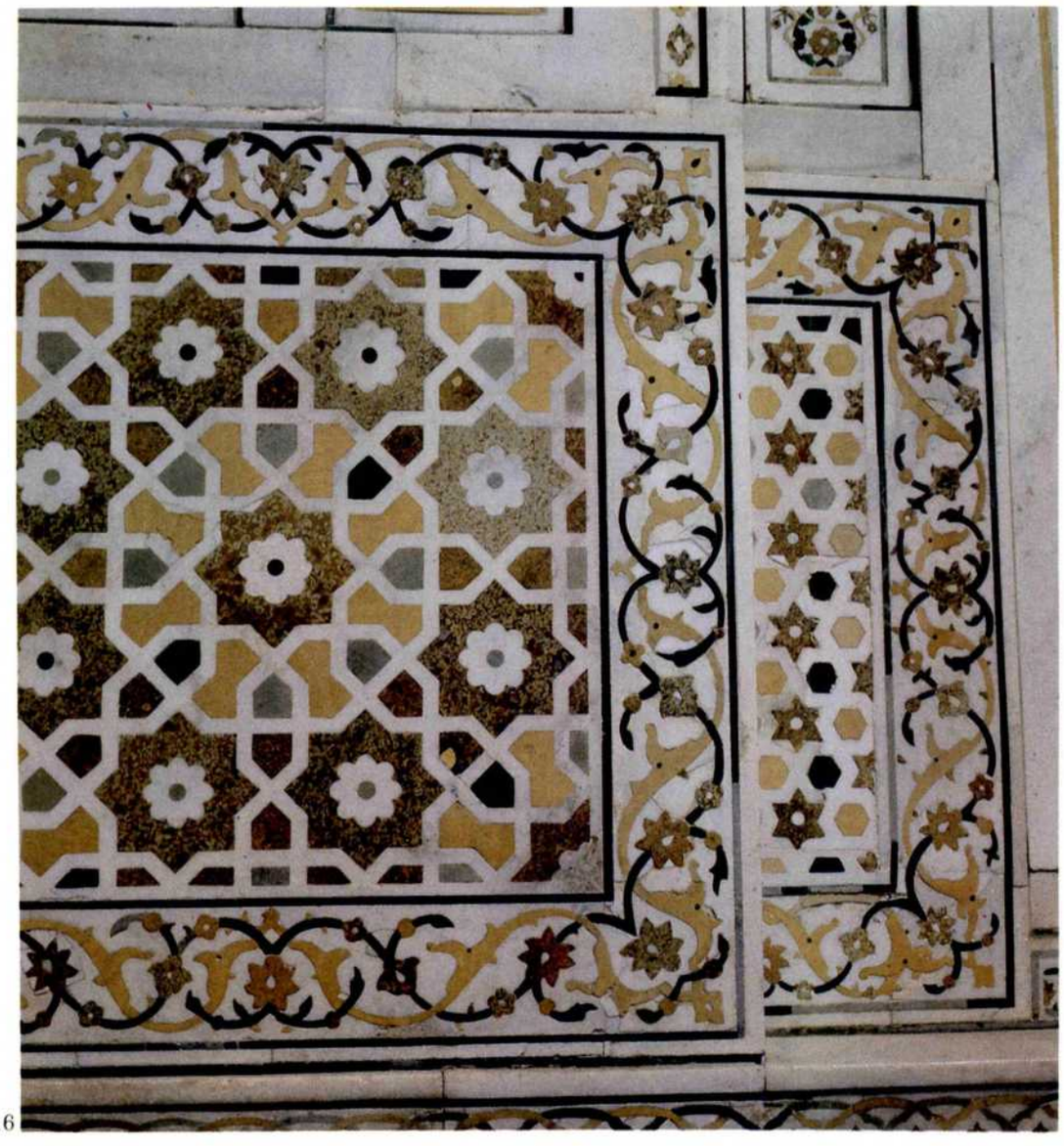
Development Of Mughal *Pietre Dure*

Like its Italian counterpart the Mughal *commesso di pietre dure* is based on an earlier local tradition of stone intarsia. We find precursors of Mughal stone intarsia in the Islamic architecture of Ahmedabad, for instance the central mihrab of the old Jami' Masjid built in 1414, or in the buildings of the sultans of Malwa at Mandu, for instance the Khalji mausoleum. *Fig. 14* *Fig. 15* Especially the combination of dark yellow, black, and variegated stones, inlaid into a white marble surface, reminds us strongly of the early Mughal inlays. The paradigm of this kind of Mughal stone intarsia is found on the tomb of 'Itimad al-Daula at Agra (completed 1626-27). *Fig. 16* However, it represents already a transitory phase between the earlier stone intarsia technique and the later *commesso di pietre dure* of Shah Jahan, since not only soft stones but also hard stones are used for its inlays. A further step is taken in the earliest palace buildings of Shah

14



15



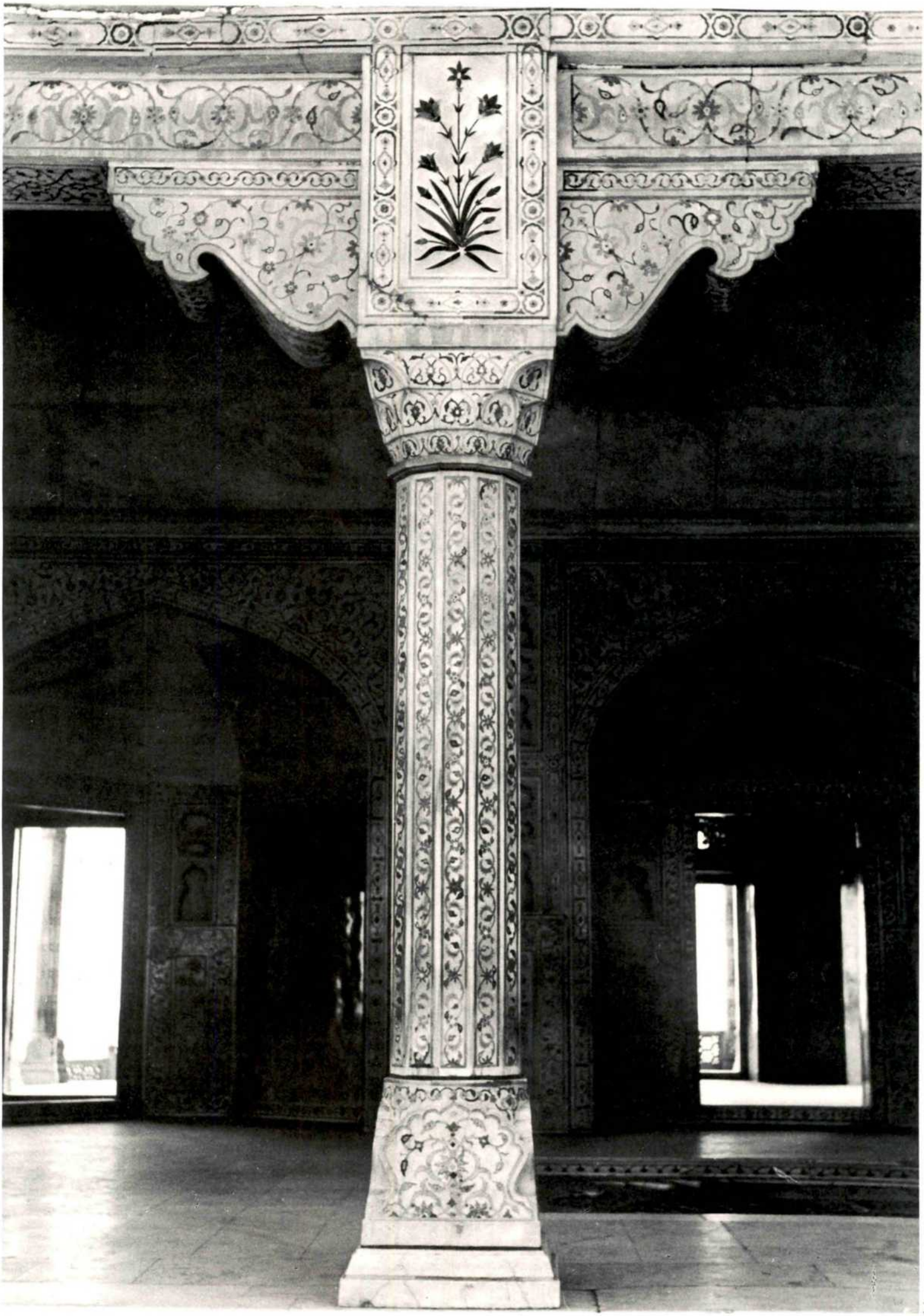
16

14 Mihrab of Ahmad Shah's old Jami' Masjid at Ahmedabad; 1414. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

15 Gate with spandrels in stone inlay work, Ashrafi Mahal or Khalji Mausoleum, Mandu; ca. middle of the 15th century. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

16 Inlay work on the tomb of 'Itimad al-Daula, Agra; dated 1626-1627. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

17 Pillar with stone intarsia and a flower panel in *commesso di pietre dure* as *'sopracolonna'*, Shah Burj, Agra Fort; early 1630s. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.



17

18

19

18 Board with eight plaques of birds in *pietre dure*, Florence; ca. middle of the 17th century; 9 x 12 cm.; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, 3409. Photo: Ebba Koch.

19 Cabinet with birds, flowers and flower vases, Florence; first half of the 17th century; Vienna, Bundesmobiliendepot, No. TD 71. Photo: Marianne Haller.

20 Florentine plaque with birds from the back wall of the niche behind the Delhi throne. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

20

Jahan in the Red Fort of Agra dating from the 1630s. Here, as for instance in the Shah Burj, the earlier simpler inlay technique and the *commesso di pietre dure* are used next to each other. *Fig. 17*

We have textual evidence that the Mughals distinguished between two techniques of inlay work. Kanbo describes the inlay work in marble of Jahangir's tomb as "*parchin kari* which is finer (and more detailed, *daqiqtar*) than *khatim bandi*."[11] Although it is not clear from Kanbo's description to which architectural feature he refers, there is no doubt that by *parchin kari* he means the *commesso* technique, because he and the other writers of Shah Jahan use this term consistently to describe this type of inlay in the buildings of the emperor.

The use of hard stones in pre-Mughal architecture is still not sufficiently attested. The favourite piece of evidence adduced by R. Nath in the *pietra dura* discussion, namely the inlay of hard stones in the temple of Rishabadeva at Ranakpur, Rajasthan (founded in 1438), cannot be traced anymore and it is doubtful if in fact it ever existed.[12] The evidence of earlier inlays in hard stones, however, still would not account for the independent local development of a technique corresponding so exactly to the Florentine one, nor for its identical concept of naturalistic plant and bird representations. The fact that Italians, or artists trained in Italy, were always involved in the foundation of *pietre dure* workshops and that European lapidaries and goldsmiths, such as Geronimo Veroneo, Austin de Bordeaux, Hortensio Bronzoni and others, were employed at the Mughal court seems to leave hardly any alternative to the conclusion that the Mughal *commesso* technique was introduced by European lapidaries. From the very beginning it was, however, adapted very creatively to Mughal designs and purposes. It is especially noteworthy that after Shah Jahan's reign the *commesso* technique was not much used

in the decoration of Indian buildings. The craft had almost died out and had to be revived in the middle of the 19th century by Dr. J. Murray.

Florentine And Mughal *Pietre Dure* Combined In The Delhi Throne

Even the most fanatical apostle of an independent development of the Mughal *pietre dure* inlay cannot explain away the Florentine *pietre dure* plaques in the niche behind Shah Jahan's throne—*jharoka* in the audience hall of the palace of Delhi (1638-1648). Past scholarship has assumed that they came from Italy but the matter has not been investigated further. I shall show that they can be related directly to the contemporary production of the workshop of the Medici in Florence.

After the initial emphasis of its production for the Cappella dei Principi, the workshop had, from the 1630s on, concentrated more and more on mobile decorative objects. Especially sets of *Fig. 18* panels of birds, flowers, and flower vases, using the same cartoons repeatedly, were a favourite export article of the Opificio delle Pietre Dure. Such sets were suitable to be mounted on the front of cabinets or as table tops, which were also exported ready-made, or else presented as gifts to other rulers by the Medici.

Literary evidence from the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign testifies that such sets did indeed reach the Mughal court. Tavernier reports that he presented to Nawab Ja'far Khan, uncle of Aurangzeb, on 12th September 1665 "a board, with nineteen pieces to make a cabinet, the whole of precious stones of diverse colours representing all kinds of flowers and birds. The work had been done at Florence, and had cost 2150 livres."[13]

Seventeenth century Florentine sets of plaques have been preserved mainly incorporated in *Fig. 19* contemporary or later cabinets. The majority of the *pietre dure* plaques used in the Delhi *Fig. 20* throne arrangement can be related to such Florentine sets. The small plaques which—arrayed in bands—frame the various sections of the back wall of the niche behind the throne and also *Compare Fig. 18* appear in the cruciform patterns of *pietre dure* panels, correspond both in size and with regard *and Fig. 21* to their subjects (birds or flowering twigs) to the type of small plaques used for the front of the

21 Florentine bird, inner panel: 28.4 x 18 cm. and hoopoe from the Delhi wall. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

22 Detail of bird from the cabinet of figure 19, inner panel: 22 x 16.8 cm. Photo: Marianne Haller.

21

22

23 Panel with Orpheus playing to the beasts from the Delhi wall; 21.7 x 13.5 cm. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

24 Samson and the lion from the ciborium planned for the Cappella dei Principi in Florence; early 17th century; 16 x 55 cm.; Florence, courtesy Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure.

cabinet drawers. The larger plaques, especially the ones showing flower vases and birds, correspond to the ones used as centre and side-pieces for cabinets. *Compare Fig. 21 with Fig. 22*

Occasionally a large plaque showing *Orpheus playing to the beasts* appears as centre-piece of cabinets. The Delhi Orpheus might originally have been part of a cabinet set. In style, concept, the treatment of the stones, and its high quality, however, the figure is very close to the *pietre dure* works produced for the Cappella dei Principi. It compares particularly well with the Samson, who was originally intended for the ciborium of the Cappella, in the modelling of the body and the treatment of the blue lapis-lazuli garment baring the right shoulder. *Fig. 23* *Fig. 24*

The Italian *pietre dure* panels of the Delhi wall are embedded in a white marble surface covered in its turn by Mughal *commesso di pietre dure*. Besides scrolls and flowers the most important and unique indigenous *pietre dure* contributions are birds flying or sitting on fruit trees or on flowering trees in the upper part of the wall.

Like their Florentine counterparts, the Mughal *pietre dure* birds are no phantasy birds but based on nature studies of birds found in India. Most of them can be identified, among them white-breasted kingfishers, hoopoes, Indian red-breasted parakeets, scarlet minivets and mynas. *Fig. 25*

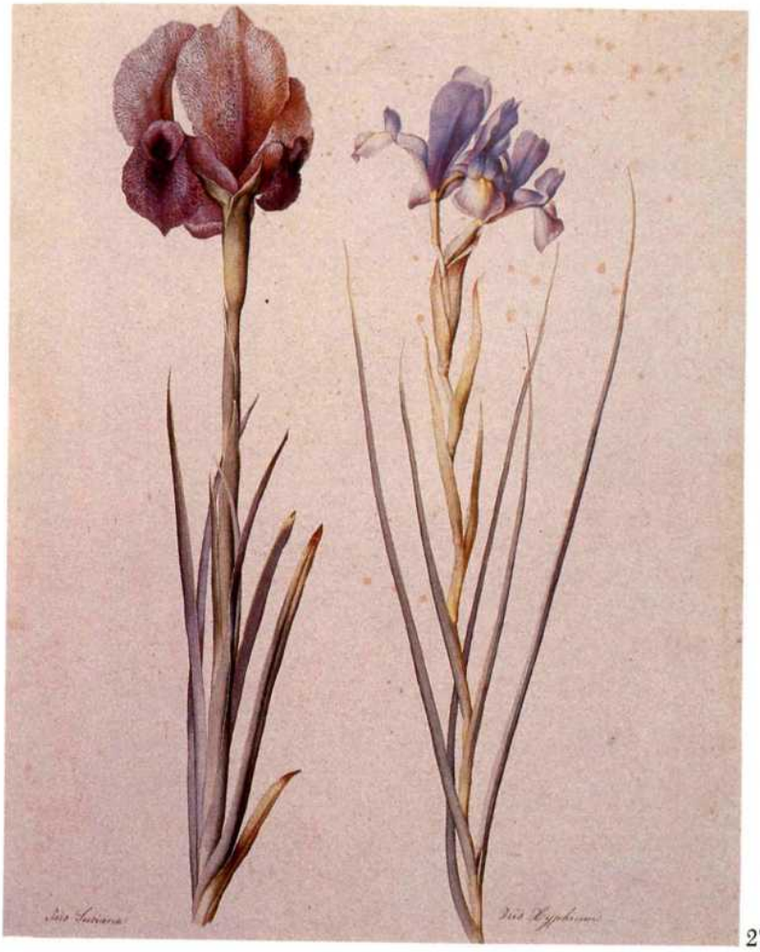
Studies From Nature

With regard to the genesis of their design these naturalistic bird representations in *pietre dure* are also of a surprising analogy to the Florentine bird and flower representations, as they are closely associated with natural history drawings, especially those by Jacopo Ligozzi (1547-1626). He was court painter of the Medici and worked not only in connection with the famous naturalist Ulisse Aldrovandi, who was patronised by the Medici, but also prepared designs and cartoons for the production of the Opificio. *Figs. 26, 27*

The Mughal bird representations are based on a similar development. They had their origin in bird studies from nature in Mughal miniature painting—especially in the work of Jahangir's court painter *ustad* Mansur. Perfecting an interest already expressed by his ancestors Babur (1526-1530) and Humayun (died 1556), Jahangir was an accomplished naturalist. Consequently, his painters had to provide him with accurate depictions of plants, birds and animals. Robert Skelton has shown that Jahangir's painters based their plant *Figs. 28, 29*

25

26



27

28

29

25 Myna from the Delhi wall. Photo: Ebba Koch by courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

26 Jacopo Ligozzi, Parrot (*Psittacus ararauna*); 67 x 45.6 cm.; Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, n. 1997 Or. After Luciano Berti, *Il Principe dello Studiolo,* Florence, 1967, pl. X.

27 Jacopo Ligozzi, *Iris susiana* and *Iris xiphium;* 59.4 x 45 cm.; Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, n. 1891 Orn. After Fritz Koreny, *Albrecht Dürer und die Tier- und Pflanzenstudien der Renaissance,* Munich, 1985, pl. 87.

28 Peafowl attributed to Mansur, detail; ca. 1620; opaque watercolour on paper; Cambridge, Massachusetts, the Knellington Collection, Harvard University Arts Museums. Photo: AAAUM 2638.

29 Mansur, Tulip; ca. 1620; opaque watercolour on paper, 21.6 x 9.7 cm.; Aligarh Muslim University, Maulana Azad Library, no. 60-1 BA-3. (Photo: Robert Skelton).

30

31

32

30 Cameo of Shah Jahan; ca. 1630-1640; sardonyx, 2.3 x 2 cm.; London, courtesy of the Indian Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum, IS 14-1974.

31 Domenico di Polo?, Cameo of Alessandro de' Medici (1516-1537); agate, 3.35 x 2.53 cm.; Florence, Museo degli Argenti, Inv. Gemme 1921 n. 112. After exhibition catalogue *Firenze e la Toscana dei Medici nell' Europa del Cinquecento. Palazzo Vecchio: committenza e collezionismo medicei,* Florence, 1980, pl. 272.

32 Shah Jahan's wine cup with the head of a wild goat; dated 1657; white nephrite jade, length: 18.7 cm., width: 14 cm.; London, Victoria and Albert Museum, IS 12-1962. Photo: Ebba Koch.

33 Gasparo Miseroni, Bowl with head of a marine monster; ca. 1547; heliotrope, length: 26 cm., width: 12 cm.; Florence, Museo degli Argenti, Inv. Gemme 1921 n. 764. After Ernst Kris, *Meister und Meisterwerke der Steinschneidekunst in der italienischen Renaissance,* Vienna, 1927, pl. 593.

studies upon illustrations of European herbals in order to achieve the highest possible degree of naturalism.[14] The interest in nature studies continued in Shah Jahan's reign as is evidenced by the bird and flower studies in the album of Shah Jahan's son Dara Shukoh in the India Office Library in London.

Hard-Stone Carving

To all evidence the Florentine *pietre dure* birds challenged the Mughal artists to come up with an equivalent of their own and thus we witness the transfer of Mughal bird studies into the medium of precious and semi-precious stones, a process for which Shah Jahan's patronage of the art of glyptics, intaglio, cameo, and other hard stone carving was certainly a determining factor. The works produced for the emperor in these crafts show also many affinities to the hard stone carvings of the Milanese stone-cutters of the Medici, in particular Shah Jahan's cameos and the vessels carved of precious stones in zoomorphic or vegetal shapes with naturalistic acanthus decoration. This has been explained by R. Skelton by the presence of European lapidaries at the court of Shah Jahan.[15] However, their contribution will have to be weighed carefully. If we compare Mughal and Italian cameos, the striking similarities in the concept and in the skilful use of the various layers of the sardonyx or agate in order to obtain the desired design induce us to overlook certain stylistic differences.[16]

Compare Fig. 30 with Fig. 31 and Fig. 32 with Fig. 33

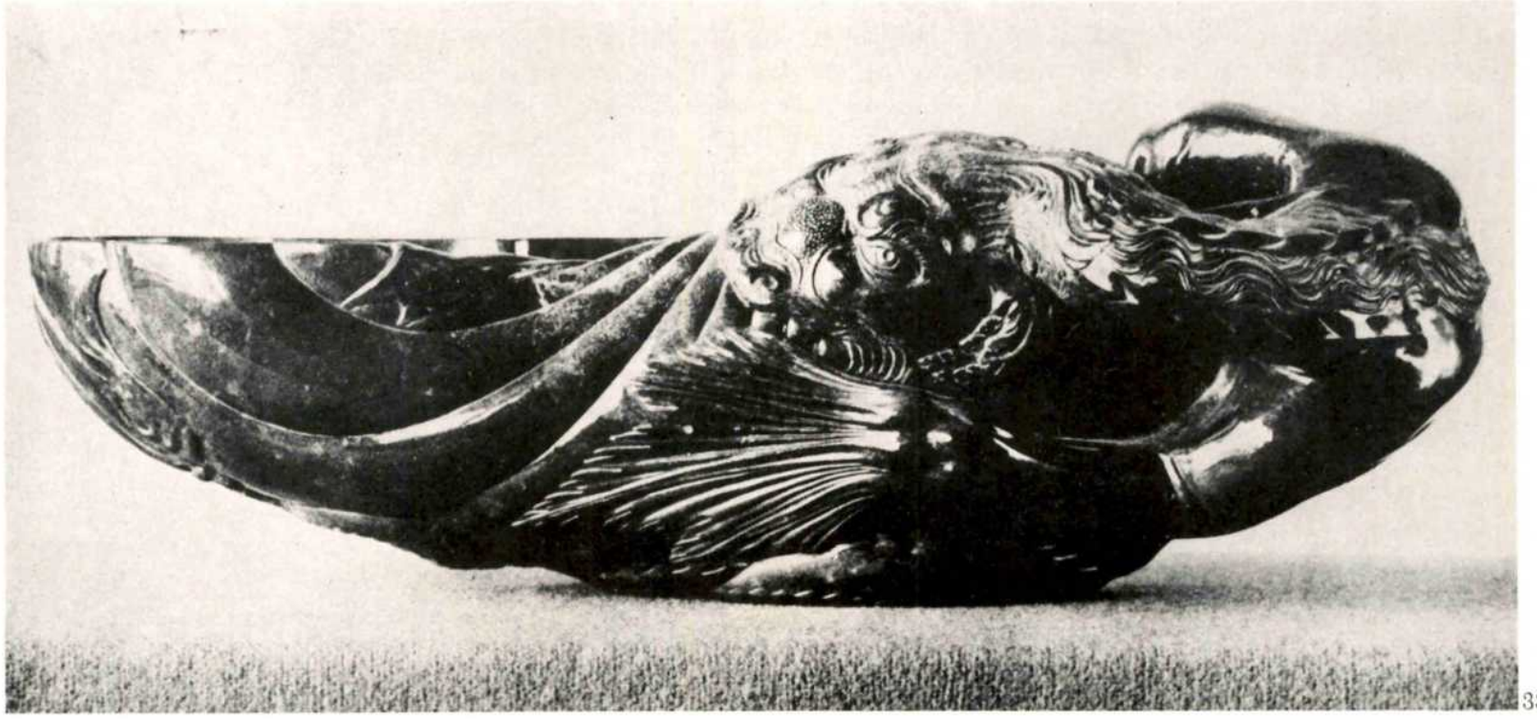
Genealogies Or Analogies?

The Mughal patronage of hard-stone carving, of natural history drawings and their transposition in *pietre dure,* has so much in common with the patronage of the Medici that one feels tempted to suggest a direct influence for each and every related feature.

Instead, it seems more likely that similar tastes and interests of the Mughal patrons and artists, such as scientific naturalism and involvement in precious stones and their courtly uses, led to similar artistic expressions, once the initial lesson of the European form and technique had been absorbed. The Mughals were quick to realise the potential of the European form for their own requirements, and in the end similar solutions might have been produced by an artistic development that had become quite independent from its initial impetus.

Orpheus As A Symbol Of The Golden Age Of The Mughals And The Medici

The affinities between the artistic ideas of the Medici and the Mughals are, however, not confined to formal aspects only, but, surprisingly enough, extend also to the use of symbolic imagery.



33

34

34 The peace among the animals according to Isaiah, detail of the title page of the *Antwerp Polyglot Bible;* 1568-1572; Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbiblithek.

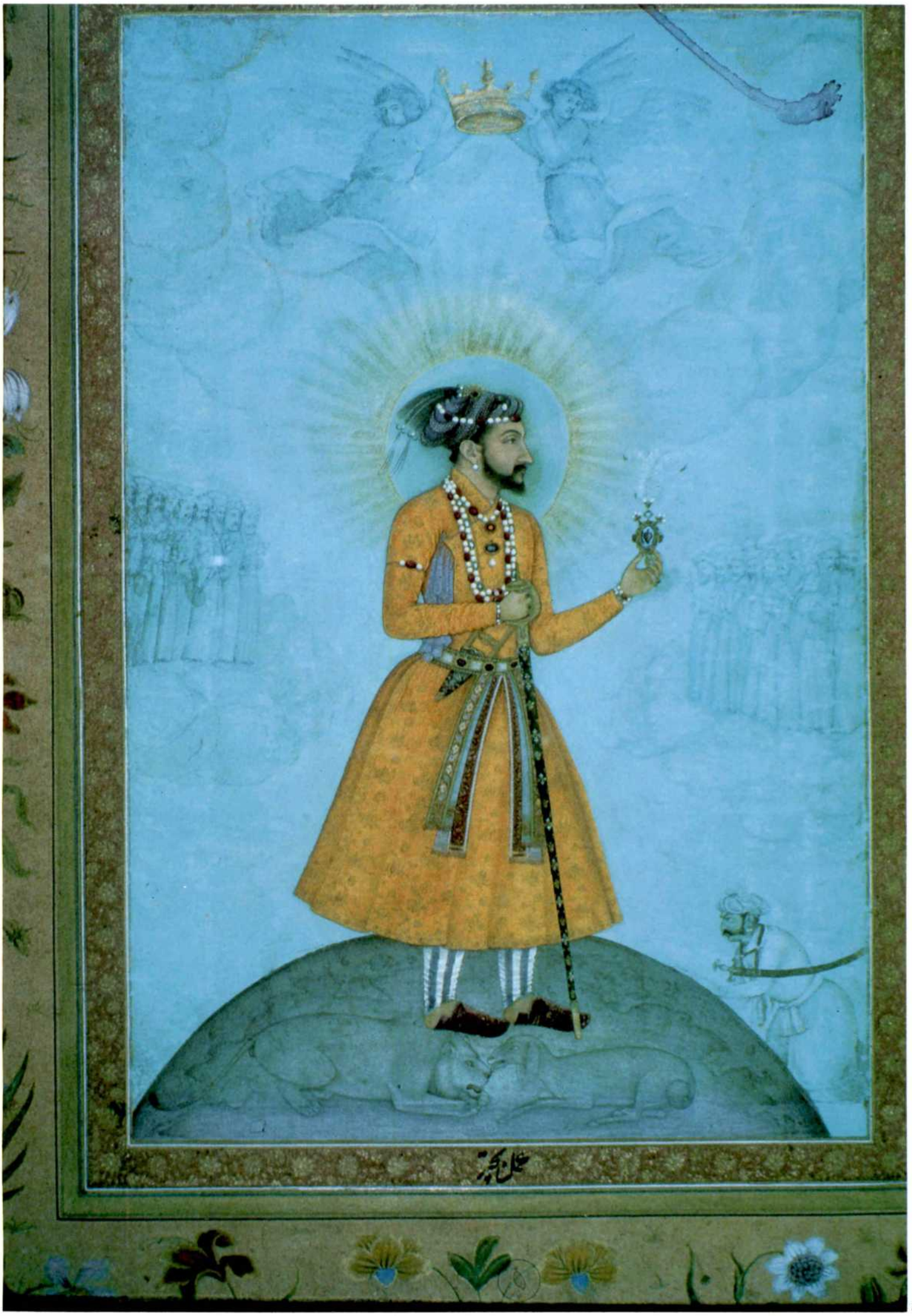
35 Hashim, The emperor Shah Jahan standing upon a globe; Dublin, Chester Beatty Library. Photo: Robert Skelton.

In our introductory remarks we drew attention to the creative exploitation of European symbols and allegorical constructions on the part of Jahangir's painters to express—in a new fusion of literature and representational arts—conventional Islamic, Iranian or Indian themes of rulership. I have shown in *Shah Jahan and Orpheus* that the use of the Italian *pietre dure* plaques in the throne architecture of Shah Jahan can be explained along the same lines—they played an important part in the programme of the throne. In the Mughal-Medici context, which interests us here, we shall single out the image of *Orpheus playing to the beasts.*

The first and foremost virtue of an Islamic ruler, and indeed his legitimation to rule, was justice. The standard metaphor in Persian eulogical writing to illustrate this virtue was the peaceful assembly of wild and tame animals brought together by the power of the ruler's justice. This metaphor is also used extensively by the eulogists of the Great Mughals. Here is Khwandamir praising Humayun in ca. 1534: "Under the protection and shelter of his justice deer sleep carelessly in the lap of panthers, and fish fearlessly take rest near crocodiles; pigeons become friends of falcons and sparrows chirp fearlessly in front of eagles."[17]

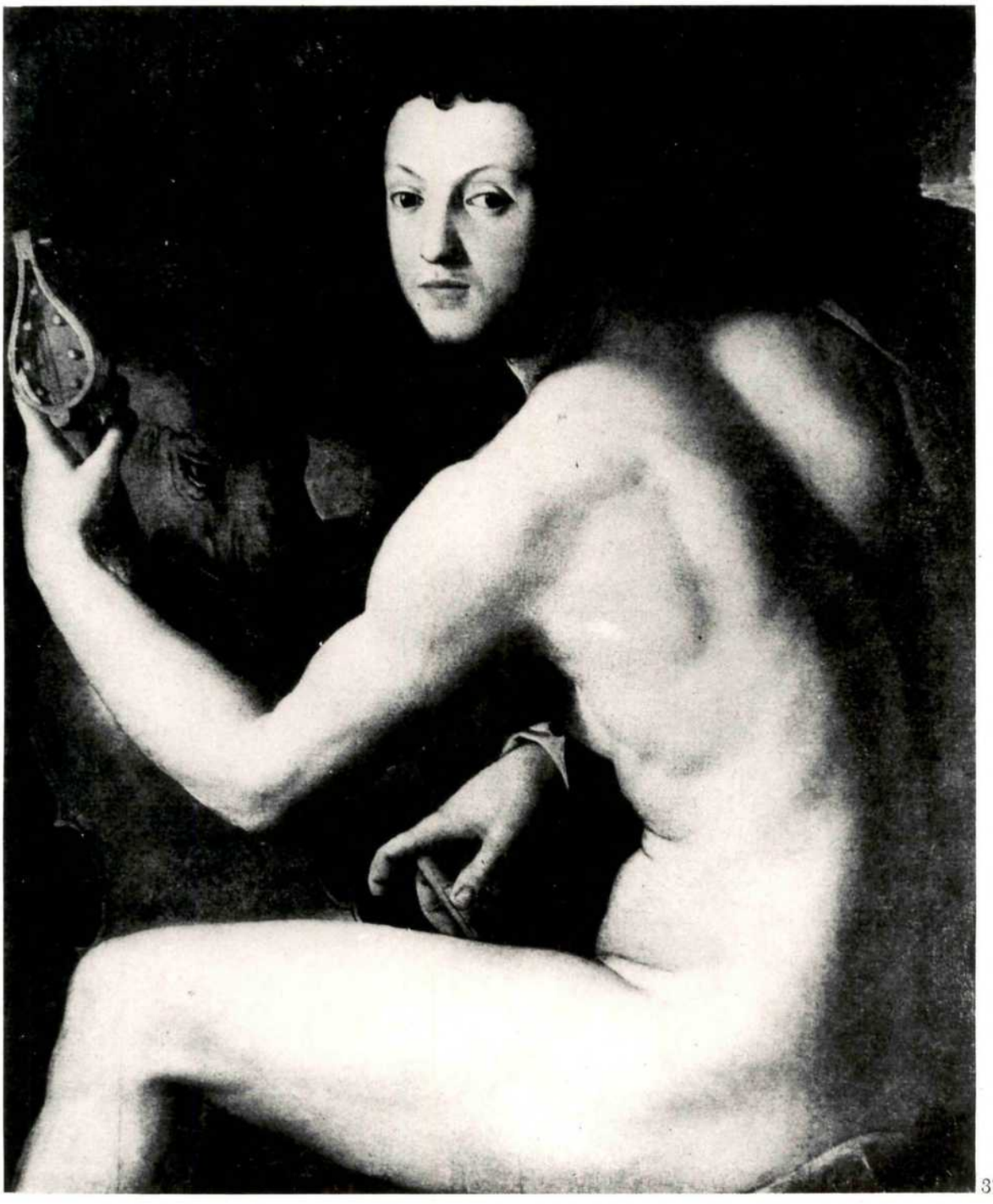
The pictorial material which the Jesuits took to the Mughal court confronted the Mughals with the visual expression of this very metaphor. The first title page of the *Antwerp Polyglot Bible* which was presented by the first Jesuit mission to Akbar in 1580, showed the image in its biblical eschatological context, namely the lion lying down with the lamb under the just rule of
Fig. 34 the Messiah as prophesied by Isaiah. The image which, as we know, was explained by the Jesuit Fathers, must have really struck the Mughal emperors as a pictorial expression of their own literary imagery of ideal rulership. The success of this symbol in Mughal court art shows that it was exactly what the Mughals had needed in order to translate their own ideas of rulership into visual form. Quite contrary to their intentions, the Jesuits were turned into providers for imperial Mughal propaganda: animals modelled upon the ones of the *Polyglot Bible*—of which the combination of lions with a sheep or ox (bull) proved most influential—became the leitmotif
Fig. 35 to illustrate the Golden Age atmosphere in the political allegories of Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

The choice of the Orpheus panel to decorate the wall which framed Shah Jahan's appearance in his most official *darbar* hall must be understood in this context. Orpheus who by the power of his music brought wild and tame animals to a peaceful co-existence was able to illustrate the character of Shah Jahan's just rule, and all the more so since in Islamic mirrors of princes the



35

36



37

36 Baccio Bandinelli, statue of Orpheus; ca. 1516-1517; marble; Florence, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, Photo: Ebba Koch.

37 Angelo Bronzino?, Cosimo I de' Medici as Orpheus; ca. 1540; Philadelphia Museum of Art, Johnson Collection.

laws of music were likened to the laws of justice.

The use of Orpheus as a symbol of the Golden Age brought about by the justice of the ruler coincides in a remarkable way with the use of this image in 16th century Florence. Karla *Fig. 36* Langedijk has shown that Baccio Bandinelli's statue of Orpheus in the Palazzo Medici–Riccardi in Florence, commissioned by the Medici Pope Leo X in about 1516/1517, was put up to convey a similar message, namely the return of the harmony of Medici rule, of the Golden Age which had prevailed in the 15th century Florence of Lorenzo il Magnifico. Orpheus became the image of the perfect prince as demonstrated by the portrait of young Cosimo I of *Fig. 37* about 1540, as *Orpheus playing to the beasts,* attributed to Bronzino.[18]

So far we have no evidence that Shah Jahan and his artistic advisers had an awareness of the role which Orpheus played in the Medici tradition. We can, however, safely state here some remarkable parallels in the symbolism of absolute rulership. The same images were able to express the same claim, no matter how different the cultural and political context might have been.

References have been kept to a minimum for those topics which are discussed in greater detail in my book *Shah Jahan and Orpheus: The Pietre Dure Decoration and the Programme of the Throne in the Hall of Public Audiences at the Red Fort of Delhi* (Graz: Akademische Druckund Verlaganstalt and New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1987). A full bibliography is given there.

NOTES

1. For a general overview of the role oriental art played for Italy in the relevant period see R. W. Lightbown, "Oriental Art and the Orient in Late Renaissance and Baroque Italy", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 32 (1969), pp. 228-279.
2. The letter which is found in the collection of official letters of Abu'l Fazl, the *Insha-i Abu'l Fazl* was translated with a commentary by E. Rehatsek, "A Letter of the Emperor Akbar Asking for the Christian Scriptures", *The Indian Antiquary,* 16 (1887), pp. 135-139.
3. I have translated this passage of Kanbo's *'Amal-i Salih or Shahjahannama* in my "The Baluster Column–a European Motif in Mughal Architecture and its Meaning", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes,* 45 (1982), p. 259.
4. See my "The Influence of the Jesuit Mission on Symbolic Representations of the Mughal Emperors", *Islam in India: Studies and Commentaries,* ed. Ch. W. Troll S. J., 1 (1982), pp. 14-29.
5. *Ibid.,* pp. 19-21.
6. We owe a brilliant interpretation of the painting *Jahangir preferring a Sufi shaykh to the Turkish sultan and James I of England* to Richard Ettinghausen, "The Emperor's Choice", *De Artibus opuscula XL: Essays in Honor of Erwin Panofsky* ed. by Millard Meiss (New York, 1961), pp. 98-120.
7. Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire A.D. 1656-1668,* rev. ed. based upon Irving Brock's trans. by A. Constable, 3rd ed. (1891; rpt. New Delhi, 1972), p. 298.
8. Jean Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India,* trans. V. Ball, 2nd ed. William Crooke, 1 (1925; rpt. New Delhi, 1977), p. 80.
9. See most recently Luigi Zangheri, "I rapporti tra la Firenze dei Medici e l'India nella prima metà del 17° secolo. Ragguagli documentari e ipotesi", *Akten des XXV. internationalen Kongresses fuer Kunstgeschichte, 5: Europa und die Kunst des Islam 15.bis 18.Jahrhundert* (Vienna: Hermann Boehlaus Nachf., 1985), pp. 65-73.
10. Exhibition Catalogue *India and Italy* by R. M. Cimino and F. Scialpi (Rome, 1974), pp. 106 f. with further literature.
11. Muhammad Salih Kanbo, *'Amal-i Salih or Shahjahannama,* Pers. text ed. by Wahid Qurayshi, 1, 2nd ed. (Lahore: Majlis-i Taraqqi-i Adab, 1967), p. 12.
12. R. Nath, *Colour Decoration in Mughal Architecture* (Bombay, 1970), pp. 29-30. Nath does not take into account, by referring to "mosaics of cornelian and agate", the present state of the building in which no such inlay works can be found. He quotes after a reference of James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan,* 1 (1920; rpt. Delhi, 1971), p. 337, n. 1, : "This temple is an additional proof of the early existence of the art of inlaying" leaving out Tod's admittance that his reference was based solely on hearsay: "That I did not see it is now to me one of the many vain regrets which I might have avoided."
13. Tavernier (n. 8 above), p. 114. I thank Ms. Veronica Murphy from the Indian Department of the Victoria and Albert Museum for having called my attention to this passage.
14. Robert Skelton, "A Decorative Motif in Mughal Art", *Aspects of Indian Art: Papers Presented in a Symposium at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, October 1970,* ed. Pratapaditya Pal (Leiden, 1972), pp. 147-152.
15. Robert Skelton in Exhibition Catalogue *The Indian Heritage: Court Life and Arts under Mughal Rule* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1982), especially pp. 118-123.
16. Dr. Rudolf Distelberger of the Sammlung fuer Plastik und Kunstgewerbe, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, kindly has given me his views on Italian and Mughal hard stone carvings, in particular on Shah Jahan's cameo reproduced here. In his opinion the Italian work shows a higher relief and deeper undercutting than the Mughal one.
17. *Qanun-i Humayuni,* trans. Baini Prasad (Calcutta, 1940), P. 7.
18. Karla Langedijk, Baccio Bandinelli's Orpheus: A Political Message, *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz,* 20 (1976), pp. 33-52.

□

The City As An Image Of The King

Some Notes On The Town-Planning Of Mughal Capitals In The Sixteenth And Seventeenth Centuries

Attilio Petruccioli

In his travels in Italy Goethe noted that "(Italians love) public festivals, the pomp of processions and pageants, spectacles, carnivals, masked balls and splendid public buildings . ." A study of the urban scene, read as theatre, which, with reason, Goethe finds congenial to the Italian character, or, as an "Essay on Order", may be a useful approach to the understanding not only of the pre-baroque city but of all the city-building of the period in Italy. In Florence, this theatrical potential was used by the Signoria as a direct expression of power. Some things are denied even to autocratic rulers; some concepts can be expressed only in the guise of metaphor or in the play of allusions and the reflection of illusions. Thus the city and the palace make up a theatre in which is played out a drama of ambiguity which celebrates (with the complicity of the Master and the Servant/populace) a half-divine origin for the Prince, acquired in fact more prosaically with the profits of commerce.

Towards the end of the 15th century in Italy the piazza served as a stage around which gathered political and cultural institutions, and where religious processions, commercial life and political events all took place. From the beginning of the 16th century, with the development of theatrical techniques, the scene moved indoors to the palace of the Prince and parties, meetings, contests, dances and mythological masques became the occasion for new figurative arrangements, abetted by the new optic and geometrical discoveries of the times. This was like a play within a play, which relied on real-looking but unreal scenery, at a court in which the relationships between courtiers were based on a false code of manners which nevertheless aped the truth.

At the end of the 16th century this tendency took, in Florence, its final theatrical form with the construction of such Florentine facilities as the Salone dei Cinquecento, adapted by Vasari between 1547 and 1569, the Teatro Mediceo degli Uffizi, arranged by Buontalenti in two different versions in 1585 and 1589, the courtyard of the Pitti Palace transformed by Buontalenti and Giulio Parigi into a jousting-field and a setting for sham sea-battles and other spectacles between 1579 and 1637, and the amphitheatre of the Boboli Gardens, blown up to the scale of the surrounding park. These undertakings were filled with classical reminiscences. In the theatres use was made of new town-planning principles such as grand axis, three-pronged street intersections and flies and backdrops in papier-mâché making up views of the ideal city. The 16th century myth of the ideal city is best represented by three paintings in perspective, now in Urbino, Baltimore and Berlin ascribed to the school of Francesco di Giorgio, an ideal which assumed final concrete shape in the built experiments of Pienza, Urbino and Ferrara.

In a process at once parallel and opposite, the use of stage-scenery and perspective created a sequence of architectural episodes in the city which revealed the intention of the Prince to govern the city with the power of imagination. In Florence the influence of the Medici moved out onto the city from the old palace in Via Larga with modest interventions, which were nevertheless designed to found a new city, recuperating the strong points of the mediaeval city such as the Baptistery and Piazza della Signoria, exorcising the old town centre and its problems, to conclude with the aerial passageway of Vasari which ends at the new Pitti Palace on the other side of the river Arno. The project was imbued with classical precedents: the passageway recalls the corridor of Emperor Caligula which ran like a bridge between the hills of the Campidoglio and Palatino, a heroic gesture repeated by Paul III with a bridge between Palazzo Venezia and the Campidoglio; and it presents many analogies with a contemporary screened gallery built by Akbar at Fatehpur-Sikri for the movement of the ladies of the harem from the palace to the Hiran Minar, (hidden from prying eyes). Not by chance are the innovations processional, with ceremonial movement seen as a formal entry, a family feast or a religious ceremony which led on the one hand to an ostentatious show of power, and on the other suggested another kind of city, intellectual in spirit and altogether different from the physical city: the city of the Prince as opposed to the mediaeval Florence of the corporations.

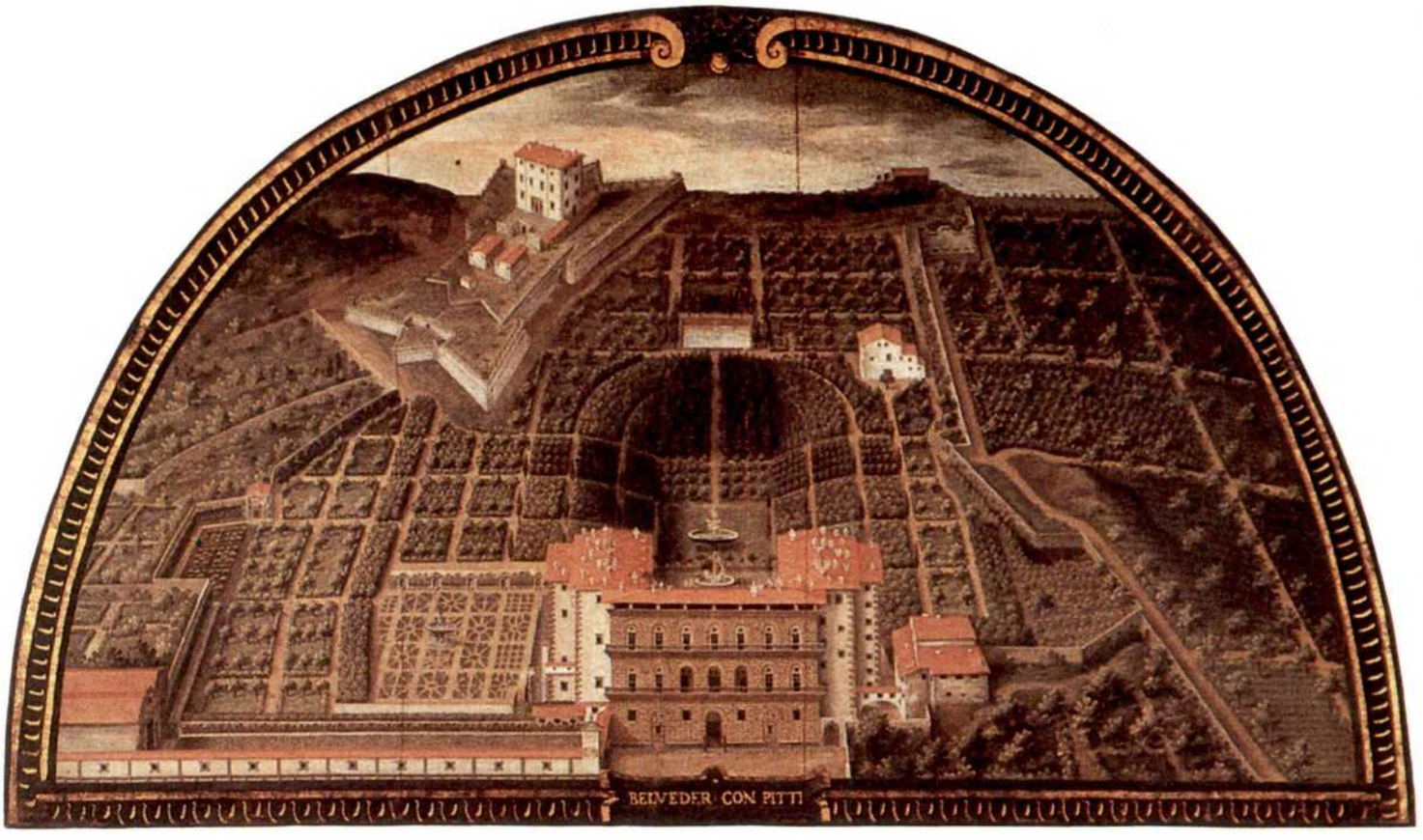
The exaltation of the new princely city reached its peak in magnificent processions occasioned by state visits or events which celebrated the dynasty with its birthdays, the promises of its betrothals, and the apotheosis of its deaths. In the various state visits of Charles V to the principal Italian cities in the first half of the 16th century the real, the archaeological and the artificial city met together in an iconological programme of which the arch of triumph was the chief symbol. In 1565, with the wedding of Francesco de'Medici, the celebrations commemorated the pomp of the Medici, and signalled the exploits of the forbears of the future Grand Duchess of Tuscany, appropriating symbolically the entire city.[1]

If this see-saw between truth and illusion, and between complicity and rejection, (with things most real when masked) was wanting in the great Eastern dynasties of the Mughals, the Safavids and the Ottomans, there is no doubt that the outward show of power of these sovereigns was accomplished by the use of theatrical methods. Mughal representations, are partial in that the show is put on for the benefit of the actors, and the populace, the potential spectator/accomplice, is absent.

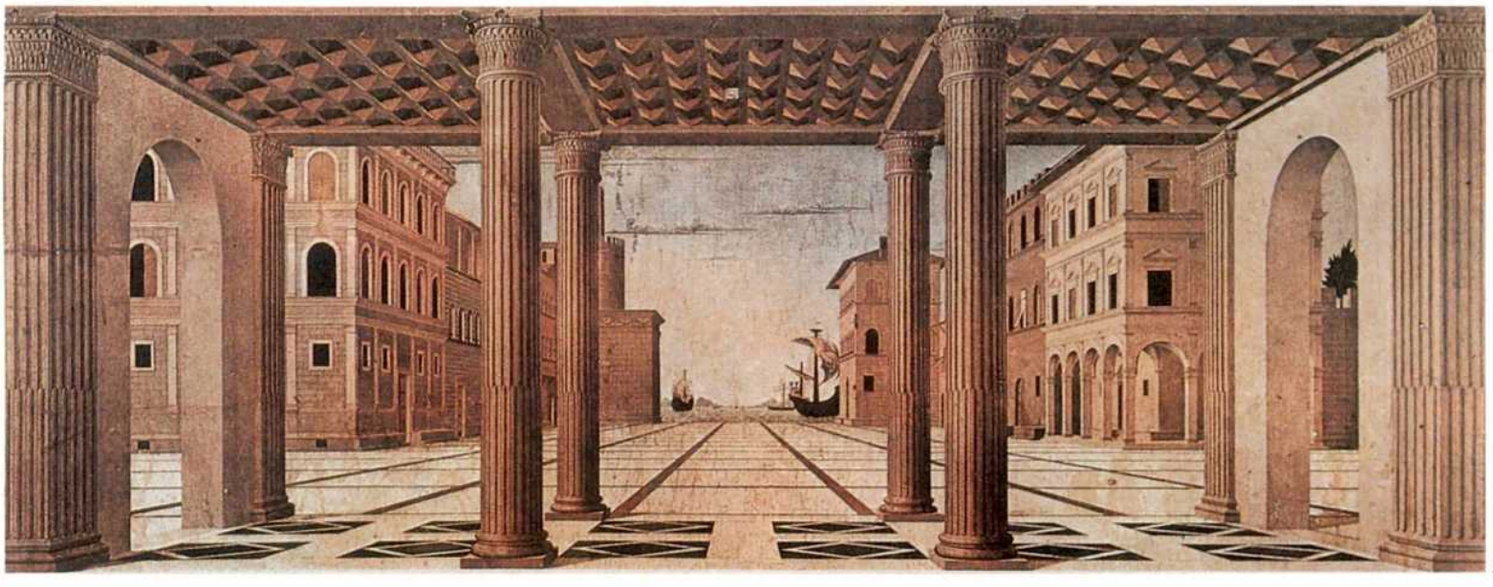
Apart from finding the elective affinities between two distant princely courts this approach

1 A view of Palazzo Pitti at Florence: from a painting of Giusto Utens; end of the 16th century; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

2 Scenographic perspective of an ideal city: attributed to Francesco di Giorgio; Museum Dahelm at Berlin; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.



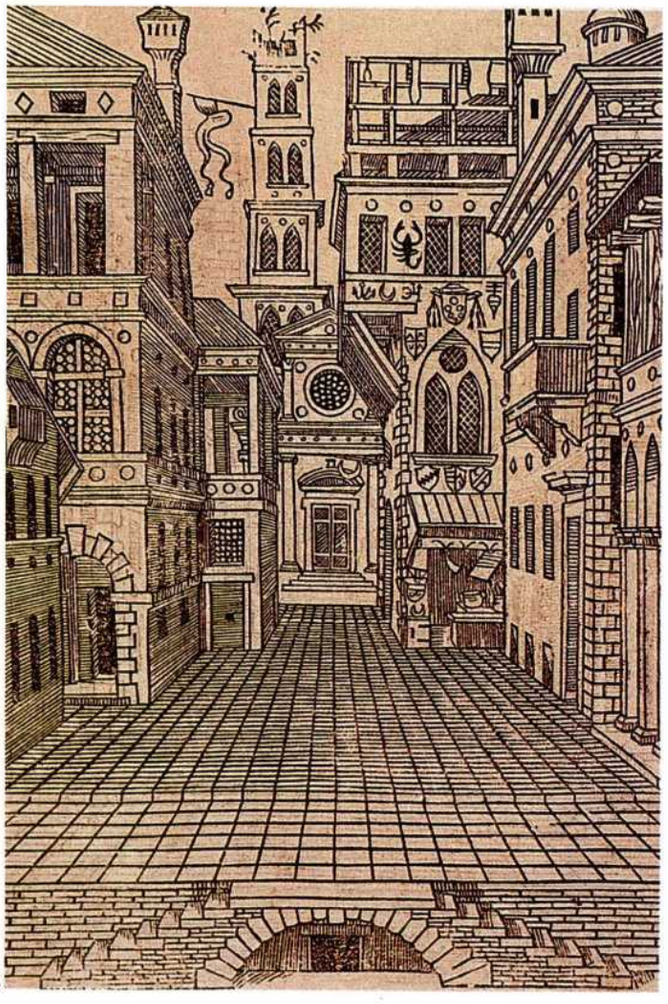
1



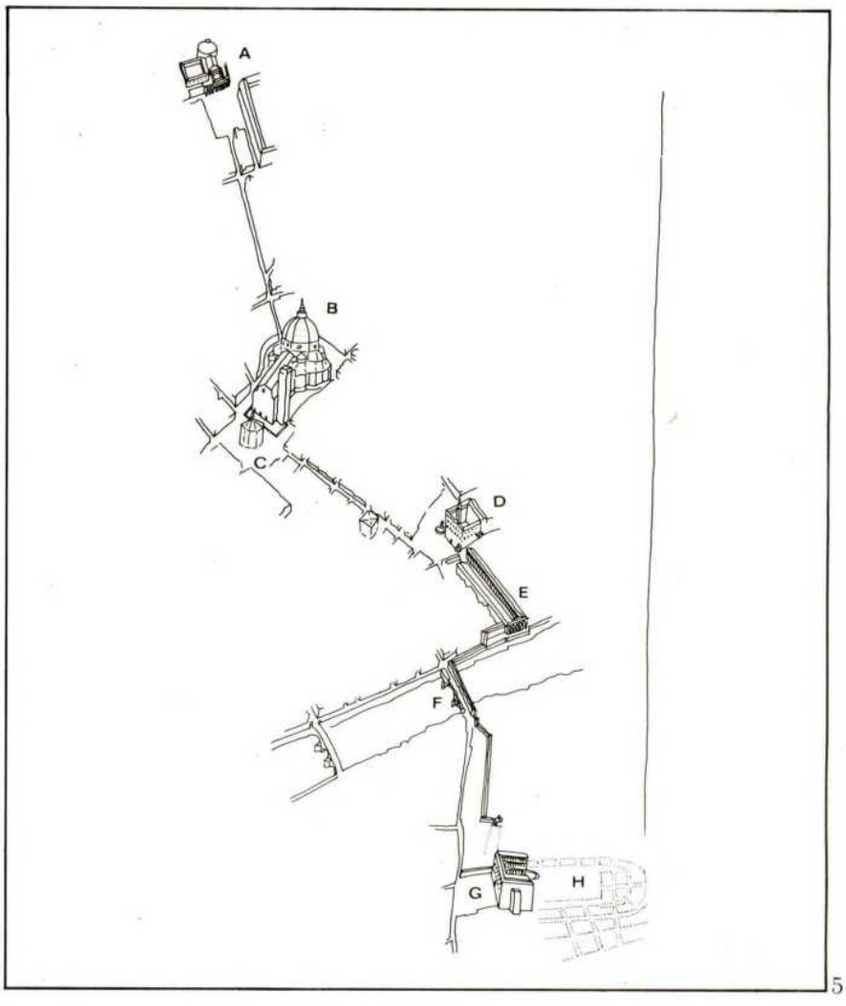
2

promises to open up new insights into the study, still in its beginnings, of Mughal town-planning, where public spectacle—it does not seem to be the case to use the word stage—demonstrated and celebrated the divinity of the emperor. Let us examine how two parallel forms of Mughal ritual, the royal audience and the procession, were modified by their setting, either the garden, the encampment, the palace or the city, and how the garden and the encampment, in the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, change meaning, form and function.

The Mughal garden, according to the Timurid tradition, coupled functions of "contemplation" and of state ritual. The garden was a place for feasts and receptions, where it was fitting to celebrate the apotheosis of the King of Kings. The changing nature of the garden, with a ritual which became progressively more complicated and rigid, marked a cross-over from an idea of nature closed within the abstract scheme of the *chaharbag* to an



3



5

4

3 The so-called "scena comica" by Serlio depicts realistically an urban street; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

4 The entrance of Pope Leo X de' Medici in Florence; Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

5 The landmarks of Medici's Florence: (A) Convent of Annunziata; (B) Dome of Santa Maria del Fiore; (C) Baptistery; (D) Palazzo della Signoria; (E) Uffizi complex; (F) Vasari's "passetto" on the Ponte Vecchio; (G) Pitti Palace; (H) Boboli Gardens; Drawing Courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

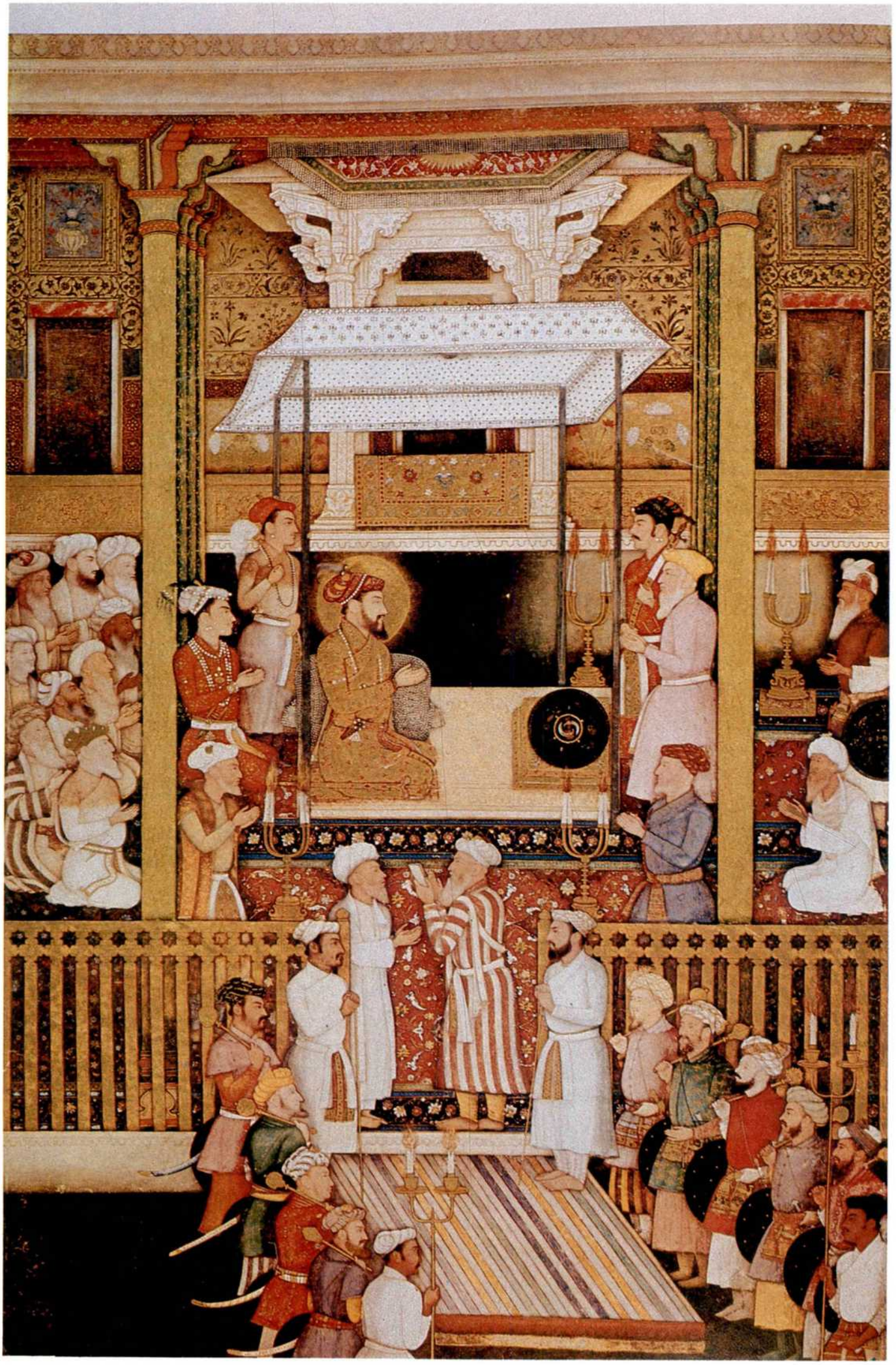
organic representation of the relation between the garden and the landscape itself.

An original feature of the court was its extraordinary mobility, dictated by the need to spread the royal image throughout the country with the purpose of controlling the political temper of the population and discouraging possible sources of rebellion. There were many occasions for moving the court in grand style: from military campaigns to hunting parties and pilgrimages, as well as seasonal movements towards milder climates. Akbar was accompanied on a simple hunting party by no less than 100 elephants, 500 camels, 400 wagons and 100 bearers, as well as approximately 1000 *farrashi,* 100 water-carriers, 50 carpenters and at least 150 common workmen and 500 pioneers. When the king set out on a more important voyage he was accompanied by his harem and ministers and the numbers multiplied geometrically. If we are to believe Monserrate the *cortèo* of Akbar reached a length of at least 2.5 kilometres, a city on the move. It is clear that the co-ordination of the *cortèo* and its halts, with the organisation of the royal camp in the hands of the Mir Manzil, required the highest level of administrative ability. The area covered by the royal camp was variable: Bernier found that the camp of Aurangzeb was formed of a square, 300 paces on each side, while Abu'l Fazl gives a length of 1540 *illahi gaz,* roughly 1230 metres, for the central part only. The latter describes in detail the hierarchical arrangement of the enclosures[2] which included a large unpaved area for stores, the bivouac of the imperial guard, the arsenal and subsequently the naubat khana, the Diwan-i 'Amm or place of public audience, the Khwabgah and the Diwan-i Khass, respectively the residence of the emperor and the place of private audiences, as well as the zenana.

The garden and the encampment were the only forms available to the Mughals when in the second half of the 16th century the redesign—in the semblance of the royal image—of Indian cities was undertaken with the intention of eliminating direct contrasts between the cities and their citadels. The description of a camp given by Abu'l Fazl demonstrates the existence of a close functional relationship between the disposition of the camp and that of the palace, in a blend of nomadic and sedentary culture. The world of the tent persists, however, in the forms of built architecture, the juxtaposition of courts and buildings, in the pavilions, the skyline of the roofs, the mouldings and other decorative details, to the extent of justifying for the opulent palaces of the Mughals the definition of "a camp in stone".[3] Studying the plans of Mughal cities (which like palimpsests contain frequent erasures and rewritings) it is possible to reconstruct their programme for the realisation of the ideal city. Agra, the "Dar-ul Khilafat" of Akbar, which is reconstructable from literary sources, does not differ greatly from its predecessors (such as Gwalior), basing itself on an anti-urban concept which sets up the palace/fortress of the Rajah against the city/ghetto of the populace. At Agra the Red Fort, constructed on a high point with imposing walls and turreted bastions, is conceived above all as a siege-proof strong point. Next to the fortress is the royal square, the Maidan-i Shah, an open area for official uses such as reviewing the troops and the corvée of the nobles chosen in rotation for royal guard duty, with, along the banks of the Yamuna, open spaces for elephant fights and other spectacles. In this area in the early morning the dignitaries were admitted to the luminous presence of the king following a ceremony having its origin in the Hindu *Jharoka Darshan.* The quarters of the nobles were sited in the shadow of the royal palace on a thin strip of land similar to a garden city along the river towards the north.

At Fatehpur-Sikri where—a unique case in the history of town-planning—it is possible to study a city frozen in time, a process of transformation and rebuilding based on changes in ceremonial can be observed. However, since it is caught in a moment of transition, the city presents a certain number of contradictions. The palace of Akbar is an enigma wrapped up in a mystery. The solution does not lie merely in a functional key. In fact the sequence of enclosures of the Diwan-i 'Amm, the Diwan-i Khass, from the Khwabgah to the so-called Palace of Jodhbai, make up the setting for a theatrical scheme of arrangement "an Aula Regis as a simulacrum of the Cosmos", where a *libretto* of performances which take place simultaneously in space and time, like a fresco-sequence, reiterates the divine origin of the godlike prince. The Anup Talao fountain and the Diwan-i Khass, which embody complex symbols, make up at the same time an allegory of spiritual pilgrimage on the part of the Sufi Akbar from the terrestrial world towards Universal and Celestial Harmony, at the centre of which is placed Akbar in the role of Cosmocrat. A subtle play of equivocation between Cult of the Throne and Cult of the Divine spreads out from this strange building at Fatehpur-Sikri across the entire Mughal domain.

Today the Diwan-i 'Amm is as empty as an abandoned theatre; the royal baldachinoed throne is gone, as well as the curtains and red hangings suspended from the *talar,* the draperies, the *jhali* on the terrace behind which the women were concealed, the carpets on the floors; but above all the actors are missing. This was the setting for the daily *darbar,* a sacred representation of the divine origin of the king, in which drama alternating with comedy was played out with clearly theatrical intent and the role and position of the participants were precisely defined vis-à-vis the throne.



6

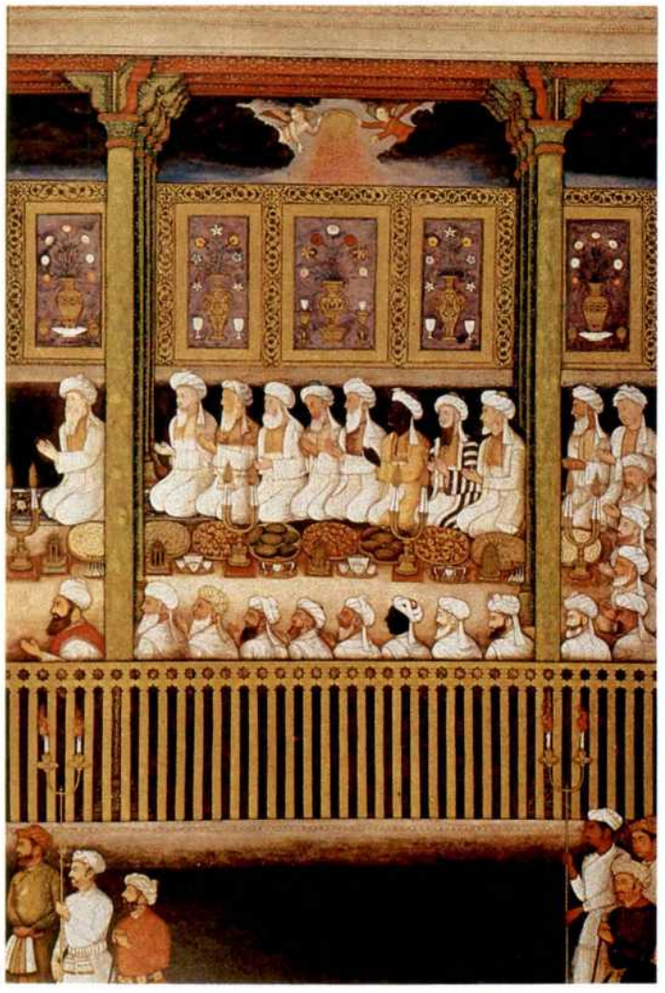
6, 7 Shah Jahan honours the religious orthodoxy: from a *Padshahnama* dated 1635. Washington, Freer Gallery of Art; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

8 Jahangir performing the *Jharoka Darshan* at Agra; Geneva, Collection of Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

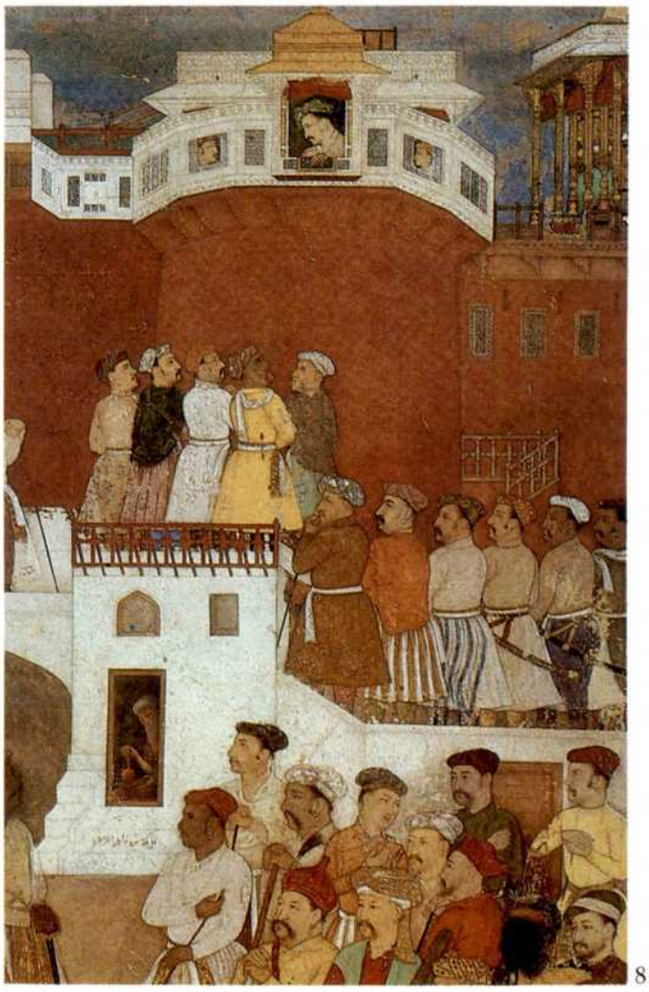
Along the banks of the lake, coming from the gate of Agra, the royal procession entered the palace through the monumental entrance of the Hathi Pol, zig-zagging up through the complex to arrive at the enclosure of the *darbar* at the very top. Here, on the other side, an 800-metre long street, flanked by shops and interrupted at the half-way point by a *charsuq*, led directly from the entrance-gate of Agra to the Diwan-i 'Amm. There are here two opposing principles of town-planning; symmetrical perspective and the exaggerated width of the street clearly demonstrate the function of the latter as a processional way.[4] These differing and contradictory tendencies are explained by the lapse of time required to develop a new physical context for the new ceremonial based on the person of the king in movement.

It is less important to establish whether there is a direct link here with Safavid culture, or with analogous European experiences (Via Giulia, for example, at Rome was opened up before 1509 as a ceremonial highway in a new concept of urban renewal). The town plan of the city of Hyderabad in the Deccan, founded by Sultan Quli Qutb Shah in 1591 on the banks of the river Musi, has a cross-shaped plan with two porticoed bazaars at whose intersection is placed a colossal building, the Charminar. The architect was a Persian,[5] whose tomb is venerated as if he were a saint by the Shiite community. As a response to an ideological programme which prescribed the creation of a replica of the Paradise of the Koran, the archetypical form of the Persian garden (a vegetal metaphor for Heaven) appeared the most adequate solution. The porticoed streets which housed 1400 shops were clearly intended as arteries of commercial growth; but examining the plan in more detail, four arches are seen to the north of the Charminar which determine a second intersection, the Charkaman, at whose centre was placed a fountain called the Charsu-Ka-Hauz. At the time of the Qutb Shahs the royal quarters lay immediately to the west, closed off by a curtain which hung from the western arch, called Daulat Khana-i-'Ali. On the opposite side, beyond the arch of Naqqar Khan-i Shah lay the *maidan* and the military cantonments. For the first time, in this case, a solemn processional way superimposes itself on the commercial heart of a city. A serious comparison, both in real and functional dimensions, with the processional way built at Vijayanagar for the parade of the monumental chariot (*ratha*) during religious festivals, could open up interesting analogies.

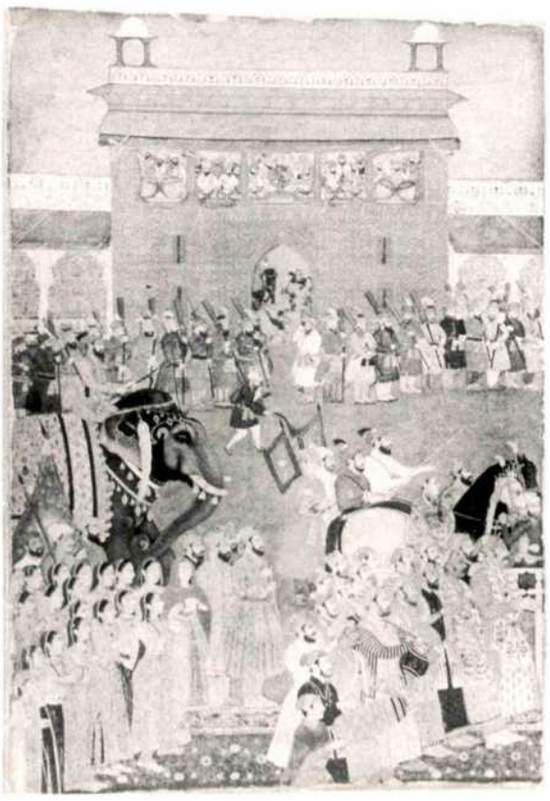
When Shah Jahan decided to build a new capital to the north of Dinpahah at Delhi in 1638, the experience of Agra was recent, where the royal areas around the fort had been encroached on by an accelerated growth of the city itself. To adapt the existing situation to the new



7



8



9 Parade in front of a 'nakkarkhana' of a Mughal palace: from a *Padshahnama* manuscript; mid-17th century; Art Institute of Chicago; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

10 A Mughal encampment; painting on cloth; Amsterdam, Tropen Museum; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

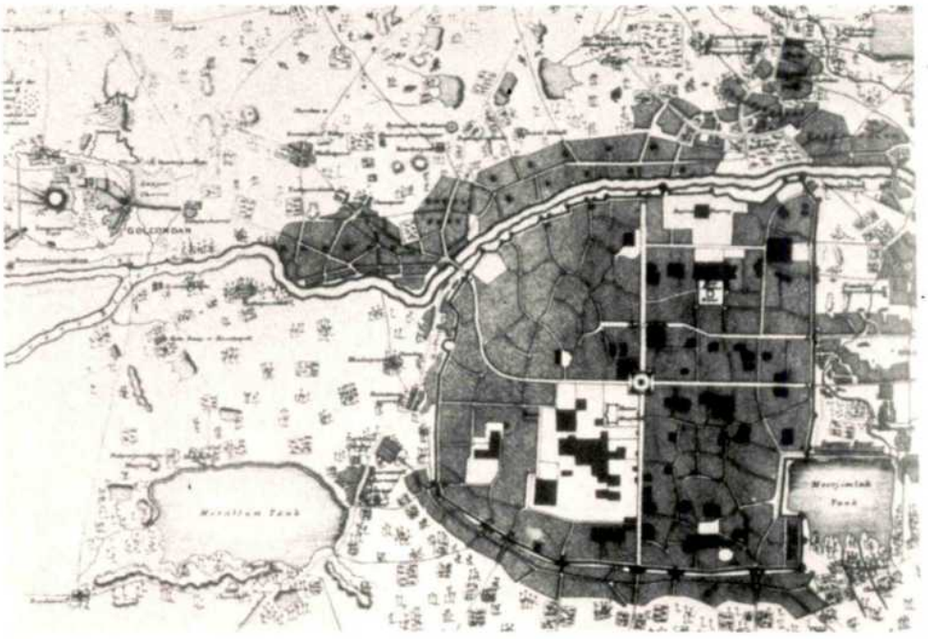
11 Plan of Hyderabad in 1845; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

12 Aquarelled map of Shahjahanabad dated around 1830; London, India Office Library; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

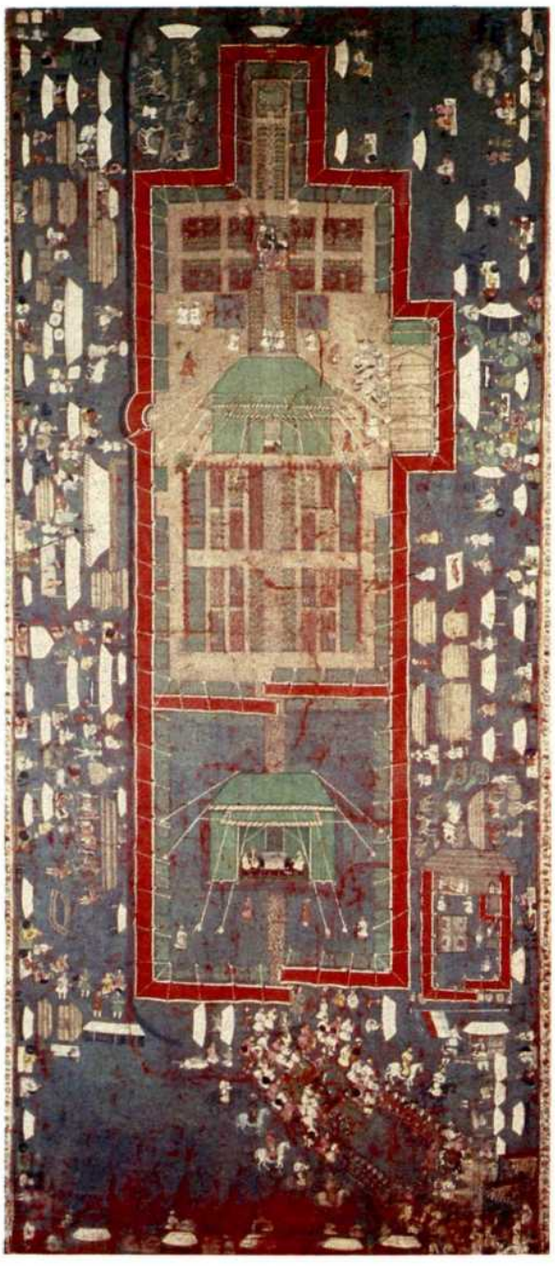
13 Geometrical reconstruction of Shahjahanabad as the centre of the world; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

14 Faiz Bazaar in Old Delhi redrawn from an old manuscript; Drawing courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

15 Faiz Bazaar from an old miniature dated 1810; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

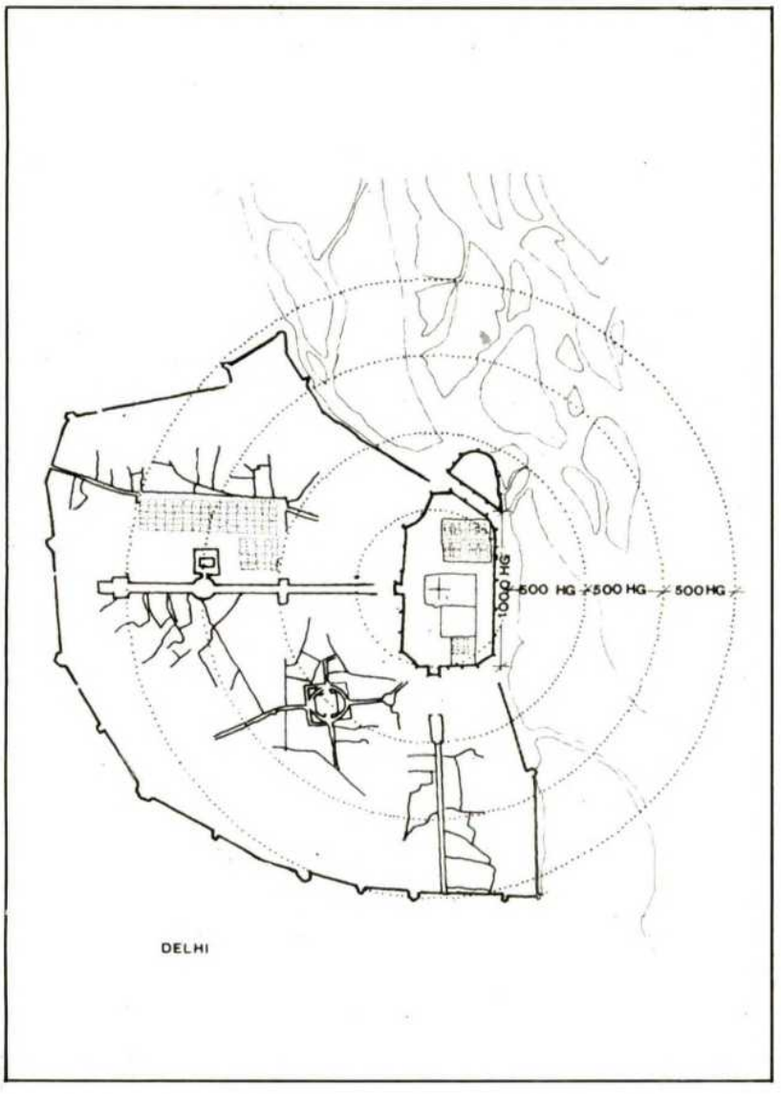


11

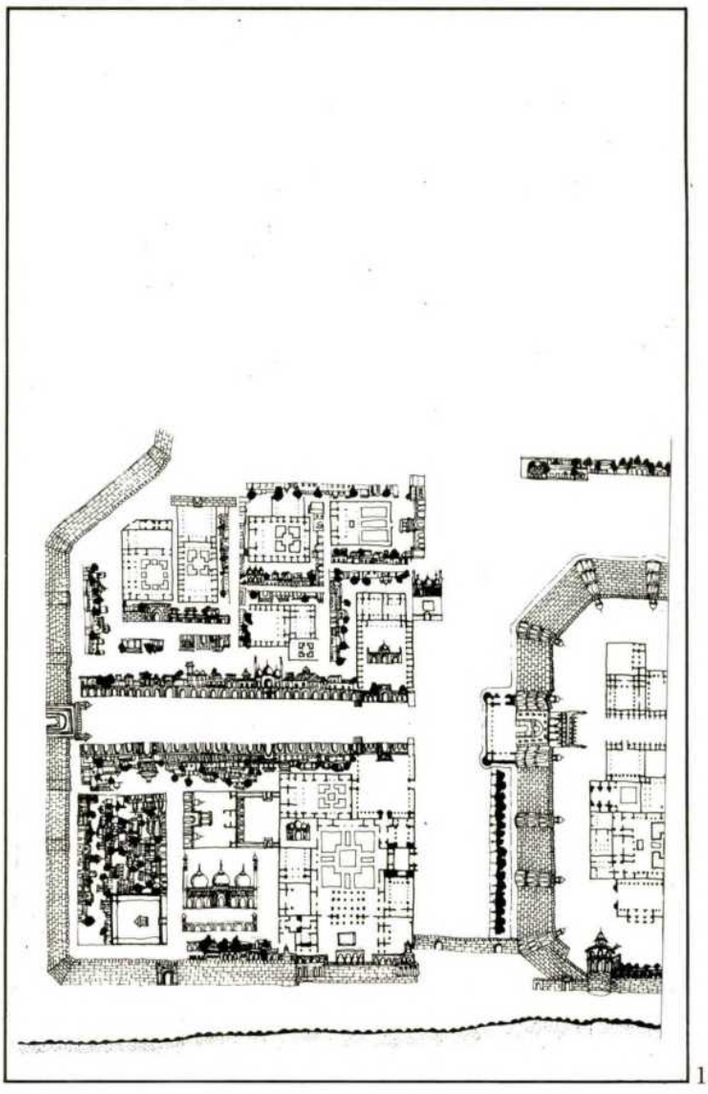


10

12

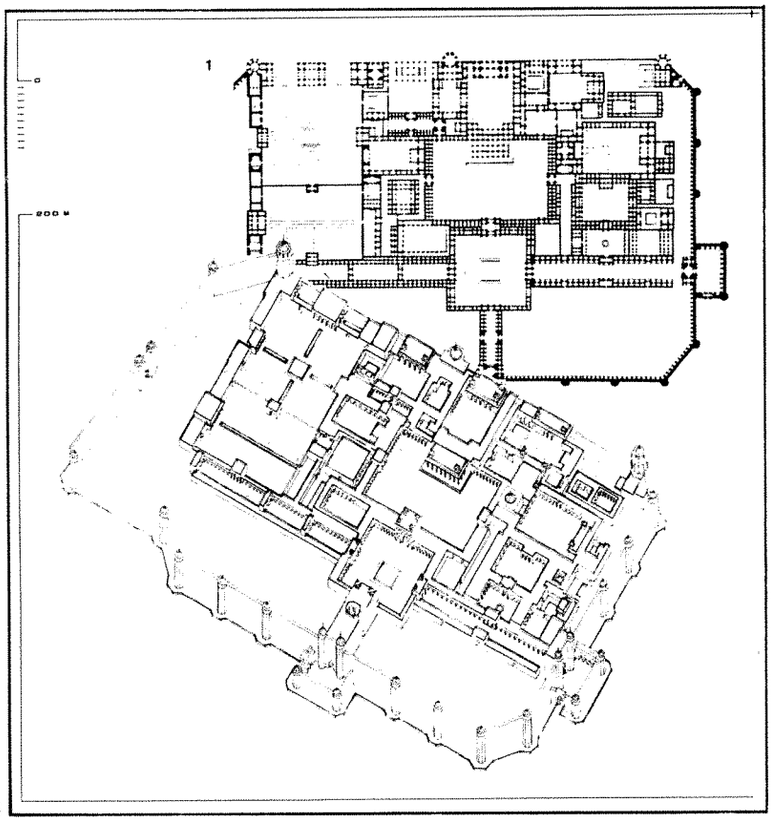


13



14

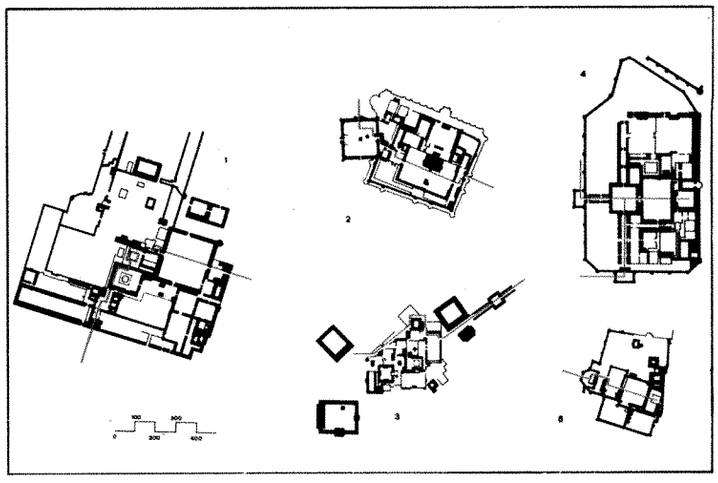
15

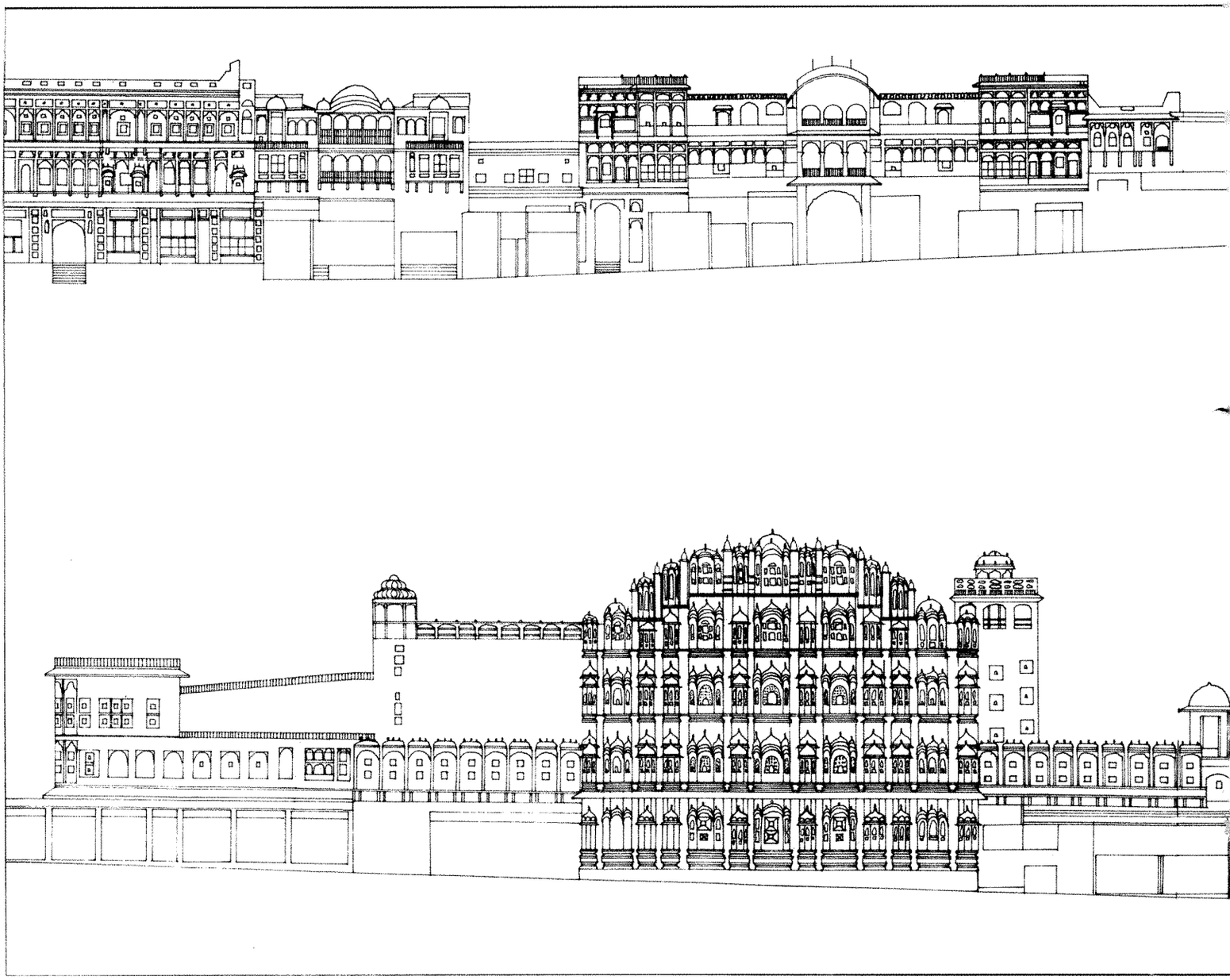


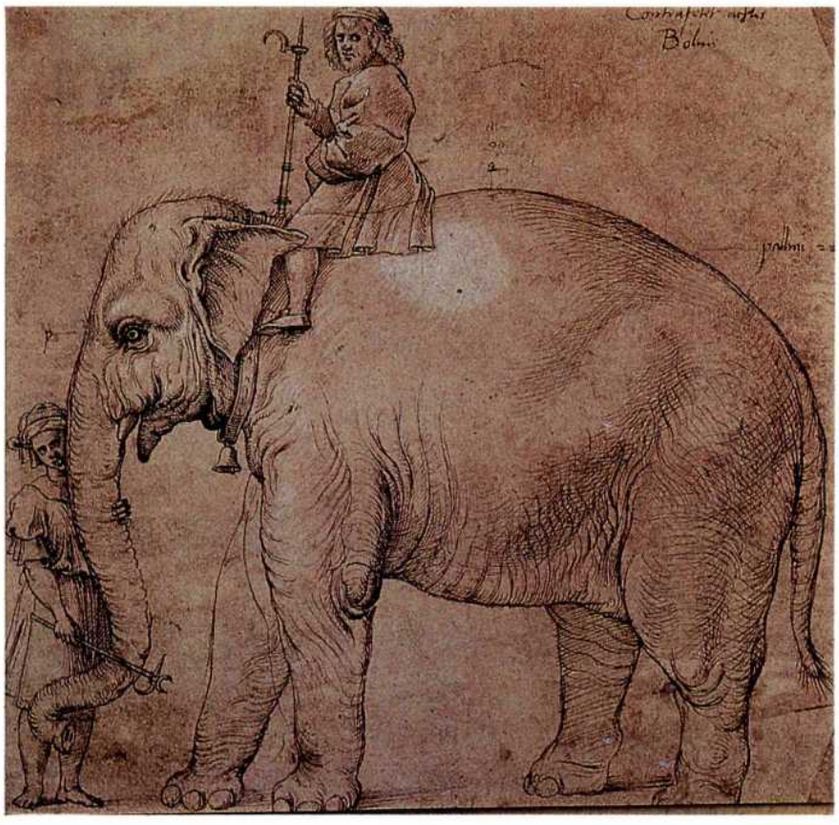
16 Shahjahanabad, reconstruction of the imperial palace; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

17 The ritual movement through the imperial palaces in India has a labyrinthine character: 1) Jaipur; 2) Lahore; 3) Fathepur-Sikri; 4) Delhi; 5) Firoz Shah Kotla at Delhi; Drawing courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

18 The bourgeois architecture of Siredyodhi Bazaar at Jaipur; Drawing courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

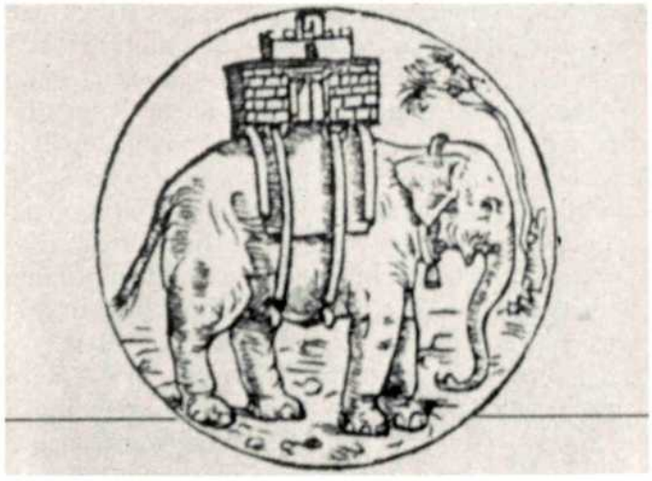


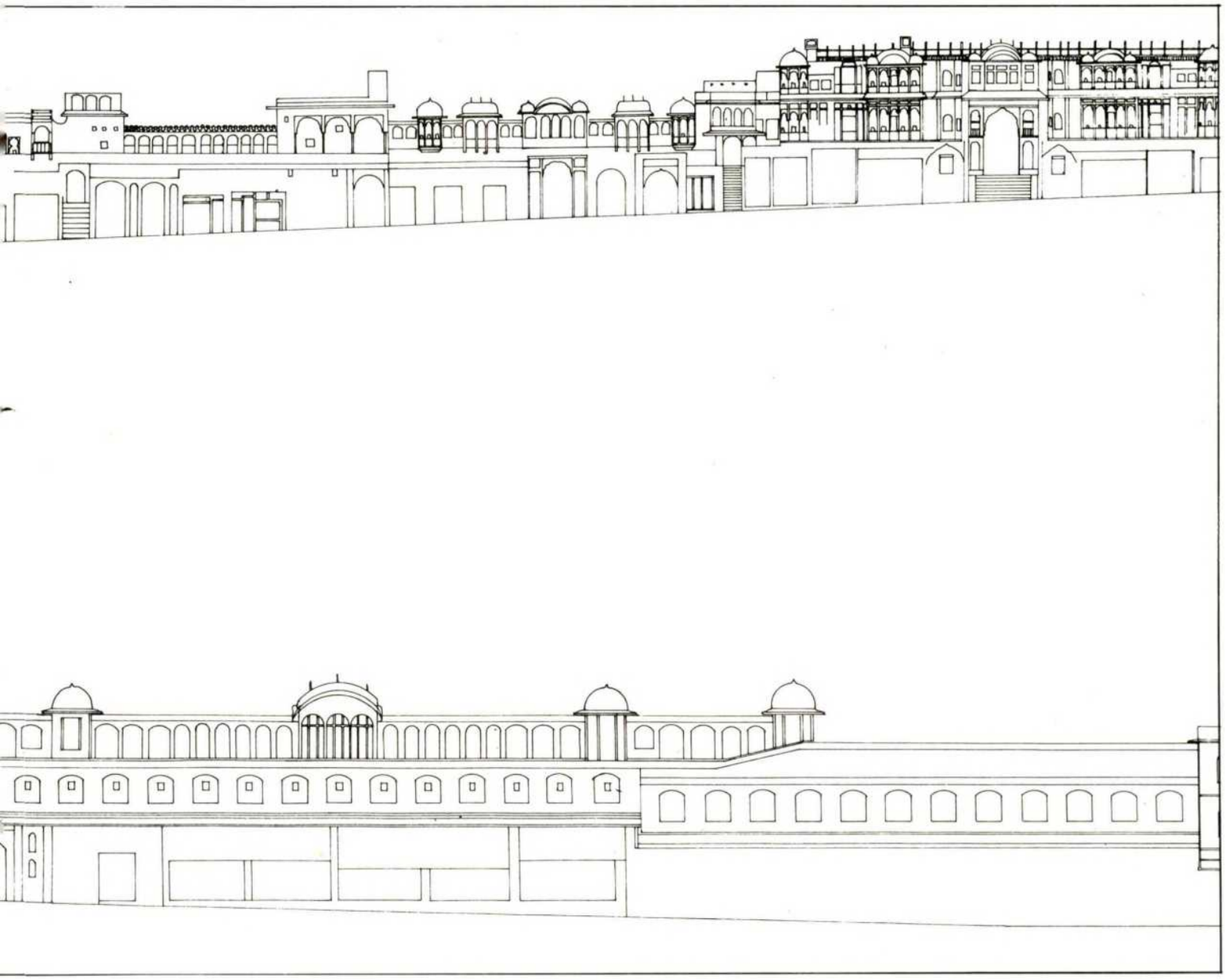




19 A portrait of the elephant Annone by Raffaello; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.

20 The same on a Medici coin; Photo courtesy Attilio Petruccioli.





requirements of processional axis would have required immense, and clearly unpopular, demolition operations.

Shahjahanabad, laid out on a flat and open terrain to the west of the Yamuna, in the form of a quadrant of a circle based on the two (almost) orthogonal axes of Faiz Bazaar and Chandni Chowk demonstrated with compelling symbolism to all the subjects of the realm that the throne was placed at the centre of the city, of the Empire, and of the Universe. The Palace was the Theatre of the World. The two porticoed avenues project the movement of the King of Kings into the heart of the Mughal city where on the occasion of the principal religious and civil feasts (particularly the New Year or the feast of Nauruz, and the emperor's birthday), the population, amassed under the porticoes or on the terraces of the houses, participated in a baroque and theatrical ceremony: the slow progression of the Divine "Presence" of the ruler which dominated the entire procession. Analogies with the six axes of the plan of Sixtus V for Rome (1585-1590) finish here: at Rome, a pre-established visual continuity links the two cardinal points of the obelisks, extracted from the ruins of the Roman imperial city; at Delhi the two bazaars are conceived of as the sum of individual architectural parts. This can be compared with the spatial arrangement in Mughal miniatures, where the simultaneous use of various points of view and vanishing points breaks up the unities of action and space, as in a futurist painting.

Little remains of the original bazaars, destroyed or overgrown by later squalid structures, but a clear idea may be obtained from the plan of Jaipur (1725) which is a direct copy of that of Shahjahanabad. The two axes multiply here into a modular grid (with a possible ideological allusion to the schemes of certain Sanskrit literary models) punctuated by squares. The Rajah and his court, emerging from the Tripolia Gate, descended into the field in paramilitary formation. This function of theatrical-layout-become-city not only determined the dimensions of the streets, but revolutionised building types, amongst which the typical patrician palace, sited on a deep lot, with access from the bazaar at street level, made up of a linear sequence of courts; and residences of the merchant-class, where the ground floor became a warehouse and the first floor developed around a central court, served by a stair and a ramp. The palace was characterized by a perforated facade, a series of terraces and a skyline marked by numerous pavilions: the merchant's house, by a set back at the first floor, which created a terrace for the full length of the facade, while numerous *chattris* served as a kind of multi-level grandstand for the observation of the street theatre.

Elephants, with their size and height, became the dominating element in the processions. It is probable that the viewing point around which scenic perspective was constructed was not a human measure of 160 cm. but a dimension of ca. 400 cm., calculating the average Indian elephant's shoulder-height at 300 cm. It may well be that the true scaler reading of Mughal palatial architecture, at least in its more public parts, should be derived from the elephant. A careful verification of this hypothesis, backed-up by measured surveys, could revolutionise not a few false assumptions.

Returning to Italy, it is not surprising to find that a dynasty as keenly aware as the Medici of the value of drama, did not ignore the "theatrical" potential of this noble animal. A white elephant called Annone, gift of Emanuel I, King of Portugal,[6] lived at the court of Pope Leo X Medici from 1515 to 1516. It was exhibited as a "marvel", and Raphael painted his picture, but it does not seem to have ever carried the Supreme Pontiff on its back through the streets of Rome.

NOTES

1. See the basic text: Ludovico Zorzi, "Firenze: il teatro e la città", *Il teatro e la città. Saggi sulla scena italiana,* Turin, Einaudi, 1977, pp. 63-234, with an ample bibliography.
2. See Abu'l Fazl, *A'in-i Akbari,* translation by H. Blochmann, reprinted at Delhi, 1965, p. 47 and seg. Blochmann's drawings of the Mughal camp published together with the translation of the *A'in,* have no proper scientific base. But the description of Abu'l Fazl and a few surviving drawings including a painting on cloth conserved at the Tropen Museum in Amsterdam provide a relatively faithful reconstruction.
3. See Attilio Petruccioli, *Fathpur Sikri. Città del Sole e delle Acque,* Rome, Carucci, 1987, in particular the first chapter.
4. This argument is amply developed in my book, cited in the preceding note, with the title: *Il preteso Diwan-i Khass come allegoria del pellegrinaggio interiore.*
5. See Sadiq Naqvi, *Qutb Shahi Ashur Khanas of Hyderabad City,* Hyderabad, 1982.
6. See Rosa Maria Cimino, "Un elefante alla corte dei Papi", an extract from *Atti della Accademia delle Scienze di Torino,* vol. 118, Turin, 1983-1984, pp. 72-87.

□

Hanging Gardens In The Princely Capitals Of Rajasthan And In Renaissance Italy

Sacred Space, Earthly Paradise, Secular Ritual

Jan Pieper

"The trees have their roots at a level
where their crowns should be."
Seneca on the Hanging Gardens of the Romans

1 The Hanging Gardens of Semiramis in an engraving in Athanasius Kircher's "Turris Babel"; 1679; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

2, 3 The Hanging Gardens of Semiramis in Babylon according to the reconstruction by Koldewey; 1918; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

I

The false paradises of Italian Renaissance literature, dreamt up by the chivalrous heroes to ensnare beautiful witches and wicked fairies, are such fantastic fusions of natural and artificial worlds that they seem to anticipate the revival of Eden. The wayfarer believes he has come to the end of his wanderings, for here he finds the curse of the Fall of man absolved, the hostility of the animals tamed, and a Nature generously bestowing her gifts. Indeed, even the houses and palaces she builds for him show that perfect harmony which he himself merely managed to approximate in his classical orders and proportions. The old dream of the unity of nature and art, to which every plant calyx and every milkwort blossom amply testify, here seems to have come true and the art of building has at last become reconciled with life.

But just here in this liberating unity of nature and art, which the beguiling harbingers of the realm of magic succeed in simulating for a deceptive moment, the watchful wayfarer is obliged to acknowledge the impossible: the tempting abolition of the antithesis between nature and the work of man reveals itself to be an illusion created by black magic.

In Matteo Maria Boiardo's "Orlando Innamorato" (1483) Rinaldo, who finds himself on the perfectly round island of "Palazzo Zoioso", realizes even when entering Angelica's palace that he has landed in an enchanted world. Before his eyes looms a wondrous edifice, built entirely of marble and so smoothly polished that the garden is reflected in its walls:

Un bel palagio se mostrava
Fatto di un marmo si terso e polito,
Che il giardin tutto in esso se specchiava.

In these marble walls, so perfectly wrought "that the reflected garden appears, dematerialised, to permeate them", Rinaldo perceives an unnatural transition from nature to art which he interprets as a warning of the supernatural perils awaiting him inside the enchanted castle. As he continues on his way he notices how garden and architecture, nature and art permeate each other, not merely in the reflectiveness of the walls but concretely in the actual structure of the palace which he now enters:

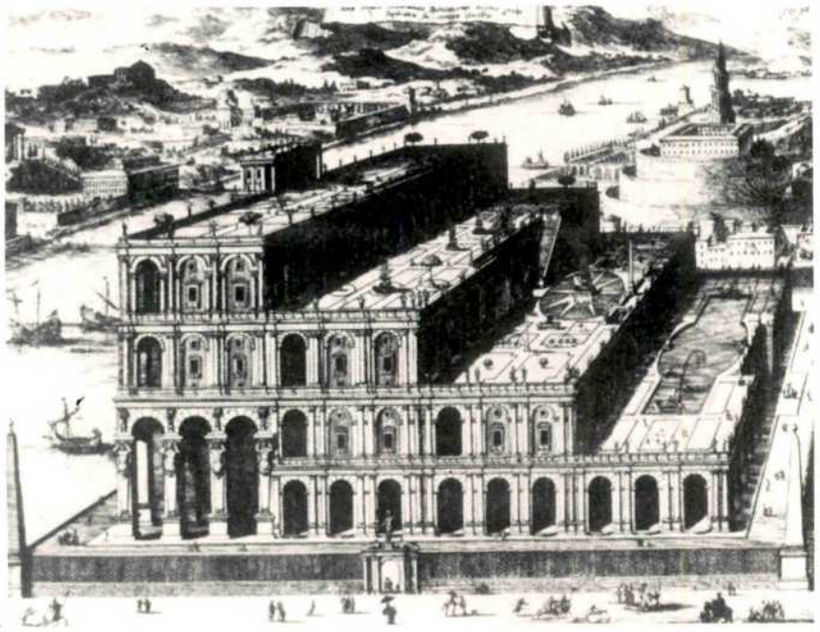
Giardini occulti di fresca verdura
son sopra a'tetti e per terra nascosi.

Before him he sees mysterious gardens, above on the roofs and sunken into the palace courtyards. Thus Boiardo can think of no more appropriate attribute to signify the unreality of his enchanted castle than "hanging" and "sunken" gardens.

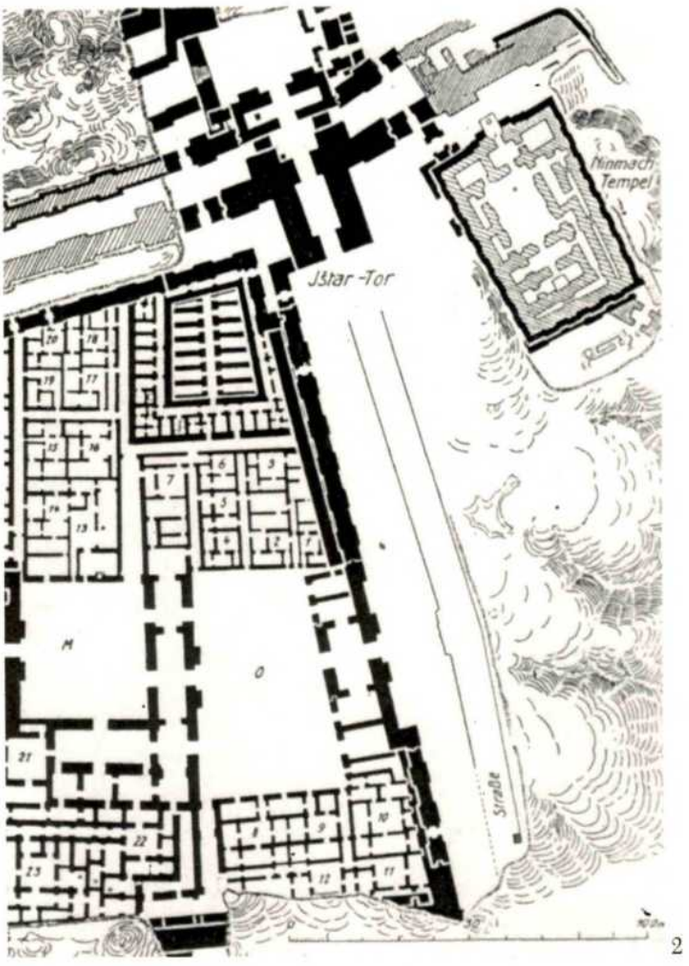
This intentional literary use of the topos conveys something of the fascination peculiar to this type of structure, the hanging garden. It is the fascination for trees apparently growing in the air, trees which do not take root in the ground but stand instead in artificially raised gardens, on multistoried substructures or on the roofs and upper terraces of functional buildings. The particular aesthetic charm of such a structure lies in the ambiguity of its nature as a cross between flora and architecture, in which the antitheses of art and nature appear to merge.

II

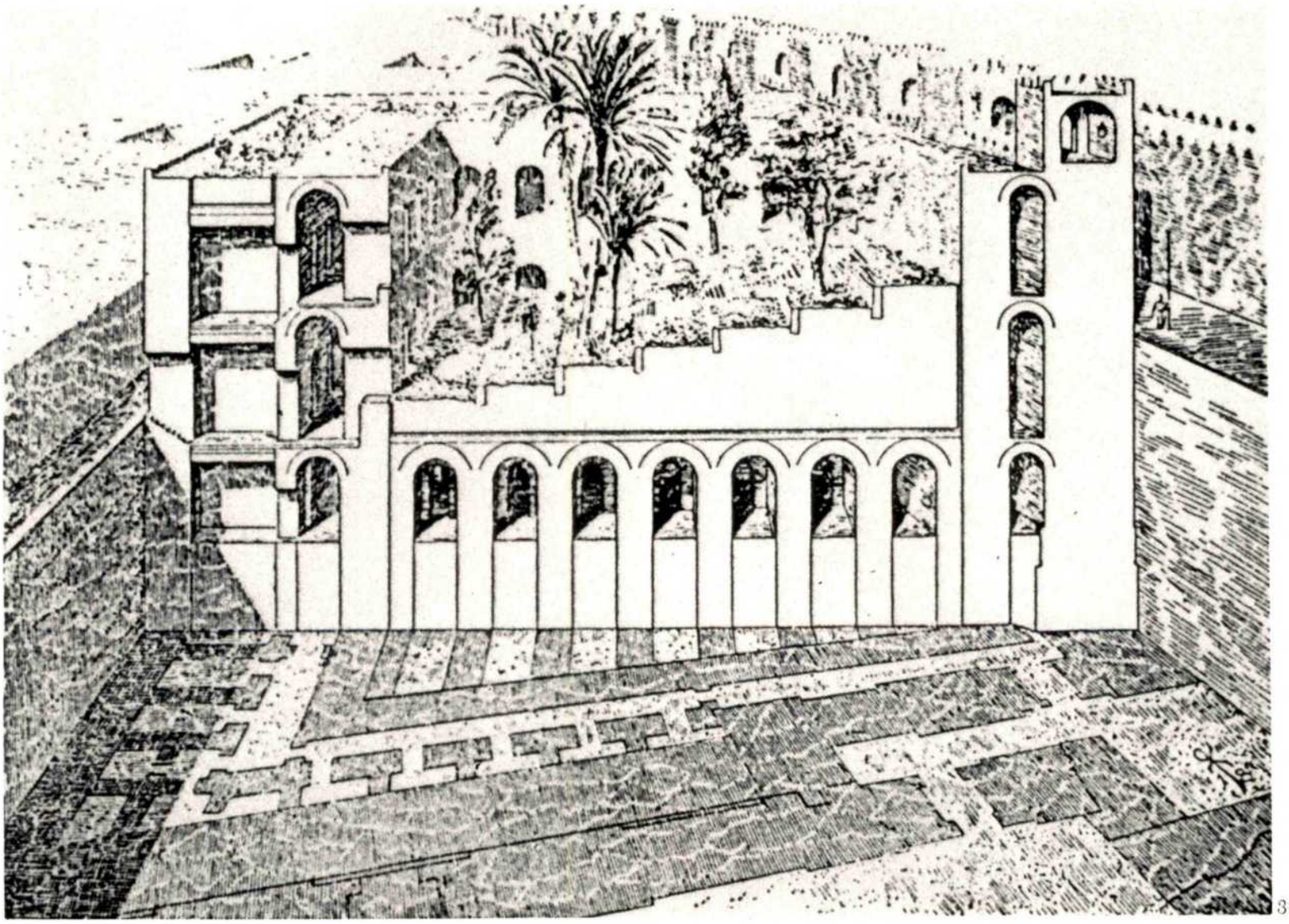
Even classical antiquity was receptive towards the aesthetic charm of a building style which overstepped the confining bounds of architectural theory by taking the tree out of its natural environment and placing it on artificial arched vaults and pillars. The largest grave monuments of the Romans, the mausoleums of Augustus and Hadrian, were tumulus structures composed of concentric rings of masonry whose stepped terraces were planted, following ancient Italic tradition, with evergreen trees. The choice usually fell on the cypress which, presumably because of its flame-like outline, was sacred to Apollo, the god of light, and thus counted as a symbol of life. However, even without such a mythological basis the life symbolism of the practice of covering the stylised burial mound with living vegetation becomes clear, particularly as the lively motion of the trees in the wind is contrasted with the geometric severity of the lifeless stone. Thus the natural characteristics of the tree, its living growth and its movement which, although dependent on the wind, is seemingly self-produced, are used here to characterize a structure intended as a manifestation of human hope in life.



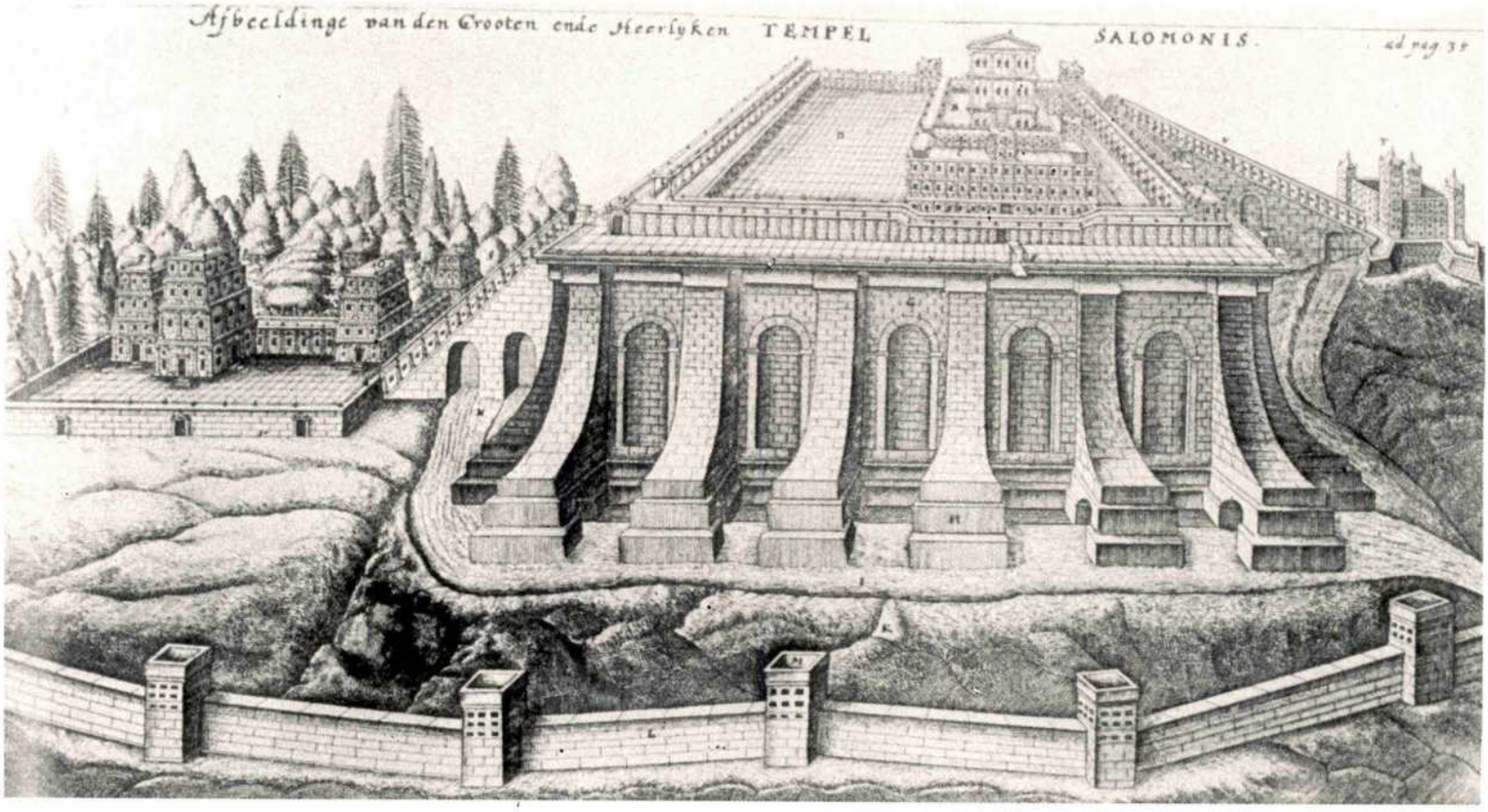
1



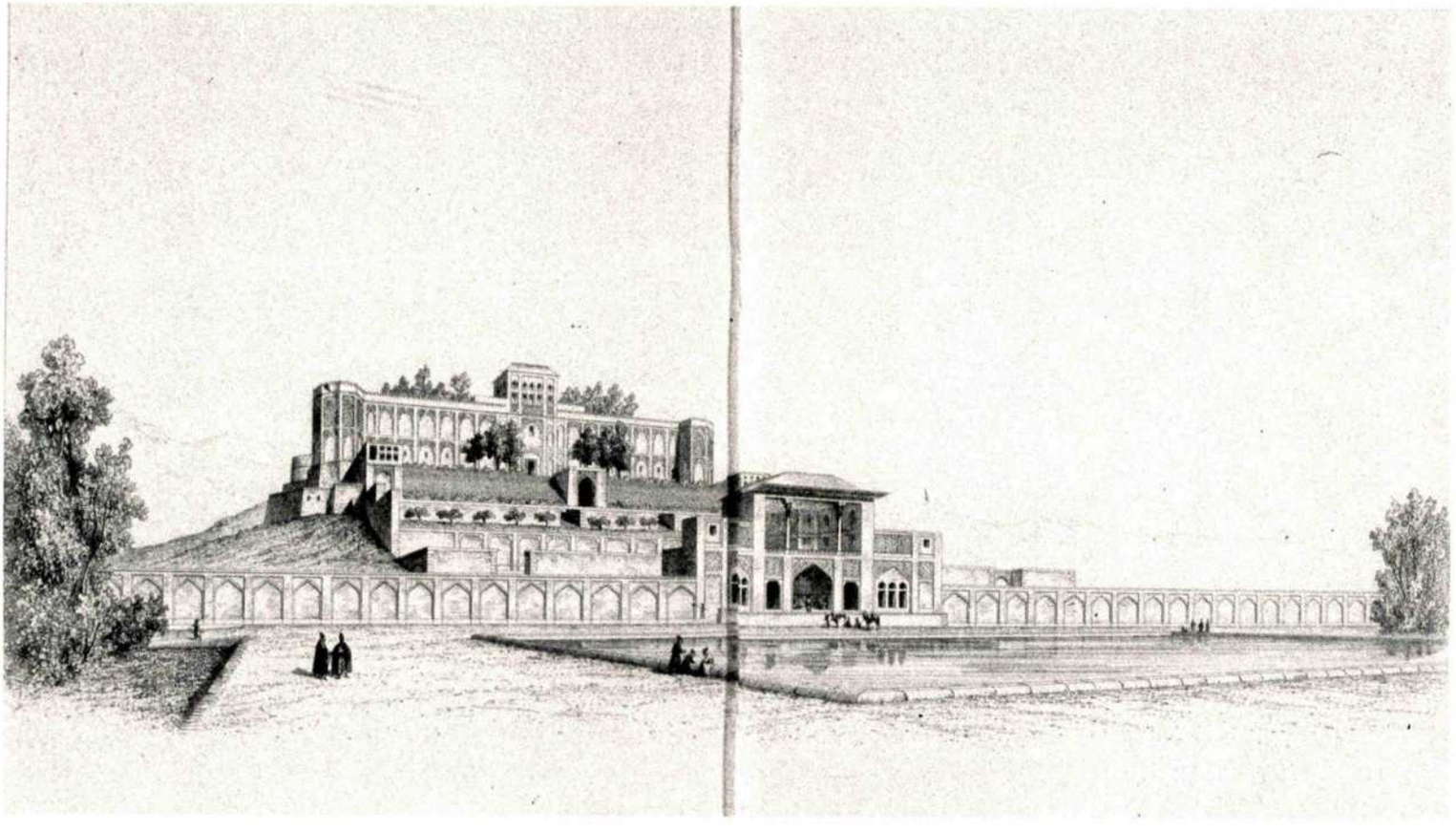
2



3

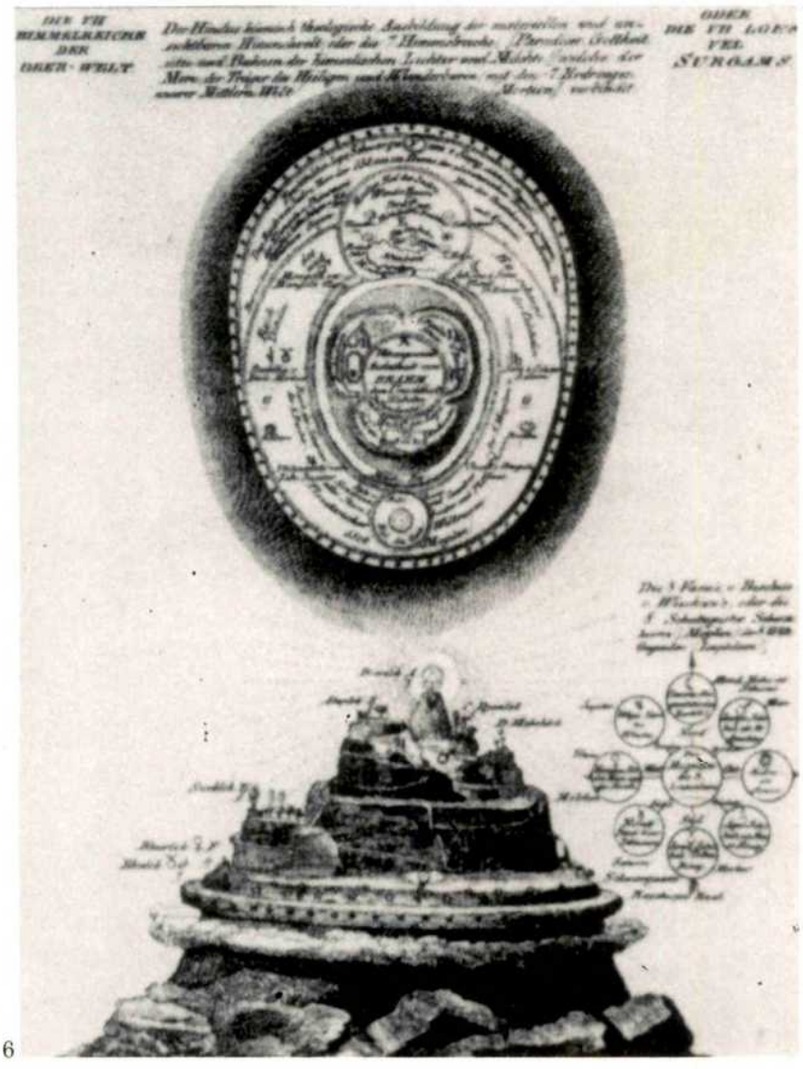


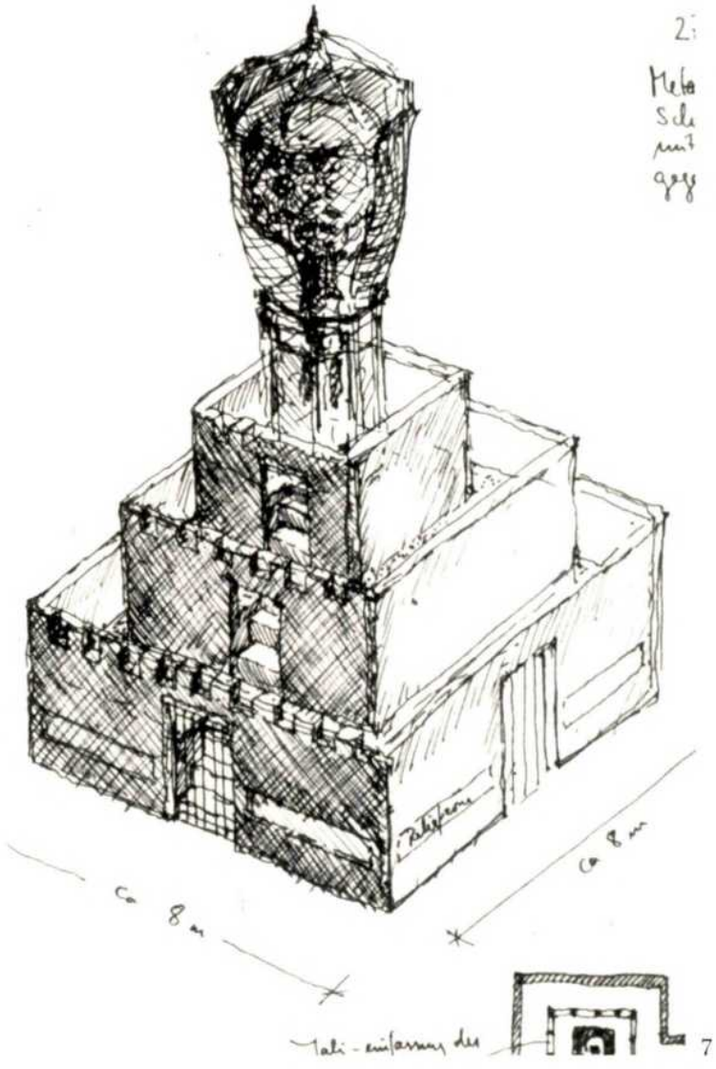
4



5

At the same time, this attributive use of the tree also implies a monumentalising of the structure. The tree as an independent large-scale aspect of nature and one of the largest organisms on earth is here an ornamental accessory and thus magnifies the actual size of the structure into colossal, monumental dimensions. Both characteristics of this Roman link between tree and architecture are known down to modern times. They were a favourite theme in the depiction of Roman antiquities from Ligorio to Piranesi, and this helped retain an awareness of the sepulchral and monumental character of the tree atop a building. The architecturally mounted tree on pedestal or terrace is, to a certain extent, the Cantus Firmus of monumental architecture. Projects such as Piranesi's frontispiece designs for the second and third volumes of "Antichità Romane" (1756), Boullée's cenotaph for Newton (1784) or





6

7

4 The "House of the Forest of Lebanon" near the Temple in Jerusalem in an engraving by Jehuda Leon; 1642; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

5 The Hanging Gardens of Qasr-i-Qajar in a view by Coste; 1867; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

6 Mount Meru at the centre of the earth; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

7 The wish-fulfilling tree upon the summit of the world mountain as an architectural representation in the Jain Temple of Lodurva near Jaisalmer; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

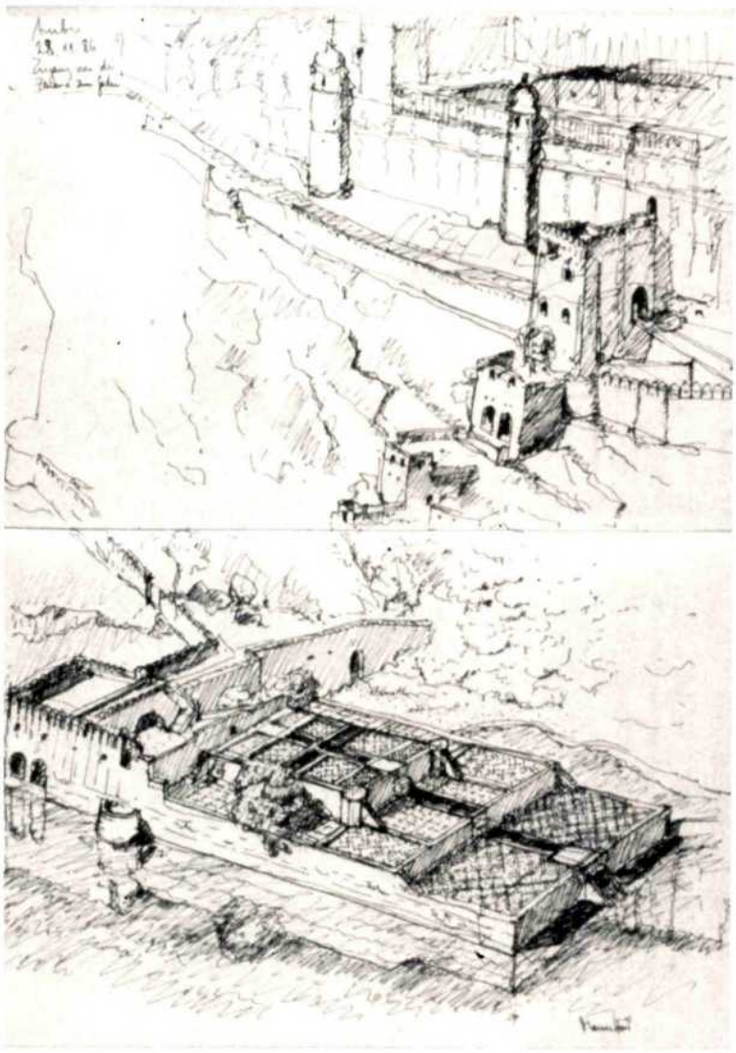
8 Amber palace in Rajasthan. In the foreground Maunbari gardens, an artificial island in an artificial lake; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

Schinkel's design for a monument to Frederick the Great on Hofapotheke Square in Berlin (1829) all envisaged the planting of trees on the upper platforms, hence deliberately arousing grave-cult associations, but also magnifying the true size of the projected monuments to immense dimensions.

III

In the Hanging Garden the relationship between architecture and tree is reversed: it is not the tree that distinguishes the structure, rather the structure becomes the subordinate necessity with the tree as its true theme, which it supports, holds aloft and lets unfold as an art form. Lequeu's "Palais Champêtre" (ca. 1790), where the principle of the hanging garden is carried to extremes, demonstrates the fundamental difference between the two architectural approaches to the tree: the theme of the building is the celebration of nourishing and pleasing nature, represented by a grove of pruned trees "full of fruit", as stated in the accompanying text. A compact plinth structure on classical lines, whose rusticated façade conceals a gallery of "notables", carries an open, pillared hall filled with fruit. Above this rises a shallow, tiered mound with the living tree architecture growing up from it. The stone architecture appears to culminate in the growing architecture and the classical substructure is reduced to a crude pedestal for the superior art of nature, which can be expressed both as Ars Topiaria and Ars Fructuaria at once.

It need interest us no further why Lequeu so definitely gives nature pride of place over architecture in his often enigmatic treatise. There is no doubt that the reduction of the classical corpus of forms to a building aid for architecture is not typical of the structure type of the hanging garden. Yet one cannot really speak of a hanging garden unless architecture and garden are equally juxtaposed, when substructure and plantation contribute more or less equally, both in proportion and in aesthetic effect, to the total impression. A simple roof terrace, a mere gallery with pergolas or a rooftop garden with small plants and flowers would not be called a hanging garden. Even the Romans made a clear distinction here between the "solaria" and "the horti pensiles".



9 The system of elevated passages and "elevator-towers" giving access to Maunbari gardens; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

10 The three-tiered structure of Maunbari; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

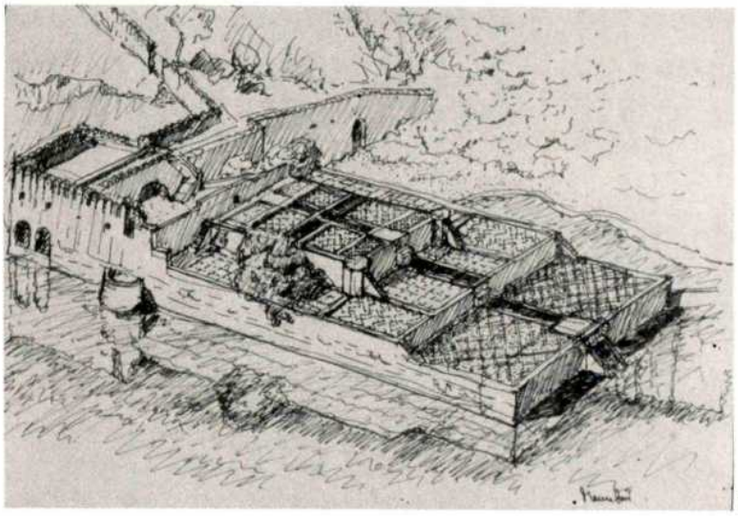
11 Amber, Nahargarh and Maunbari; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

12, 13 Details of the wall with one hundred niches, where oil lamps would be placed behind a screen of falling water; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

14 Geometrical patterns of small masonry walls; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

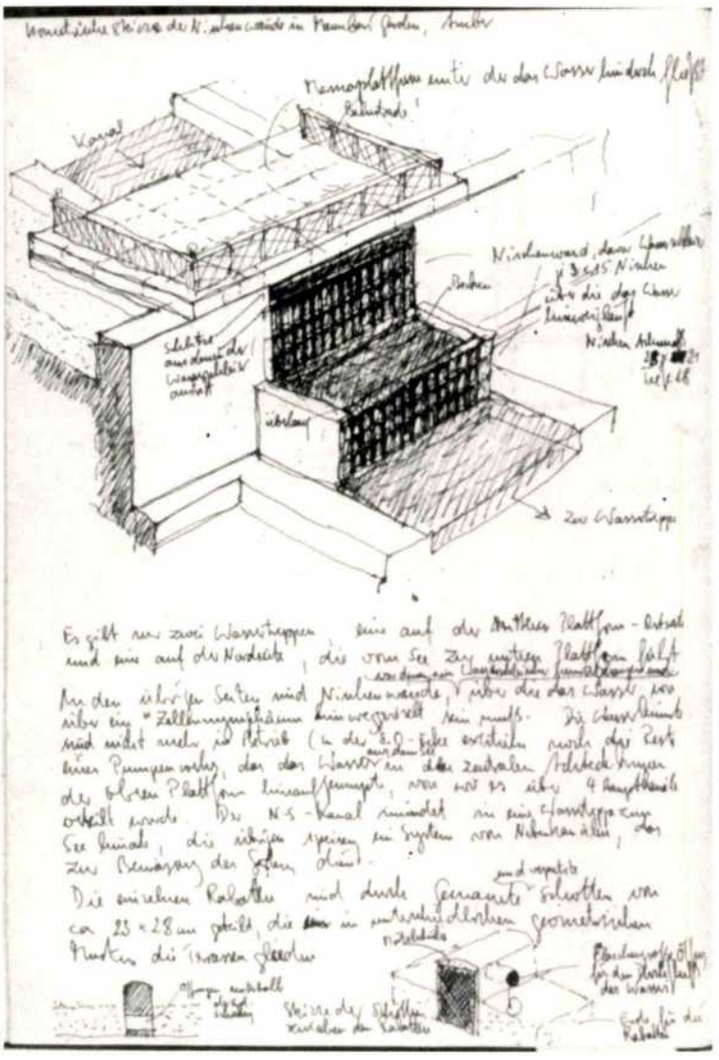
15 View of Udaipur palace from the lake; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

9

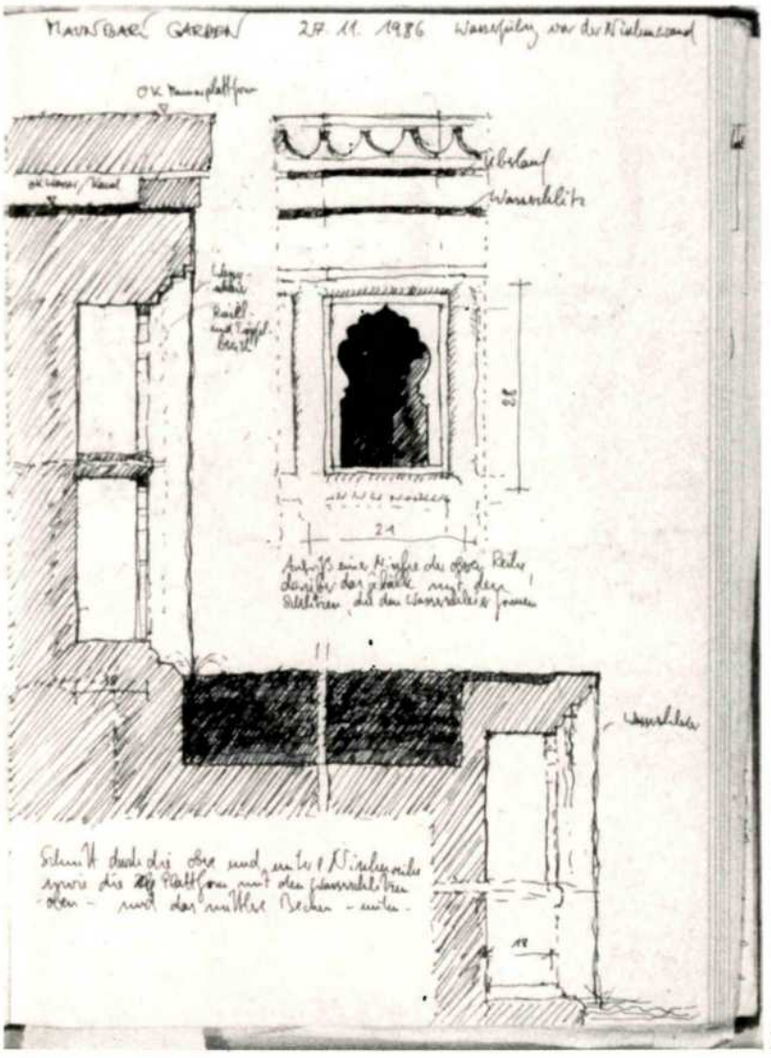


10

11



12

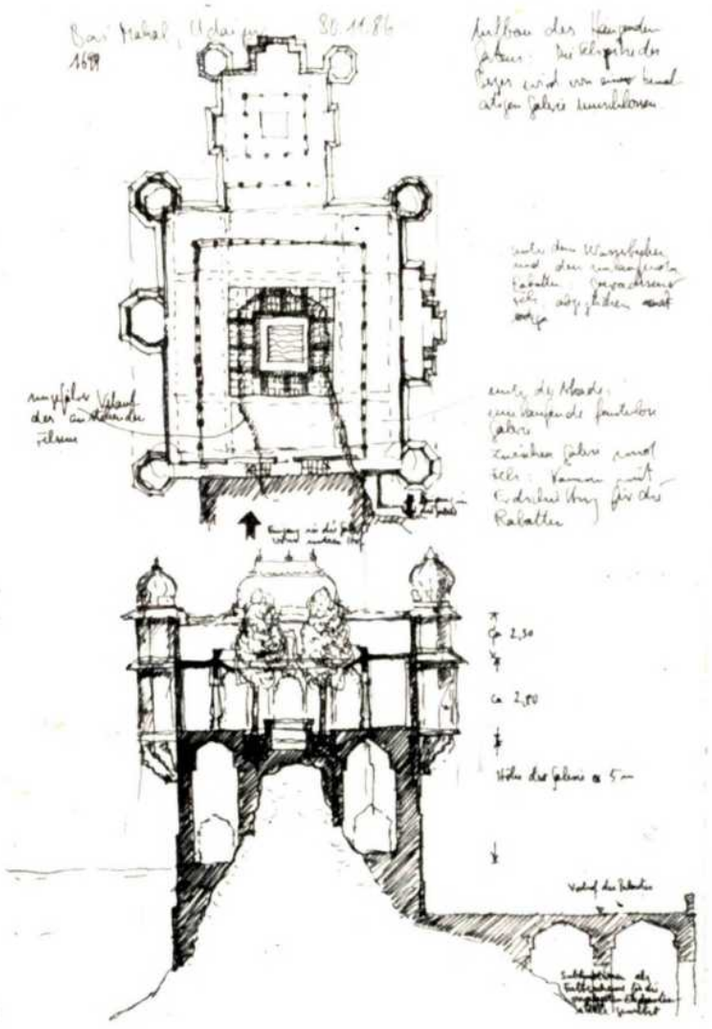


13

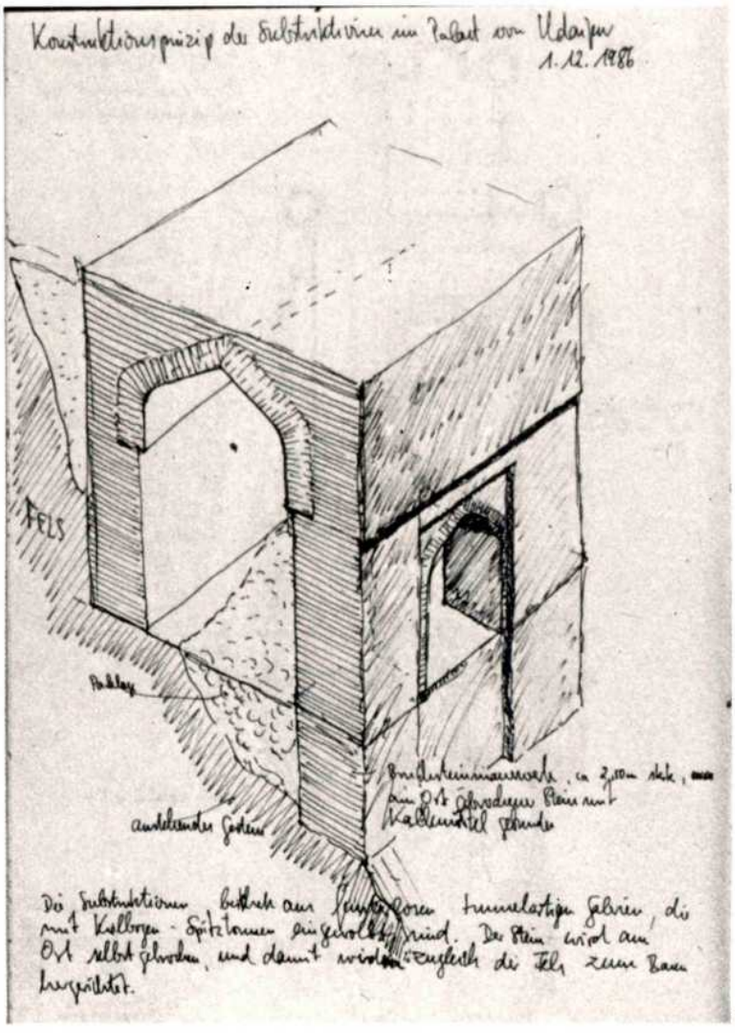
14

Seneca, in one of his letters,[1] refers to the difference between a "hanging" or "pensile" garden proper in the Roman context. Landscaped rooftops and pergolas covered in trailing vines he calls "solaria", while large tree plantations on man-made substructures, such as those which Lucullus had laid out on the Pincio Hill or Maecenas on the Esquiline were known to the Romans as "horti pensiles"—hanging gardens. The term "hanging gardens" apparently originated in contemporary Roman usage around the birth of Christ, although the phenomenon thus designated is far older. In the second book of his Historical Library, written during the rule of Augustus, Diodorus Siculus relates how a King Syros of Babylon laid out a garden with groves of trees on an artificially raised foundation near his castle, which later became the legendary "Hanging Gardens of Semiramis". What really happened is this: in Syros' household there lived a lady from far-away Persia to whom the king was particularly attached. After many years spent in the treeless plain of Mesopotamia she could no longer quell her longing for the mountain woods of her native land, so she begged the king to let her return home. Thereupon the king ordered a garden to be laid out in imitation of the typical features found in Persia. Near the palace artificial mounds were heaped up to look like mountains and planted with trees from the mountains of Persia.[2]

Seen from outside, the stacked terraces resembled the ascending tiers of a theatre, although far steeper and rising up to a height of 120 m (!) altogether. Inside, however, the terraces were hollow and supported by narrow, vaulted passageways resembling pan-pipes in cross-section. These vaults in turn were covered by layers of reeds soaked in asphalt, cast gypsum bricks and folded lead sheeting to prevent moisture from the soil from filtering through to the masonry of the inner chambers. Soil was heaped up on top of this in such quantities that the roots of even large trees had ample space. The archaeologist Koldewey hit upon the foundations of a structure which corresponded closely to this written tradition in the vicinity of the Ishtar Gate, in the eastern half of the palace at Babylon. In 1918 he published the findings of his excavation together with a suggested reconstruction of the Hanging Gardens.[3] According to this, the legendary structure called after Semiramis consisted of a free-standing, multi-chambered construction inserted inside a densely celled square. The walls of the inner chambers are remarkably thick, and were obviously built to withstand enormous pressure. There was no



16



17

16 Section through the rock, the palace and the hanging garden; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

17 The vaults of the hanging garden's substructures in an isometric sketch; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

18 Isometric drawing of the palace complex. The hanging garden Bari Mahal is on top of the highest part; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

structural connection whatsoever between this innermost complex and the outer square, so that even when the construction started to settle under the pressure of the colossal masses of earth of the "man-made mountain" and the "trees growing skywards", no damage was done to neighbouring buildings.

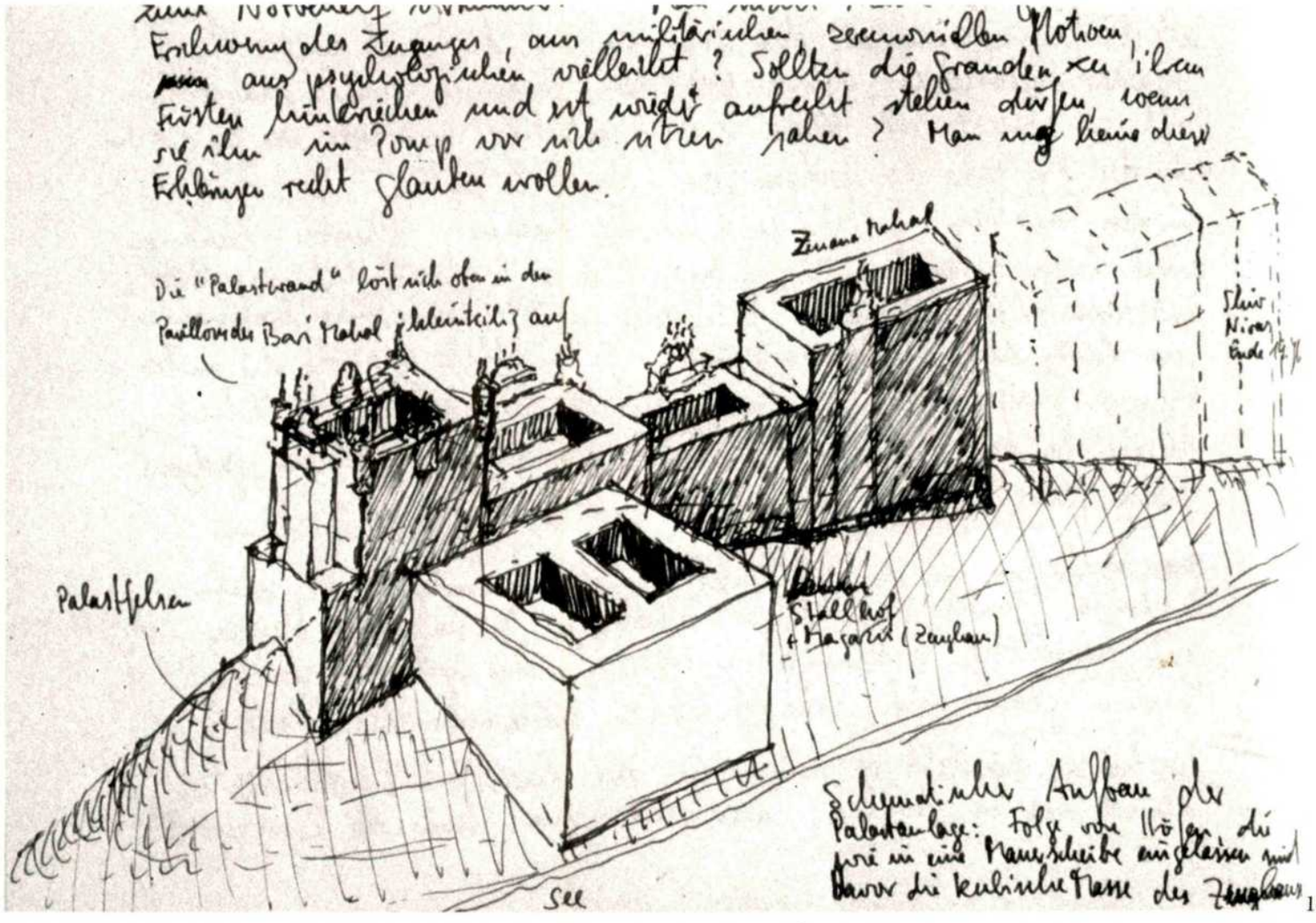
To describe this structure, which Koldewey excavated and of which wonderous things were told by the Greek historiographers, Diodorus culled from his Greek sources the epithet "kremastos", whose literal meaning can either be "hung up" or "hovering". The Latinists translated the term as "pensilis"—from "pendere", "to weigh, hang from the weighing scales"—and so narrowed its lexical meaning towards "hanging". Thus the curious compound "Hanging Gardens" was born and made its way via Italian "giardino pensile" to the modern languages where, regardless of all Germanic or Romance adaptations, it has retained the flavour of the peculiar, the exotic, even the bizarre.

V

As it wandered westwards—slowly increasing the spatial and temporal distance from its origin in the Babylon of the legendary Semiramis—the Hanging Garden managed to retain its fairytale associations, at least in the beginning. In the course of time, the focus of interest gradually shifted from the undisguised mania for marvels to a speculative inquiry into the complex relations between nature and art, between the facts of nature and the work of man.

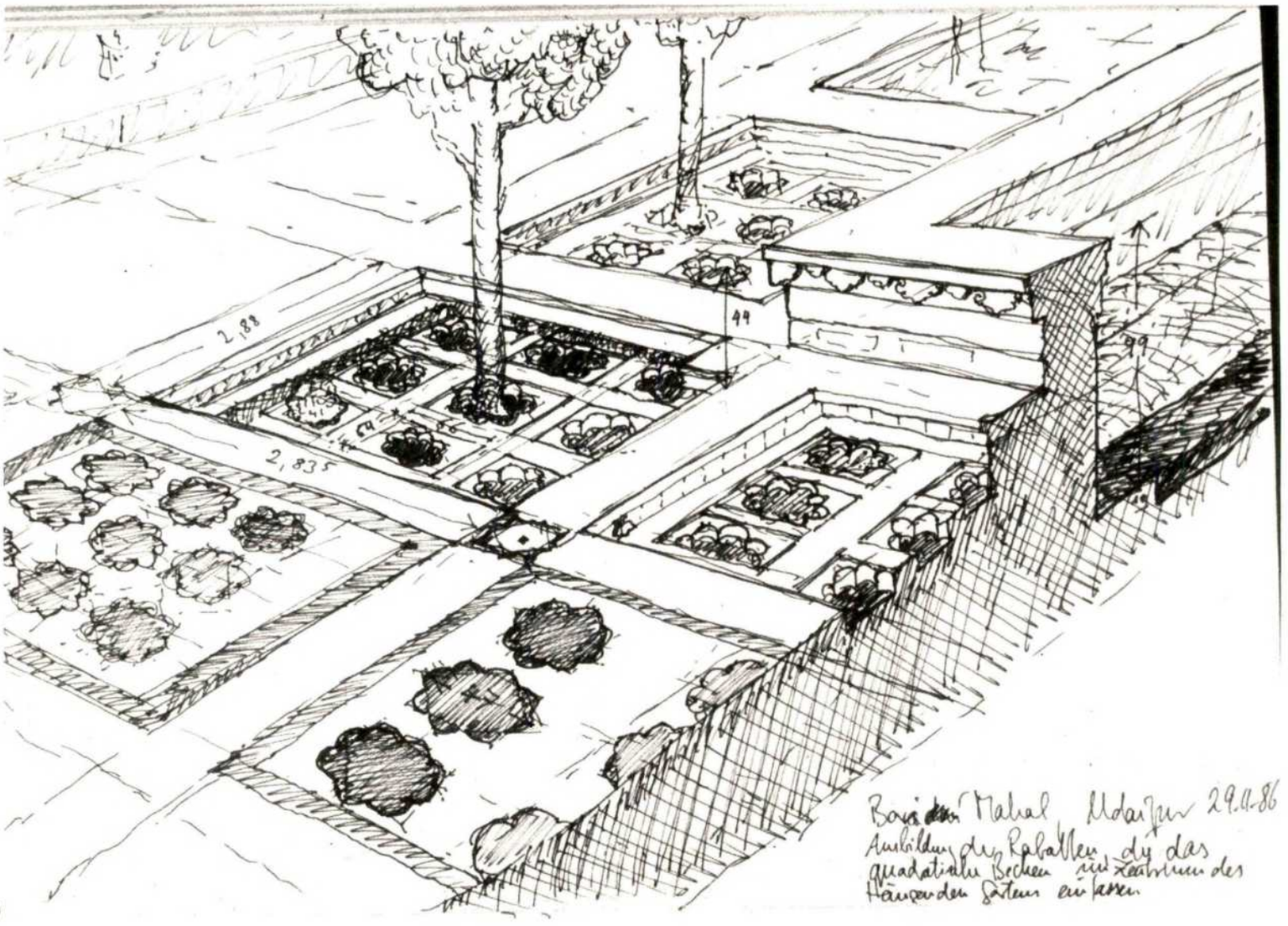
True to their penchant for classification, the Greeks listed the Hanging Gardens among the Seven Wonders of the world. As a result, they provided the basic material for centuries of literary and artistic depictions of the Wonders.

During the Renaissance and Mannerism periods a peculiar taste for the Hanging Gardens of Semiramis developed, as recorded in a bizarre folio from the "Cosmographia" of Sebastian Münster (1550). Here the substructure of the legendary construction is depicted as the turned legs of a massive marble box-table. This is filled with earth, with matured trees rooted in it. Not merely have the plants here been more or less turned into *objets d'art,* but the characterization of the construction as a massive piece of furniture reduces the trees to interior fittings. This distortion of scale, which allows the beholder of the print to see with the eye of God, makes the



18

19



20

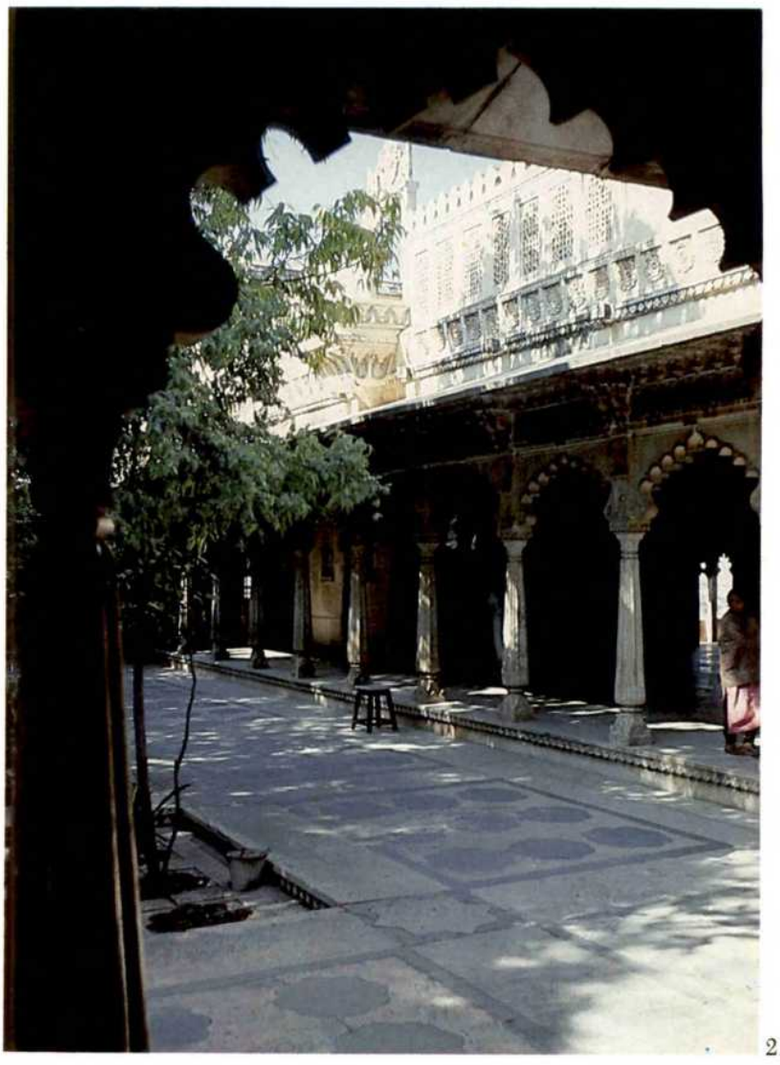
2,88
2,835
44
99
Bari Mahal Udaipur 29.11.86
Ausbildung der Rabatten, die das
quadratische Becken im Zentrum des
Hängenden Gartens einfassen

19 The pillared hall of Bari Mahal; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

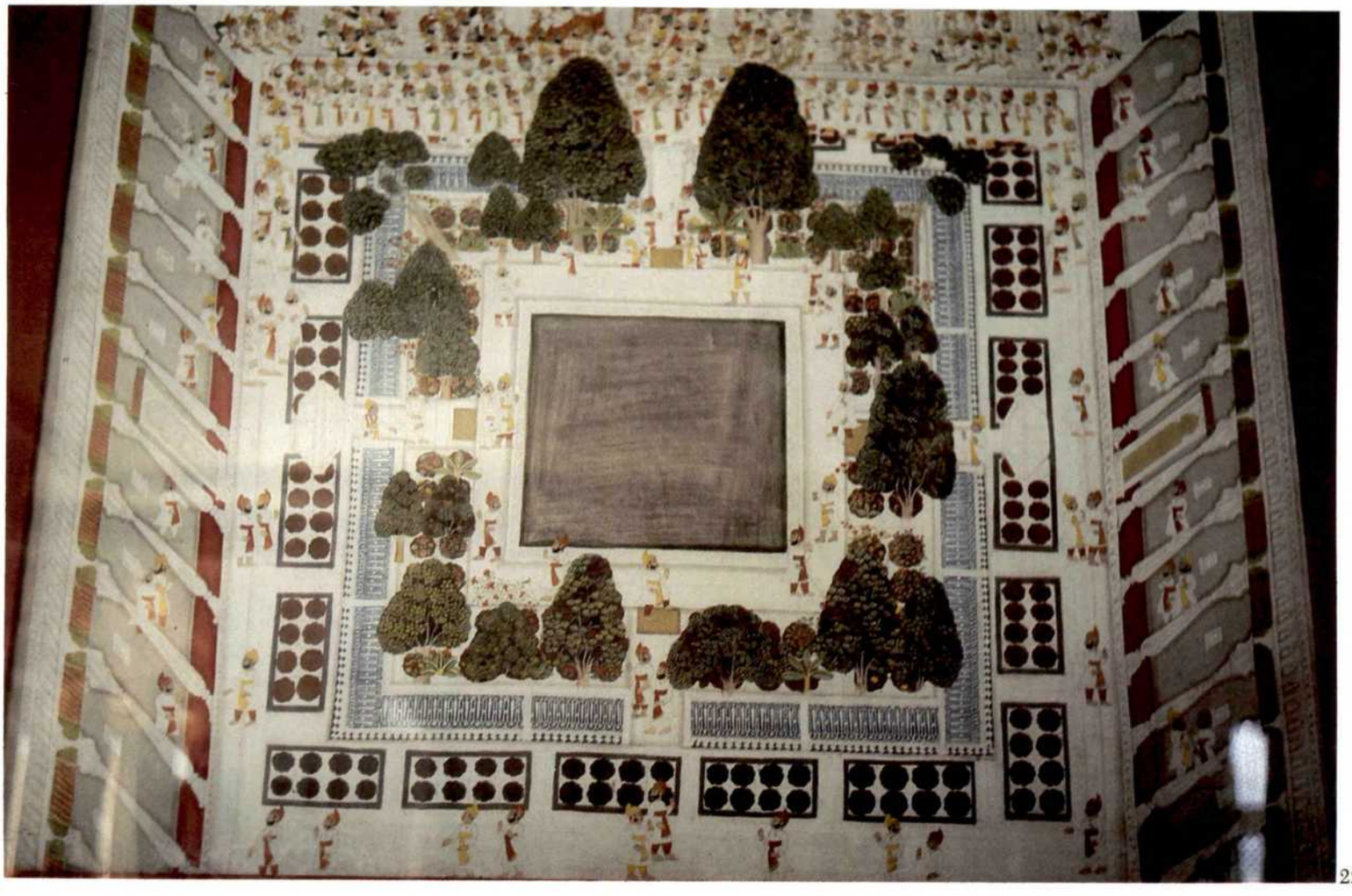
20 The setting of the trees in the multifoil openings in the marble pavement of Bari Mahal courtyard; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

21 Bari Mahal; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

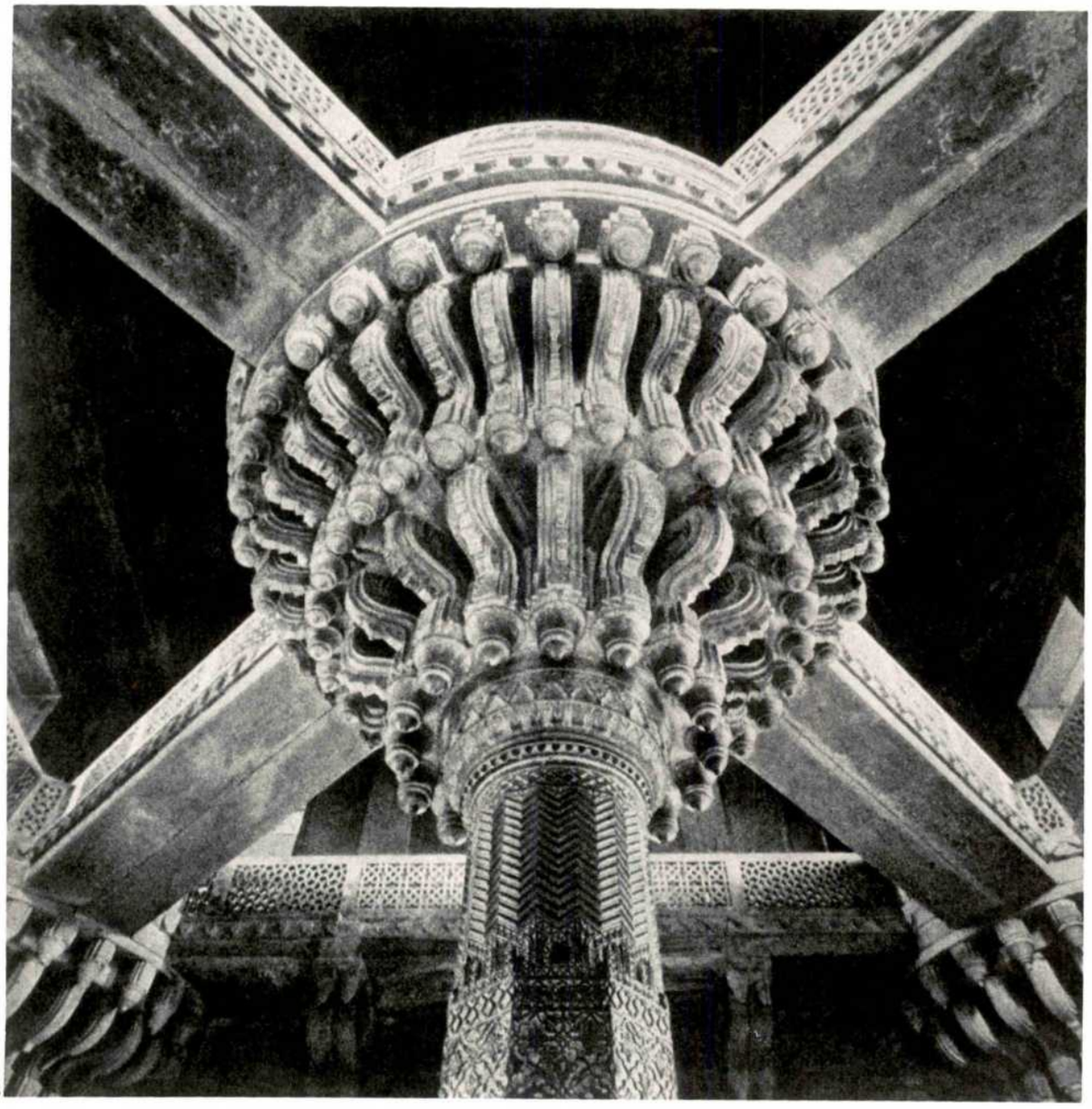
22 A contemporary painting showing the hanging gardens of Bari Mahal with the Maharana sitting in state; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.



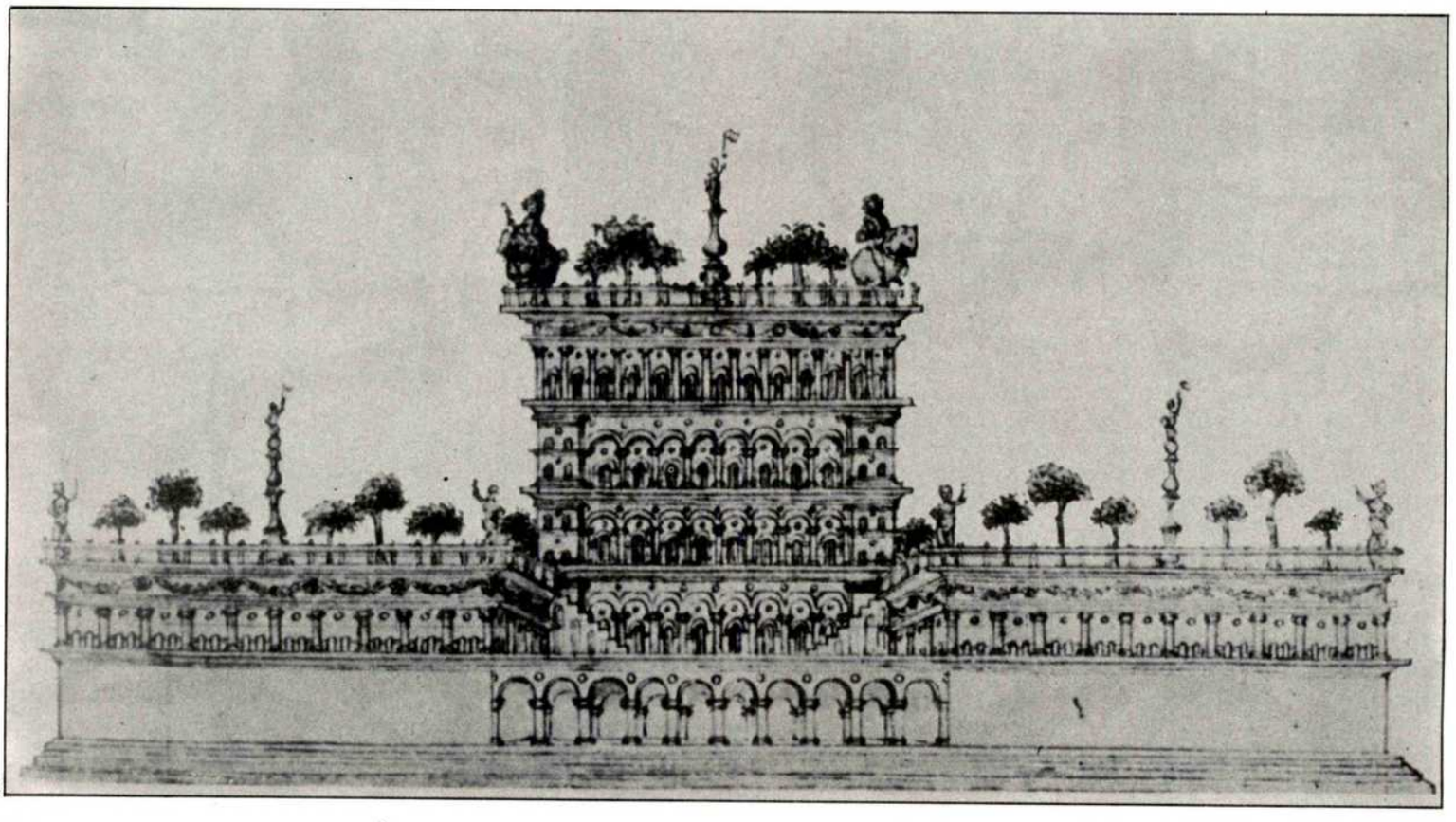
21



22



23



24

23 Akbar's throne at Fatehpur-Sikri—a tree of stone; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

24 Antonio di Averlino, called Filarete (ca. 1400?-1469): King Zogaglia's palace overlooking the legendary city of Plusiapolis; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper. Close to the hanging gardens on the terraces stand the elaborate figures of gilt horses and statues of ancient heroes with movable limbs.

25 J. B. Fischer von Erlach (1656-1723): Isola Bella in the Lago Maggiore; Copper engraving from: "Entwurf einer historischen Architektur"; 1721; Photo courtesy Jan Pieper.

tree—the largest plant we know!—look like a part of the human household. It could hardly be expressed more unequivocally that nature here has been rendered manageable and disposable.

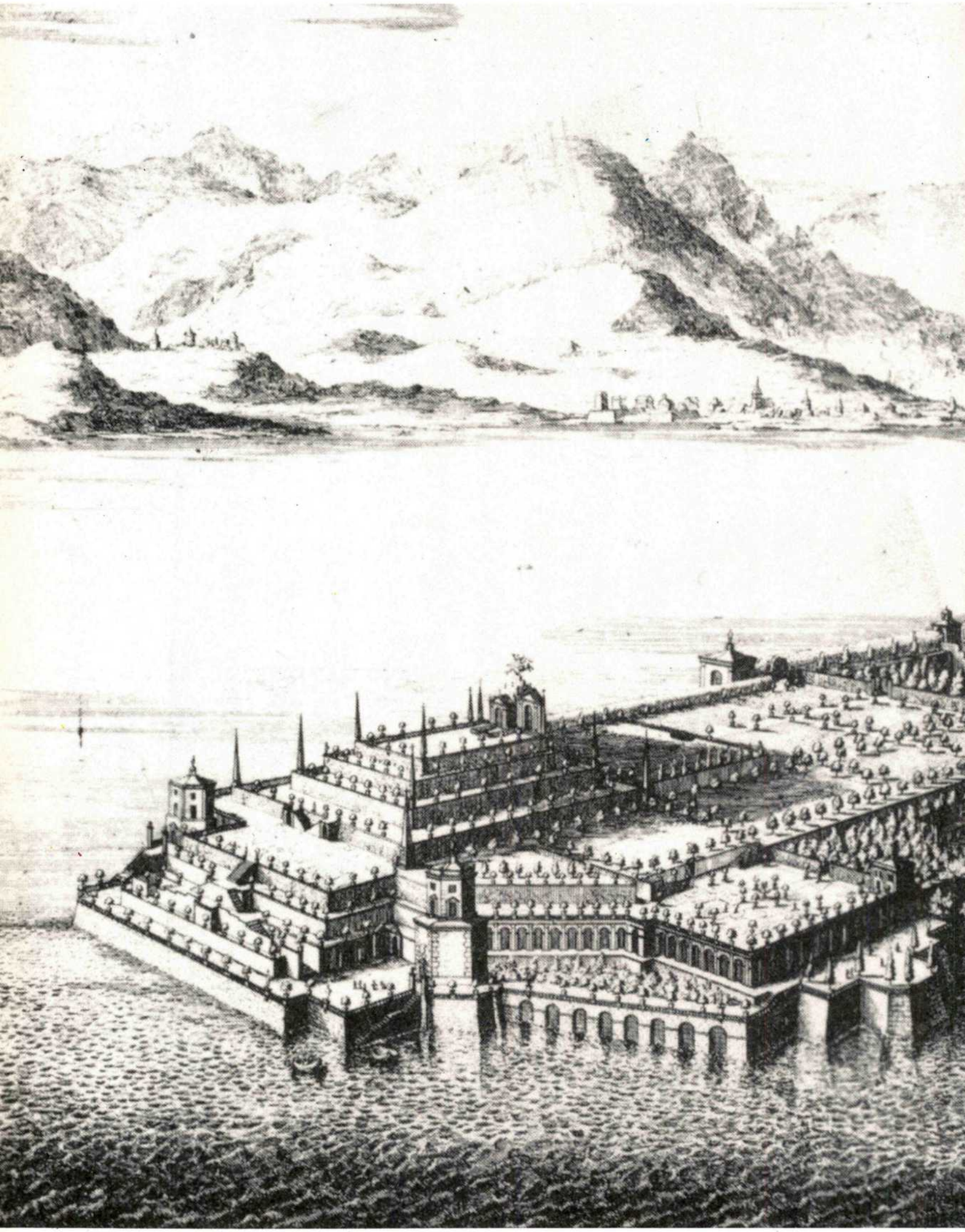
This interest in the hanging garden as a type of structure which illustrates the—perhaps merely a vain hope—power relations between man and subordinate nature makes its first literary appearance in the work of Antonio di Averlino, alias Filarete (1400?-1469). In his architectural tract he tells of the fabled Hanging Gardens of the city of Plusiapolis, which were laid out on the tiers of an artificial mound five terraces high. This description shows Filarete to have been a creative architect with a masterly understanding of form. Still, he can hardly be given the credit for rediscovering the whole structure type. For in the years when he was working on his tract—between 1461 and 1464—no less than a fashion for hanging gardens was started, as can be determined from the actual building activity of the period. From this contemporaneity it follows that Filarete took up ideas which must have been generally preoccupying the architects and building-crazy potentates of the early Italian Renaissance. Admittedly all the hanging gardens which were actually erected are considerably smaller than Filarete's visionary project, but they are comparable to the five-storeyed Hanging Gardens of Plusiapolis in so far as they allocate the forms of nature, of topography and of vegetation, in varying degrees of stylization and artificiality, to man's dwelling-house. In one decisive point, however, they even go one step further than Filarete's projected ideal: whereas in the Hanging Gardens of Plusiapolis the understanding of nature is reflected merely in the landscape and trees, i.e. the nature of the *plant* kingdom is drawn into relationship with the human position, the actually constructed hanging gardens of the early Renaissance also encompass the nature of the *animal* kingdom—the realm of the bestial, the sensual and unconscious.

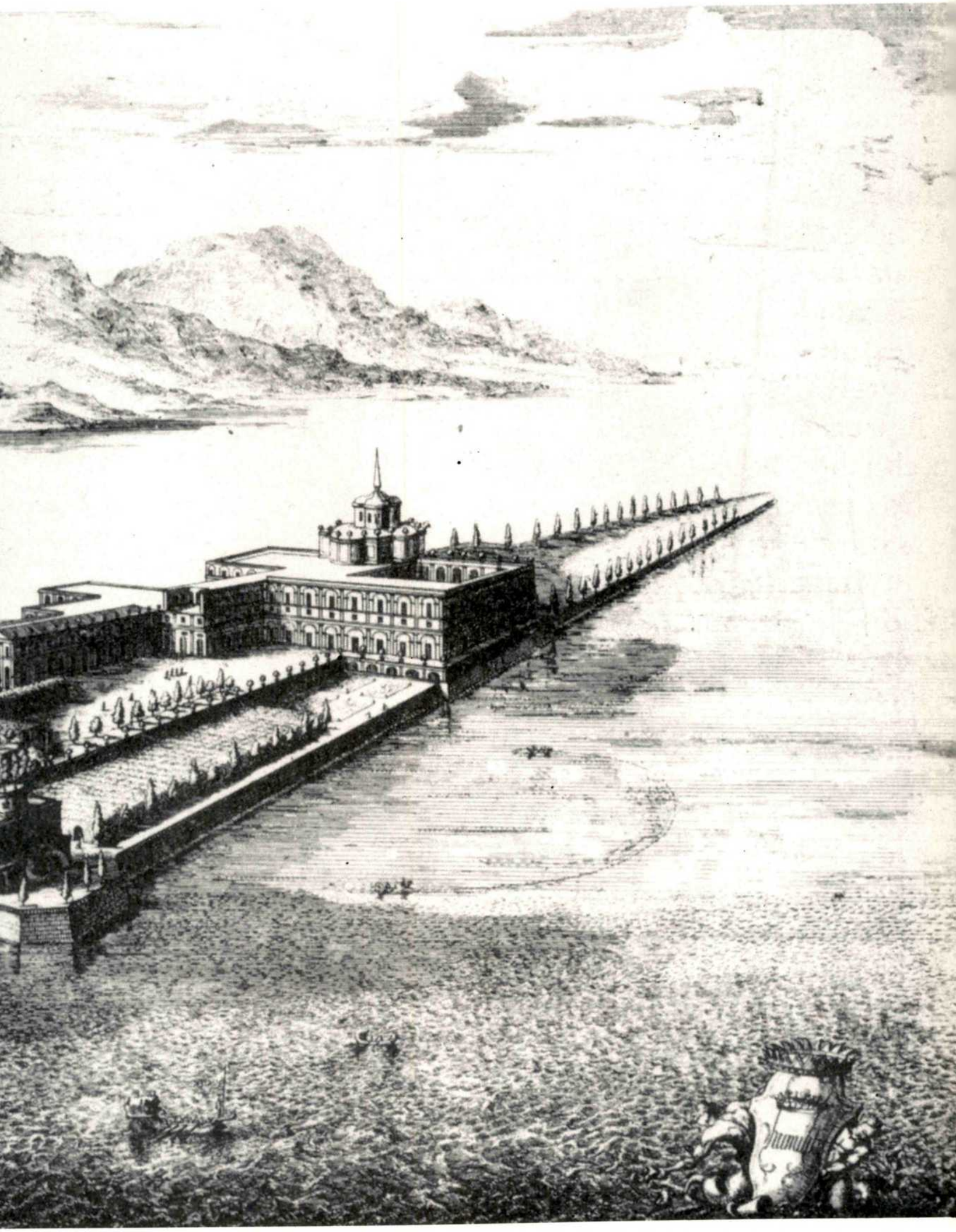
The first project to present this comprehensive perception of nature was the hanging garden erected between 1459 and 1462 by Pius II behind the palace of Pienza, the ideal town he founded in Tuscany. It was so novel and yet satisfied so precisely a need of the period that it sparked off a real craze for building hanging gardens: in 1467 Pius' successor, Paul II, had a hanging garden built at his Palazzo Venezia; in 1468 his example was followed by Pius' former commander-in-chief, Prince Federico da Montefeltro, in Urbino and finally, about 1530, by Cardinal della Valle-Capranica. At the start of the 16th century the Gonzaga family erected their hanging garden at the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, towards the middle of the century the Medici family followed with a similar garden on the roof of the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence, and shortly before 1600 the hanging garden of the Colonna of Zagarolo was completed. This unique fashion, to which practically every principality in Italy succumbed, came to a final climax in the Borromean Islands of Lago Maggiore: some time after 1630, the Isola Bella was created in the form of a terraced mound ten tiers high, with a vaulted reservoir for irrigating the gardens concealed in its interior and its terraces planted alternately with living and metal trees.

VI

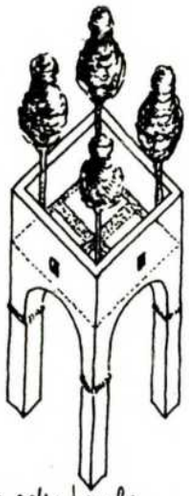
In the East hanging gardens remained an attribute of Royal Power well into modern times. An early instance of this is the landscaping of the palace grounds which Solomon laid out in the vicinity of the temple of Jerusalem. His palace, termed "House of the Forest of Lebanon" in biblical sources, was not given this epithet only because it was built from timber of the famous cedars, but primarily because closely attached to the royal quarters there was a garden, laid out on top of artificial substructures, adorned with a grove of cedars from Lebanon. According to Jewish tradition the king resided there in state, in a kind of earthly paradise high above the plain and the low lying quarters where his subjects lived.[4]

Very similar structures were built in Iran as late as the 19th century. Perhaps the best known of these royal gardens is the one of Qasr-i-Qajar, which was laid out near Teheran around 1797.[5] Like all Persian gardens of this type Qasr-i-Qajar is divided into three: the southern part is a huge flat area, regularly intersected by canals irrigating rectangular flower beds and orchards planted with almond trees. The whole is enclosed by a massive masonry wall and the area thus shut off from the outer world may be read as a model representation of the fertile and productive agricultural landscape of the Iranian plateau. Towards the north is a rocky cliff transformed into a terraced garden of five tiers and crowned with a square fortress-like building. Its walls and towers conceal an elevated garden, quadripartite like the Garden of Paradise, and laid out upon artificial substructures. Between these antipodes of the Qasr-i-Qajar Gardens is a shallow water basin, rectangular in shape and of enormous dimensions, which is called the "Ocean". The whole arrangement is an obvious representation of the ancient Iranian cosmological model, based upon the idea of a colossal mountain Sad matati—



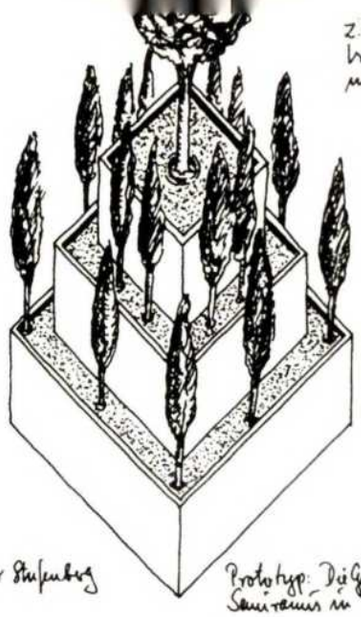


Florentiner Loggien der Medici
– ein Gartenerlebnis über den Köpfen der Volkes.



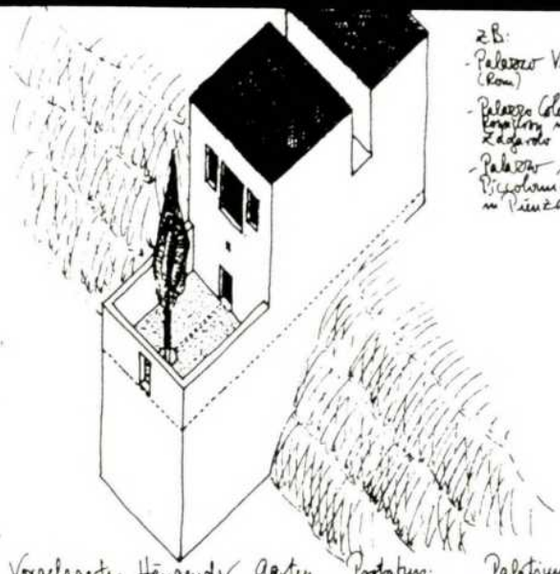
Baumbekrönte Loggia oder Laube
Prototyp: Das Amphitheater der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili

z.B.
Villa Lante
am Lago Maggiore



Selbständiger Stufenbau

Prototyp: Die Gärten der Semiramis in Babylon

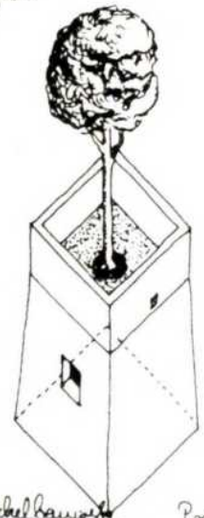


z.B.:
- Palazzetto Venezia (Rom)
- Palazzo Colonna Garbatella in Zagarolo
- Palazzo Piccolomini in Pienza

Vorgelagerte Hängender Garten

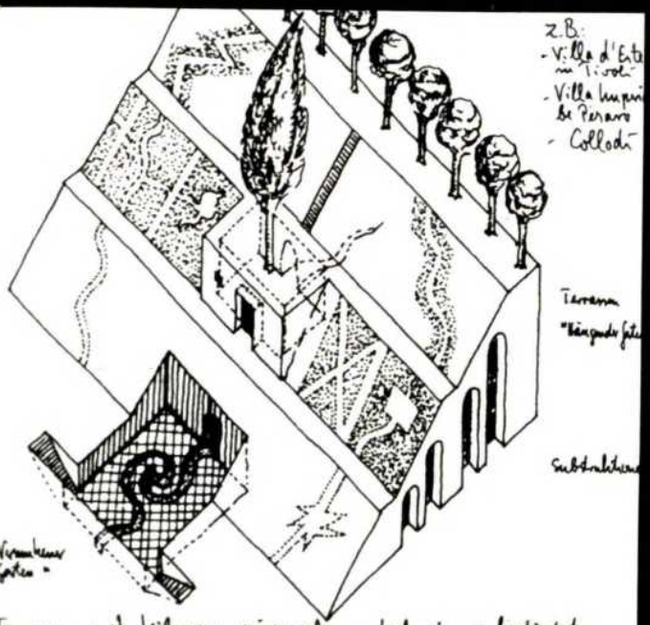
Prototyp: Palatium Salomonis in Jerusalem

z.B.
Der Turm der Anemas
in Konstantinopel



Baumbekrönter Sockelbaumsatz

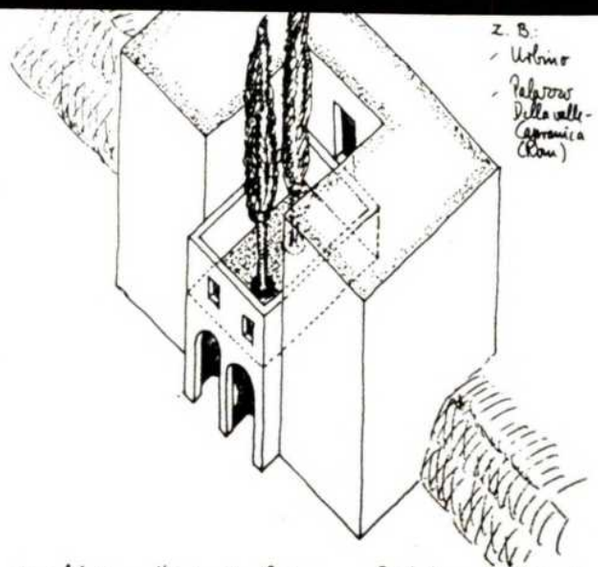
Prototyp Mausoleum des Augustus (Rom), zur Stadtseite hin der Columna umgebaut



z.B.:
- Villa d'Este in Tivoli
- Villa Imperiale di Pesaro
- Collodi

Terrassen mit teilweise eingegrabenen teilweise aufgeständerten Konstruktionen

Prototyp: Der Palatin



z.B.:
- Urbino
- Palazzo Della valle-Caprinica (Rom)

Unterschiedliche Hängender Garten.

Prototyp: Die Hängenden Gärten von Pleusiapolis im Traktat des Filarete

26 Typological Review of the Basic Forms of hanging gardens in the Renaissance and Baroque; Drawings: Jan Pieper.

i.e. "great mountain of the lands" – which is supposed to be located across the sea towards the north of the inhabited parts.[6]

The idea of a multi-tiered mountain at the centre of the earth, where the gods live happily under wish-fulfilling trees, remained an inspiring image despite the thorough Islamisation of Iran. This is particularly evident from some details of the Persian state ritual. When the Shah was sitting in state in his Hanging Garden of Qasr-i-Qajar he had beside him an artificial tree made from precious metal, bearing jewels and golden fruits filled with wine. Evidently this attribute of royalty is a minute representation of the legendary wish-fulfilling tree, which ancient mid-Eastern imagination had placed upon the mythical world mountain.

The same concept is the matrix of the Indian "Meru", the world mountain in the far north, which is also multi-tiered and grows wish-fulfilling trees in paradises on the summits of its various foothills. We have an architectural representation of this in the compound of the Jain temple of Lodurva near Jaisalmer: a model mountain carved from stone, rising in tiers and enclosed by a crenellated wall at each level, carries on top an artificial tree made from silver-plated copper. This is *Kalpavriksha,* the wish-fulfilling tree of Indian mythology, believed by some to grow in Indra's paradise on the Ilavarta foothills of Mount Meru.[7]

The multi-tiered mountain with paradises and trees of happiness seems to be the conceptual model of many an Indian hanging garden. Most of them were built as architectural requisites of royal centres, but not necessarily as a backdrop of secular power. Some are merely laid out as an evocation of the earthly paradise and definitely serve worldly pleasures.

A wonderful hanging garden of this type is Maunbari, built in the vicinity of the impressive palace of Amber in Rajasthan. It is an artificial island rising in three tiers from the lake below the palace. Absolutely regular in shape, with two rectangular platforms supporting a square, quadripartite garden on top, it is made to resemble the gardens of paradise. Water is pumped from the lake to a central fountain in the uppermost hanging garden and from there it flows down in open channels leading into the four directions.

Maunbari garden was a lady's garden and it was used only at night, when it was cool enough to sit in the open even during the hot season. The ladies were brought down from the palace by means of an ingenious transport system, which can still be seen in ruins on the steep slope of the castle hill. From the zenana the girls passed over an elevated passage to a tower, where they were lowered in a "basket-and-rope-elevator" to the next level, again passed over an elevated stone passage to another tower, were lowered again, and so on, until they reached the level of Maunbari. Thus they could enter the hanging garden in the lake without taking the trouble to climb up and down the rocky hill.

Maunbari garden is a night garden and it is ingeniously designed for this purpose. Obviously, in a night garden there is no need for trees, since there is no need for shade, and it would be similarly senseless to grow colourful flowers as it would be impossible to admire them in moonlight which veils all colours behind a shading of light and dark. Therefore, all subdivisions of the garden are made from plastered brick walls, about a foot high, which form an overall geometrical pattern laid across the garden like an ornamental carpet. This pattern is clearly visible at night as it casts a sharply contoured shadow. The compartments form the individual flower beds, planted with white or very bright flowers which seem to be luminescent under the moon. Moreover, most flowers belong to highly aromatic species, filling the night air with their sweet-smelling perfume.

But Maunbari is not only a garden of fragrance, it is also a garden of sparkling lights. The water jetting down from the central fountain is brought to the edge of the upper platform in four shallow canals. From there it flows down in transverse direction over *chadars* (water stairs) and purls off in the garden. In longitudinal direction, however, it flows in waterfalls from one terrace to the other until a final *chadar* brings it down into the lake. The waterfalls are instrumental in producing the peculiar effect of sparkling lights. As the water runs over polished marble slabs it is transformed into a very thin and regular screen of water. Behind this water curtain is a wall with some one hundred niches elaborately carved with multifoil arches. Before the ladies arrived, the garden attendants would place oil lamps into each of the niches. As the curtain of water is translucent and in motion, one could see the lights behind, so the flow of the water turned it into never-ending irradiations and reflections – as if it were a miniature sky with all its stars come alive.

In some palaces of Rajasthan however, hanging gardens were not constructed for the simple end of such worldly pleasures alone, but they were meant to evoke the image of paradise as a proper setting for royalty and as an intentional backdrop for the display of secular power.

In 1699 the Maharana of Udaipur completed his palace with the construction of Bari Mahal, a hanging garden on the top floor of his family fortress, grown over centuries into a complex of colossal, mountain-like dimensions.

The garden is built over vaulted substructures which conceal the highest peak of the rock

where the whole castle is located upon. They are five storeys high, totally dark, reached only through narrow passages at each level, which are opened only for repairs and inspections.

One enters Bari Mahal after a long and steep climb over staircases cut into the walls. A little door unexpectedly gives way to a large and regular square courtyard, closed in on all sides by beautifully carved marble arcades, which towards the north are opened up to form a spacious pillared audience hall.

In the central square of the courtyard grow large trees which raise their century-old tops high above pavilions and archways of the palace. The trunks rise from geometrically carved multifoil openings in the marble pavement, suggesting that skilfully heaped up garden-earth of an ordinary orchard was magically transformed here into some nobler and more permanent material: as if to ennoble the gardener's modest art, the old trees are set like the true jewels of this garden into their precious marble mountings.

The artful setting of the trees reminds us of what might easily be forgotten within this marble courtyard – that the trees are not growing at ground floor level and not in natural soil, but that they were lifted by an ingenious construction high up into the air. The marble detailing of the pavement brings the aesthetic fascination of hanging gardens sharply to the point as it accentuates the double nature of this building type, where architecture and plants were brought together in a fabric which is both art and nature.

A contemporary painting – hung today on the wall of the north pavilion – clearly shows that it was not simply for these aesthetic pleasures that the Maharana crowned his palace with a hanging garden. Unmistakably, it was part and parcel of the system of symbols and gestures developed to display the self-understanding of this Rajput court, and to legitimize it at the same time.

It was this hanging garden where the Maharana regularly summoned the nobility of his court, where he sat in state to administer justice, to proclaim the resolutions of his council, or to read publicly from the Holy Scriptures.

Hence the garden constituted a space essential to the choreography of the state ritual and this might explain why it was laid out as a *hanging* garden, as a grove of trees on the summit of an artificial mountain. Clearly, the allusion to mythical topography, to the multi-tiered world mountain with the *Kalpavriksha* on top, is intentional and symbolic. And it is also an obvious attempt towards legitimization of worldly power. Here it is the function of the hanging garden to reinforce the ruler's supremacy by resorting to the paradise iconography to elevate this state to a mythical level: in the state ritual the ruler sits in the shade of his trees which appear raised above nature, and the proclamation of his edicts, the granting of his mercy, the issuing of his harsh decrees in this place thus represent the fruits of the wish-fulfilling trees. With a similar purpose in mind, the Mughal Emperor Akbar had his throne in Fatehpur-Sikri built in the form of a stone tree and from its crown, out of sight above the heads of the courtiers, he used to proclaim his will – finally and irrevocably like the fabled bird in the tree of life who picks out lots determining the fate of each one of us.

NOTES

1. Seneca, ep. 122. See Lübker, F., *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums,* Leipzig, 1891.
2. Krischen, F., *Weltwunder der Baukunst in Babylonien und Jonien,* Tübingen, 1956, p. 33.
3. Koldewey, R., *Das wiedererstandene Babylon,* Berlin/Leipzig, 1918.
4. Vogelsang, B., *Archaische Utopien,* Köln, 1981.
5. Wilber, D. N., *Persian Gardens and Garden Pavilions,* Washington, 1979.
6. Kirfel, W., *Die Kosmographie der Inder,* Bonn, 1920, p. 38.
7. Kirfel, *op.cit.,* p. 92 and 228.

□

Metaphysical And Ephemeral Architecture

Giusto Puri Purini

"The temporary building of a ceremonial arch in the Mughal style in the Boboli Gardens": we (Giusto Puri Purini and Maurizio Mariani) would like here to defend a proposal which, at first sight, may seem to be no better than a mere "folly".

The Renaissance architect and theoretician Filarete, working in Florence in the 15th century, reconciled two contrasting systems – the "ideal" city and the "real" city – by adopting a metaphysical approach and designed Sforzinda (Sforza-India) – an ideal city based on an existing archetype, the "New" City of the Renaissance – and located it in a mythical landscape along the river Indo, in the Indus valley. His drawings make up a series of well-defined heraldic structures: the citadel, the tower, the basilica, which are related symbolically to the Tower of Babel, the Garden of Solomon, etc.

Using similar criteria, we have examined for our "ideal" city the possibilities latent in light structures, precise in form but impermanent, "transparent", in structure. Leonardo da Vinci used this kind of impermanent building for the architecture of festivals (the "Architettura da Festa"), light frames and trellises which could be put up and dismantled in the space of a day. This seems to us the only practical architectural approach to test a concept as complex as the "ideal city", a project which, moreover, can rarely be carried out on a grand scale in real life.

The notion of a Mughal arch to be erected in the Boboli Gardens – as an expression of this "concept" – should avoid exoticism or orientalism: there should be no copying or banal translation of forms: no reproduction of individual details, but references made to an architectural form which is universal.

Mughal architecture is an architecture where perfect geometrical structures co-exist with impermanent or "transparent" elements such as tents, rugs, hangings and pierced windows which demonstrate the ambiguity of the concepts of positive and negative, of solid and void, of light and shadow.

By using an element from Mughal architecture, in a late Renaissance context, we underline its universality as well as its dual quality of permanence and impermanence, we underline its metaphysical content as a "gate". Matter and spirit are thus reconciled in one grand design, and a continuity is created between the permanent and impermanent.

□

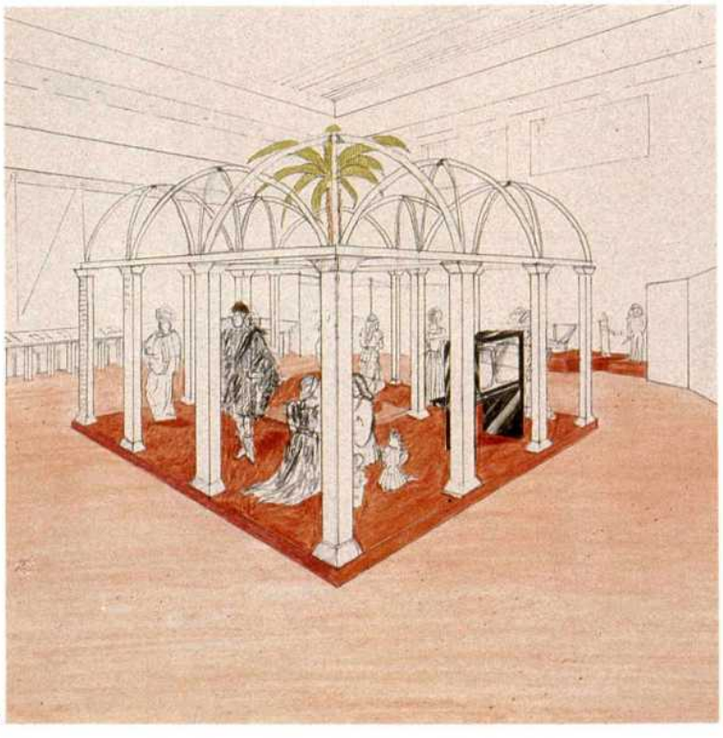
3 Photocollage – Florence, Boboli Gardens from the courtyard of Palazzo Pitti (second half of the 16th century) with G. P. Purini's and M. Mariani's proposed transparent pavilion to celebrate the Medici-Mughal exhibition and shelter musicians during concerts in the Boboli Gardens amphitheatre; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

4a "Studio della prospettiva – Linee di forza", drawing by Paolo Uccello; 15th century; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

4b Cupola of the church of S. Maria del Fiore in Florence built by Filippo Brunelleschi; 15th century. The cupola, the wonder of its time for its daring innovation, was built, without exterior scaffolding, on the tall hexagonal drum which topped the original structure of the church; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

4c Drawing by Filippo Brunelleschi of the wooden structure used to build the ribs supporting the dome. The height of the dome is equal to twice the diameter of the drum; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

5 Wooden structures and ribbing for the "Architettura da Festa", drawing by Leonardo da Vinci; 16th century; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

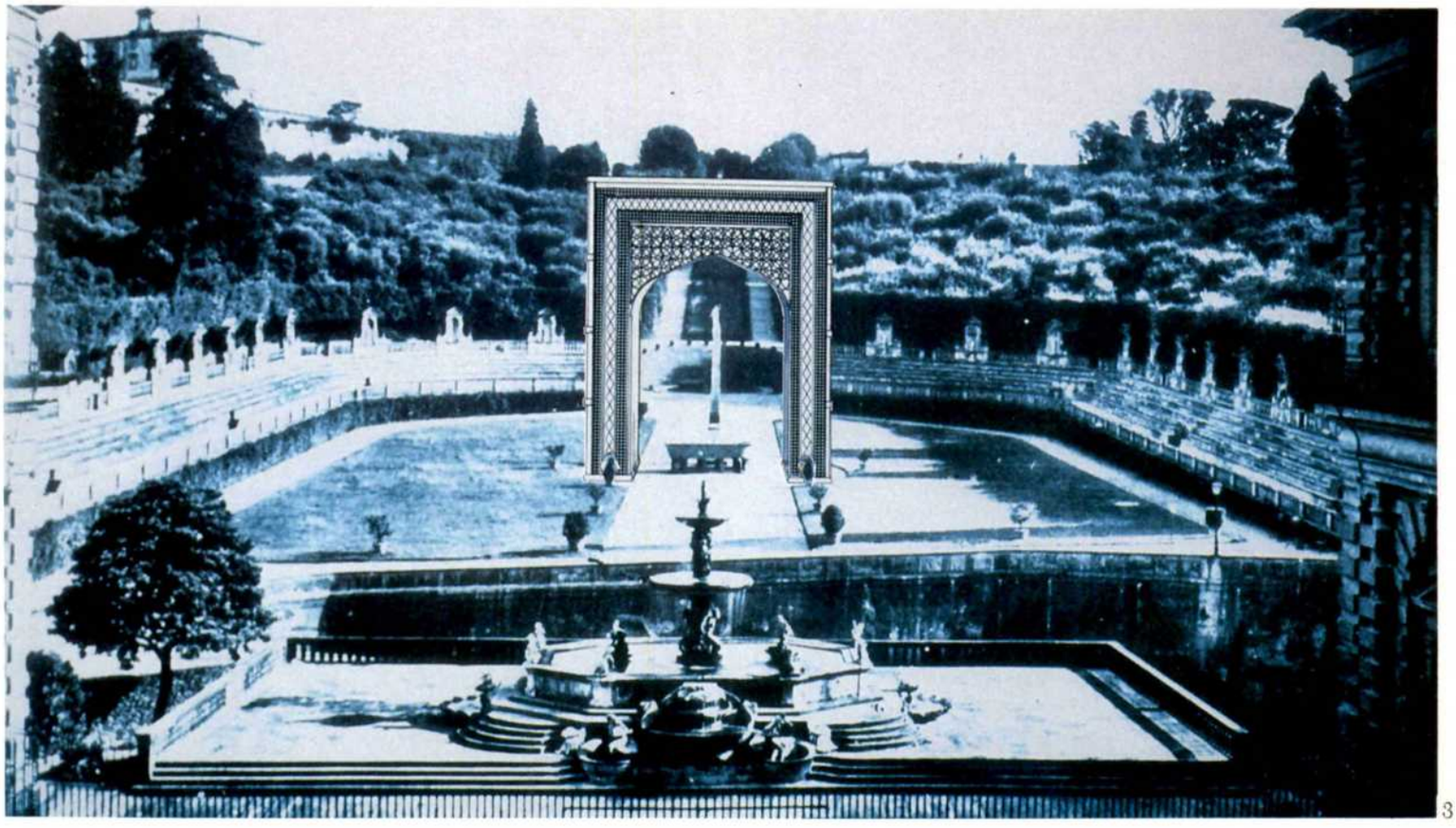


1

1 Perspective drawing by G. P. Purini and M. Mariani for the Leonardo da Vinci exhibition at the National Centre for the Performing Arts in Bombay organised by the Associazione Italia-India; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

2 The Leonardo da Vinci exhibition at the National Centre for the Performing Arts in Bombay. Note the pierced ribbing and the palm tree at the centre of the composition which is inspired from Leonardo da Vinci's "Architettura da Festa"; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

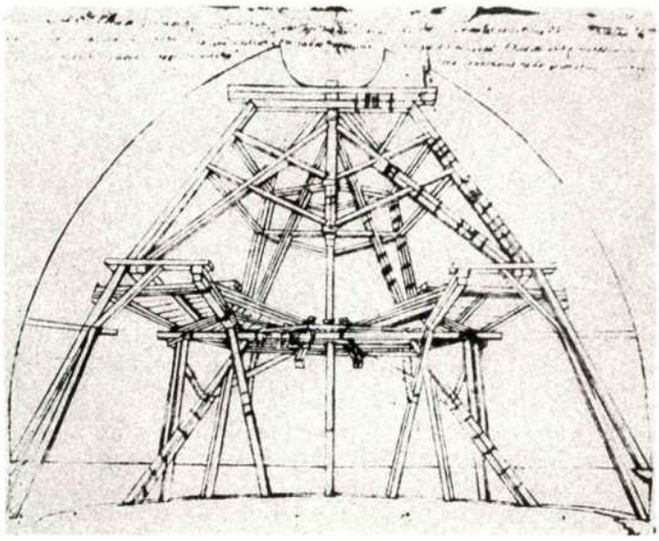
2



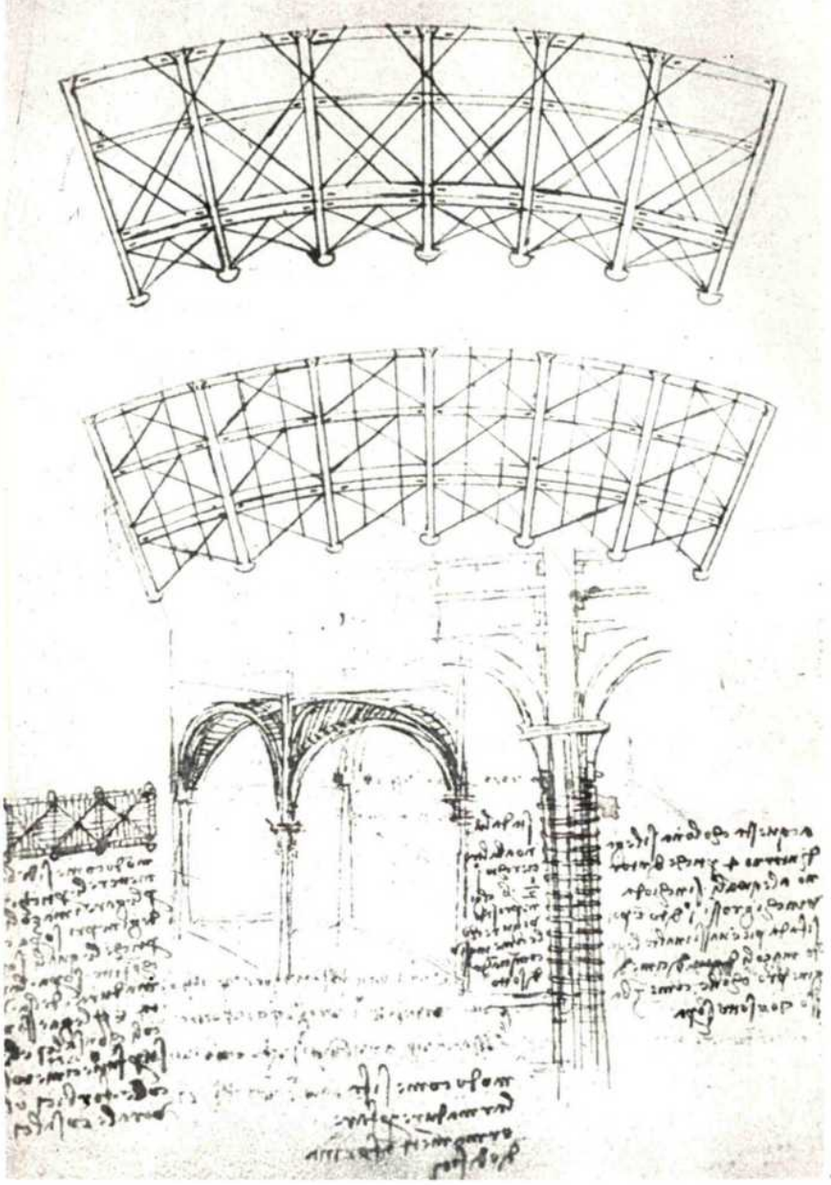
3

4a

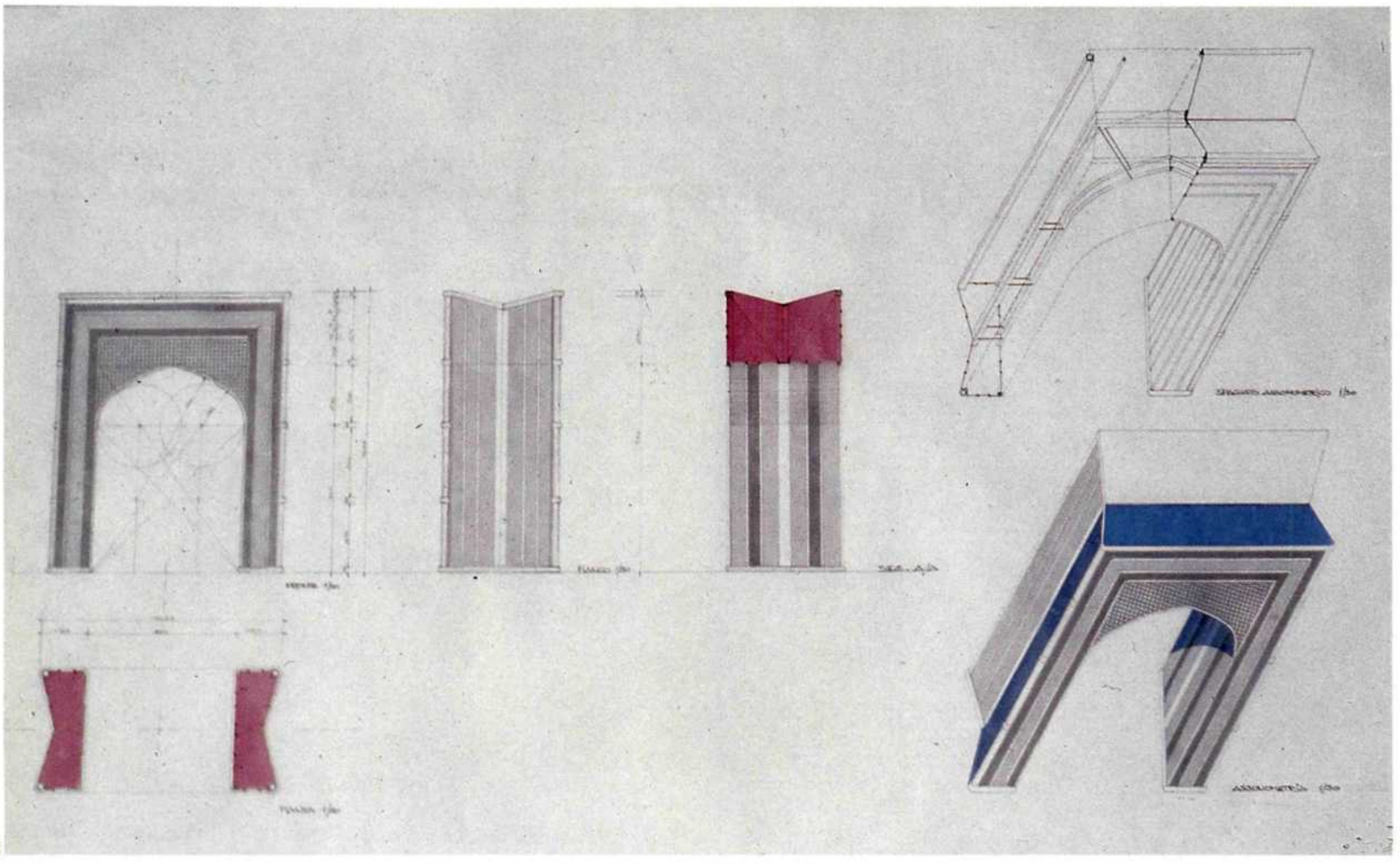
4b



4c

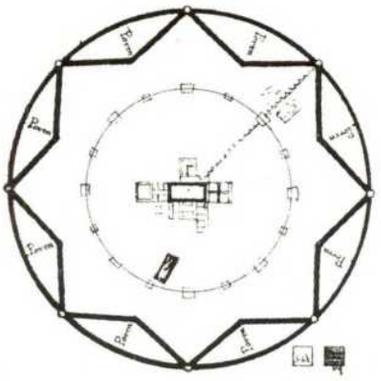


5

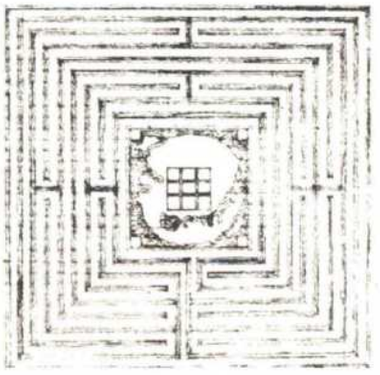


6

7

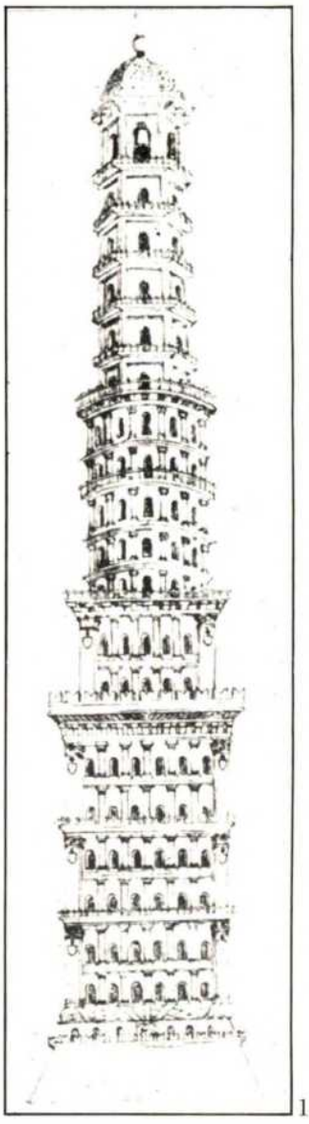


8



9

10



11

6 Prospect, cross-section, construction details and axionometric drawings by G. P. Purini and M. Mariani of the pavilion proposed for the Boboli Gardens in Florence; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

7 Photograph taken at noon by G. P. Purini of a rope ladder hanging from the central doorway of the Taj Mahal in Agra and used by restorers of the tomb; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

8-12 Drawings by Antonio Averlino detto il Filarete (born in Florence ca. 1400 A.D.), from his "Trattato di Architettura". The "Trattato" was dedicated to Piero de' Medici in 1464 A.D.

8 Map of the ideal city of Sforzinda—two squares are inscribed in a circle possibly after Vitruvius; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

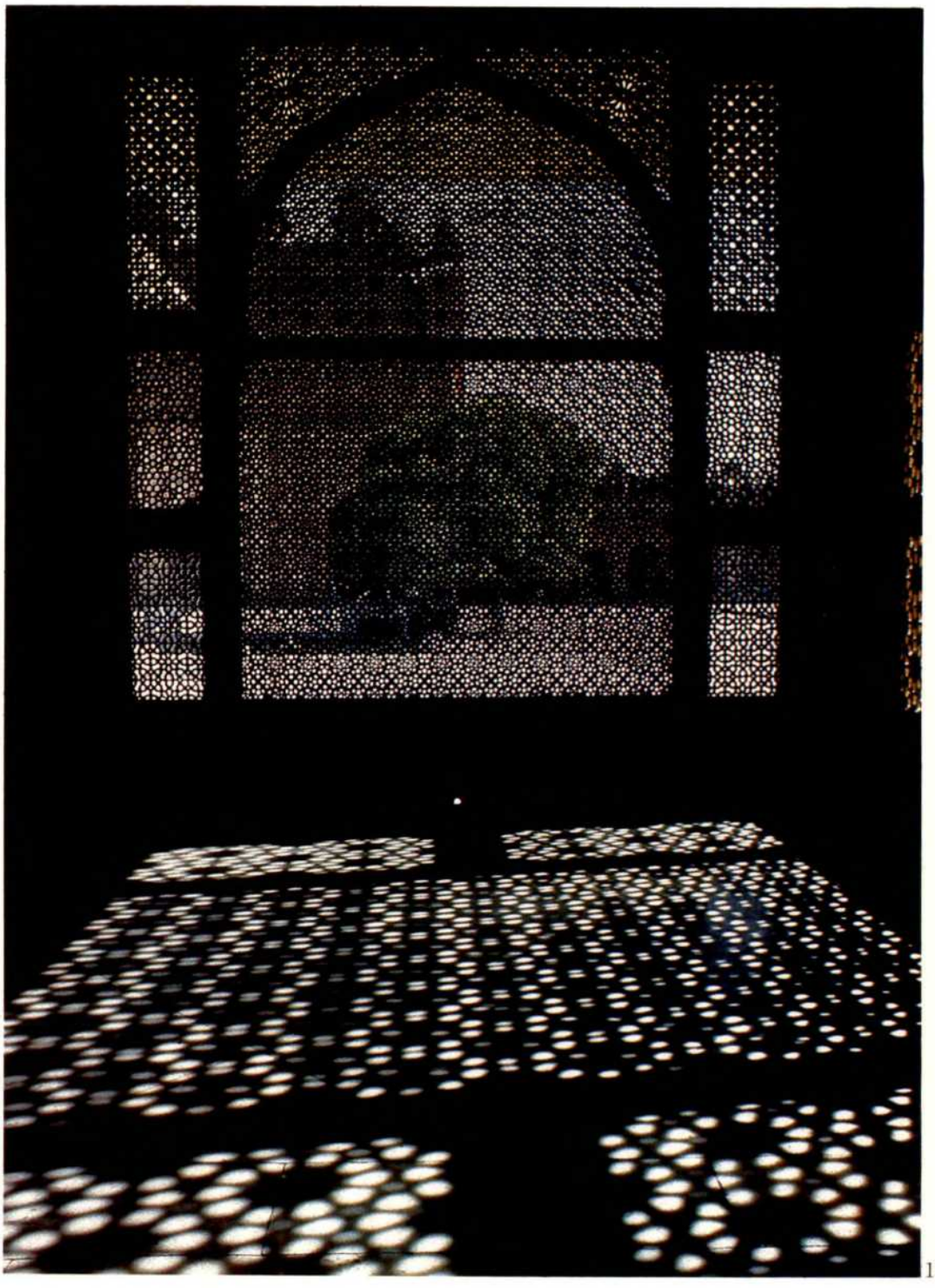
9 Sforzinda at the centre of a lake and an island with hanging gardens; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

10 Ideal building with a cupola flanked by four minaret-like towers; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

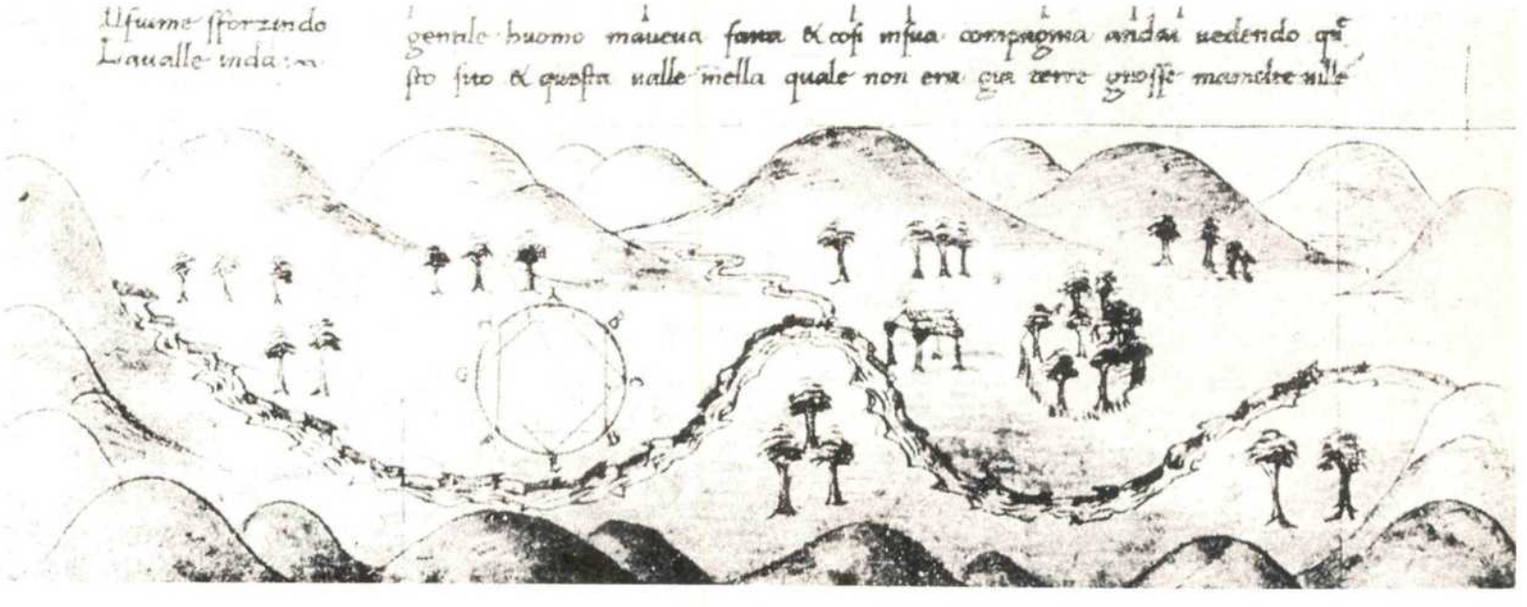
11 Building with minaret-like tower; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

12 Diagram of the ideal city of Sforzinda to be built along the banks of the mythical river "Indo"; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

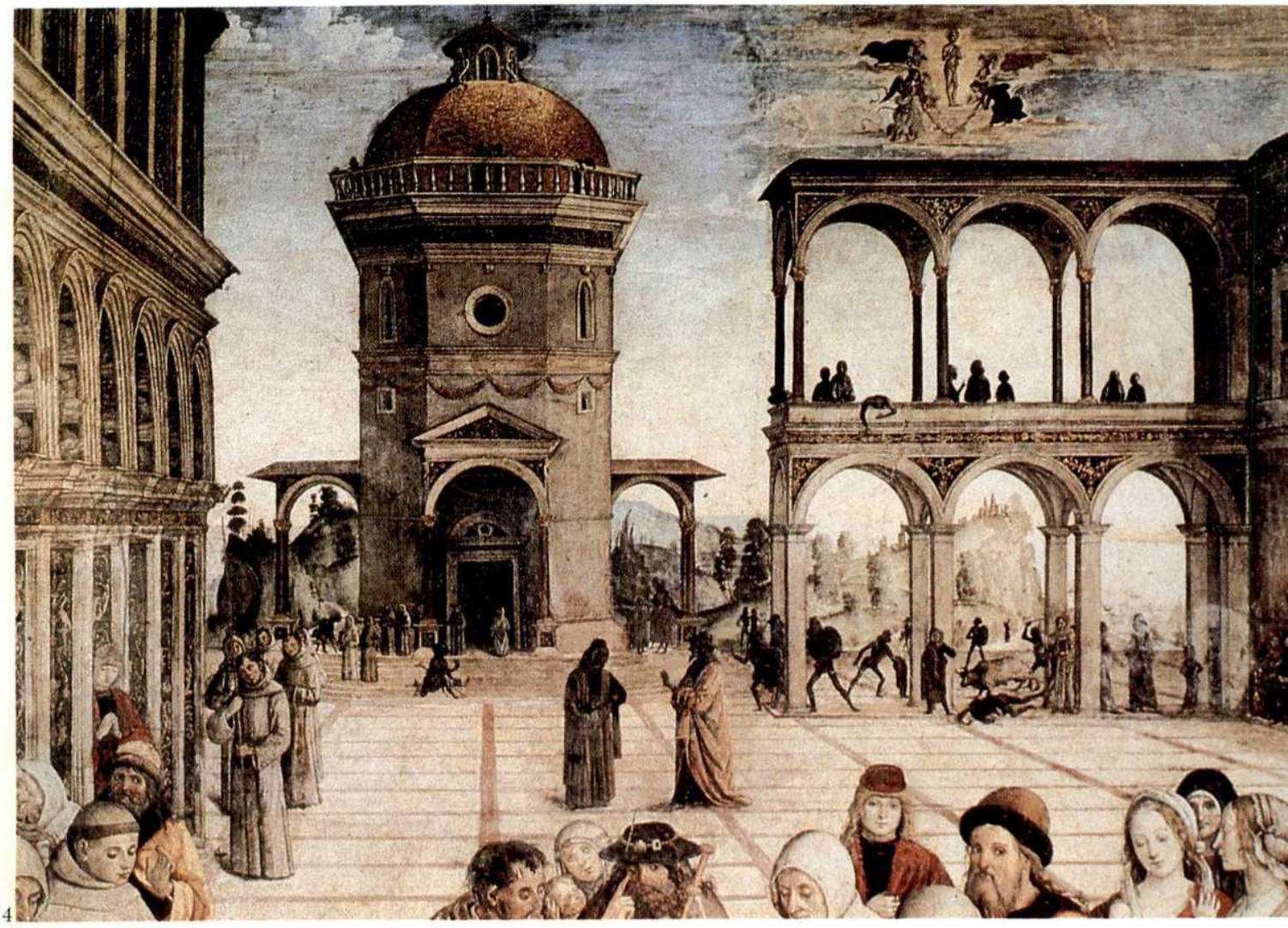
13 Pierced window of Shaikh Salim ad-Din Chishti's tomb, Fatehpur-Sikri; Mughal, 16th century; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.



13



12



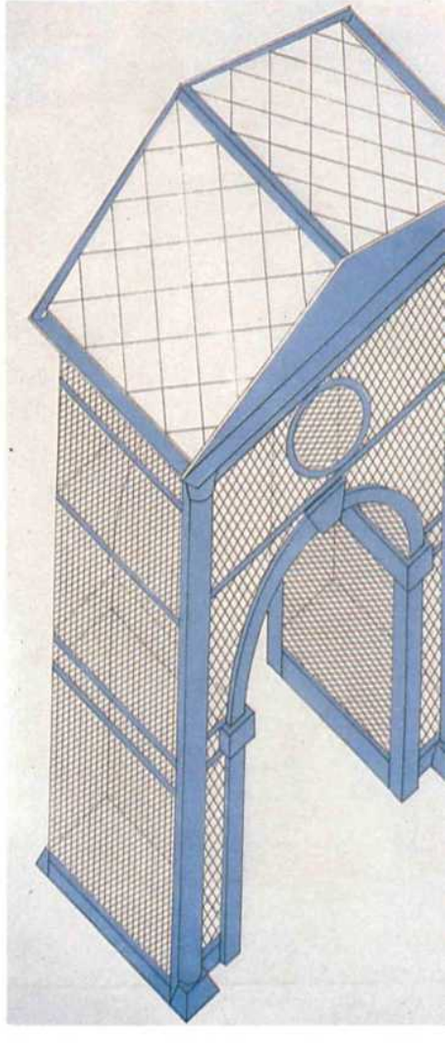
14

14 Pinturicchio: Funerali di S. Bernardino; 1486. Detail showing in the background imaginary buildings. Note the "transparent" wall of the porticoes; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

15 Arco della Pace in the Sanctuary of the Madonna delle Tre Fontane in Rome—EUR—designed by G. P. Purini and M. Mariani; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

16 Axionometric view of the Arco della Pace; Photo courtesy G. P. Purini.

15



Marg

Art Publications
Books •
Magazines •
Portfolios •

The World of Indian Art and Culture Every Quarter— within your reach

MARG, as its name implies, is a 'pathway' which leads the reader through forgotten vistas of the 5000-year-old culture of India and of its neighbouring countries. In each successive publication, MARG reveals facets of these rich and vibrant civilisations.

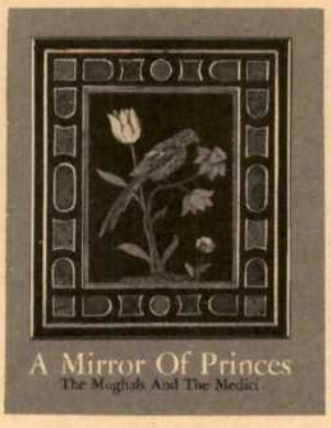
Now published every quarter in two formats:

The Marg Art Book:
A deluxe library edition of over 150 pages, handsomely cloth-bound and dust-jacketed, profusely illustrated with more than 40 colour plates and 130 black and white photographs.

The Marg Art Magazine:
An abridged edition, it provides a glimpse of Indian culture for all those interested but with a slender budget. On the same theme as the book, the soft-cover magazine edition contains 60 per cent of the articles of its hard-cover counterpart; plus regular features: a notes and book reviews section and advertisements that are specially designed to match the theme of the volume.

ome of the eminent uthorities on art who ave been regular ontributors to Marg:

. Sivaramamurti
arl Khandalavala
ouglas Barrett
Pal
ella Kramrisch
hn Irwin
Cary Welch
upul Jayakar
eorge Michell
. N. Goswamy
K. Srinivasan
otindra Jain
. D. Sankalia
atherine Asher
. L. Nigam



LATEST BOOK
A Mirror Of Princes
The Mughals And The Medici
pp. 156 + iv

The reader will explore the affinities between two great dynasties—the Mughals and the Medici—who, different by birth and culture, showed impeccable taste in the choice of art objects in their collections illustrated in this volume.

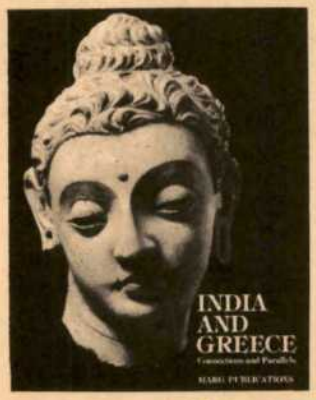
Edited by Dalu Jones.

Available Marg Art Books

Artists Today

A cross-section of contemporary Western and Indian art is represented in this culturally significant and generously illustrated publication. The provocative texts include the credos of the artists. From these the reader is likely to get new insights into the aesthetics and the total ethos of our global village today.

Edited by Ursula Bickelmann and Nissim Ezekiel. pp. 142+vi

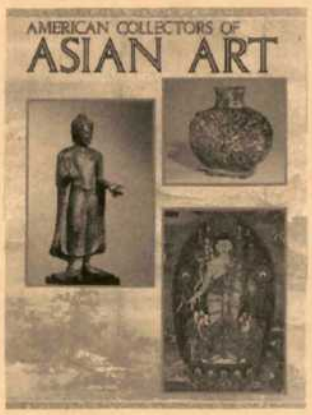


India and Greece Connections and Parallels

The ancient civilisations of India and Greece have had a profound effect on the cultural consciousness of the Asian and European worlds. This volume highlights the creative interaction between the two countries in the spheres of philosophy, religion and the arts. Edited by Saryu Doshi. pp. 132 + viii

Islamic Heritage of the Deccan

Brings alive in print—for the very first time—the fortresses, mosques and tombs at the Moslem Deccan capitals of Daulatabad, Gulbarga, Bidar, Bijapur and Golconda-Hyderabad. Also focuses on the intricate miniature paintings, metalwork and carpets produced at these centres. Edited by George Michell. pp. 130 + viii



American Collectors of Asian Art

Features the collections of Charles Lang Freer, Avery Brundage, John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, Nasli M. Heeramaneck, Edwin Binney, 3rd, Norton Simon, Samuel Eilenberg, the Zimmerman Family Collection, John Gilmore Ford, Paul F. Walter. Edited by Pratapaditya Pal. pp. 224 + iv

Fatehpur-Sikri

Devoted to the architecture and history of Akbar's city of victory, it features articles by an international group of scholars who attended a conference on this subject at Harvard University. Edited by Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry. pp. 204 + xii

Detach this portion. You may enclose your cheque in the order envelope below, which should be sealed and sent to the address overleaf.

Subscribe to **Marg** and share the splendour of Indian art and culture—every quarter. Get (and gift) an annual subscription:—

Marg magazines and books are available on an annual subscription basis. The saving is considerable as against the single copy prices—approximately 15 per cent on the magazine and over 35 per cent on the deluxe hard cover edition.

For your convenience, use the attached envelope to confirm your order. The subscription rates for the magazines and books are given below.

MARG SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	Magazine	Book
INDIA	Rs. 295.00	Rs. 650.00
OVERSEAS		
Sea mail	U.S. $ 40.00	U.S. $ 85.00
Airmail	U.S. $ 73.00	U.S. $ 135.00

For more information, contact or write direct to:

MARG Publications
Army & Navy Building,
148, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 400 023, INDIA.
Tel.: 242520.

or to:

1. Regional Offices

c/o Tata Services Limited,
Jeevan Tara Building,
5, Sansad Marg,
New Delhi 110 001.
Tel.: 311441 and 310975.

c/o The Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited,
Tata Centre, (12th Floor),
43, Chowringhee Road,
Calcutta 700 071.
Tel.: 291981 (Ext. 321).

2. Overseas Offices

U.K.: Tata Limited,
18, Grosvenor Place,
London SW1X 7HS.
Tel.: 01-235 8281-8

U.S.A.: Tata Incorporated,
101, Park Avenue,
New York, N.Y. 10178.
Tel.: (Area Code 212) 557-7979

GOODLASS NEROLAC PAINTS LTD.

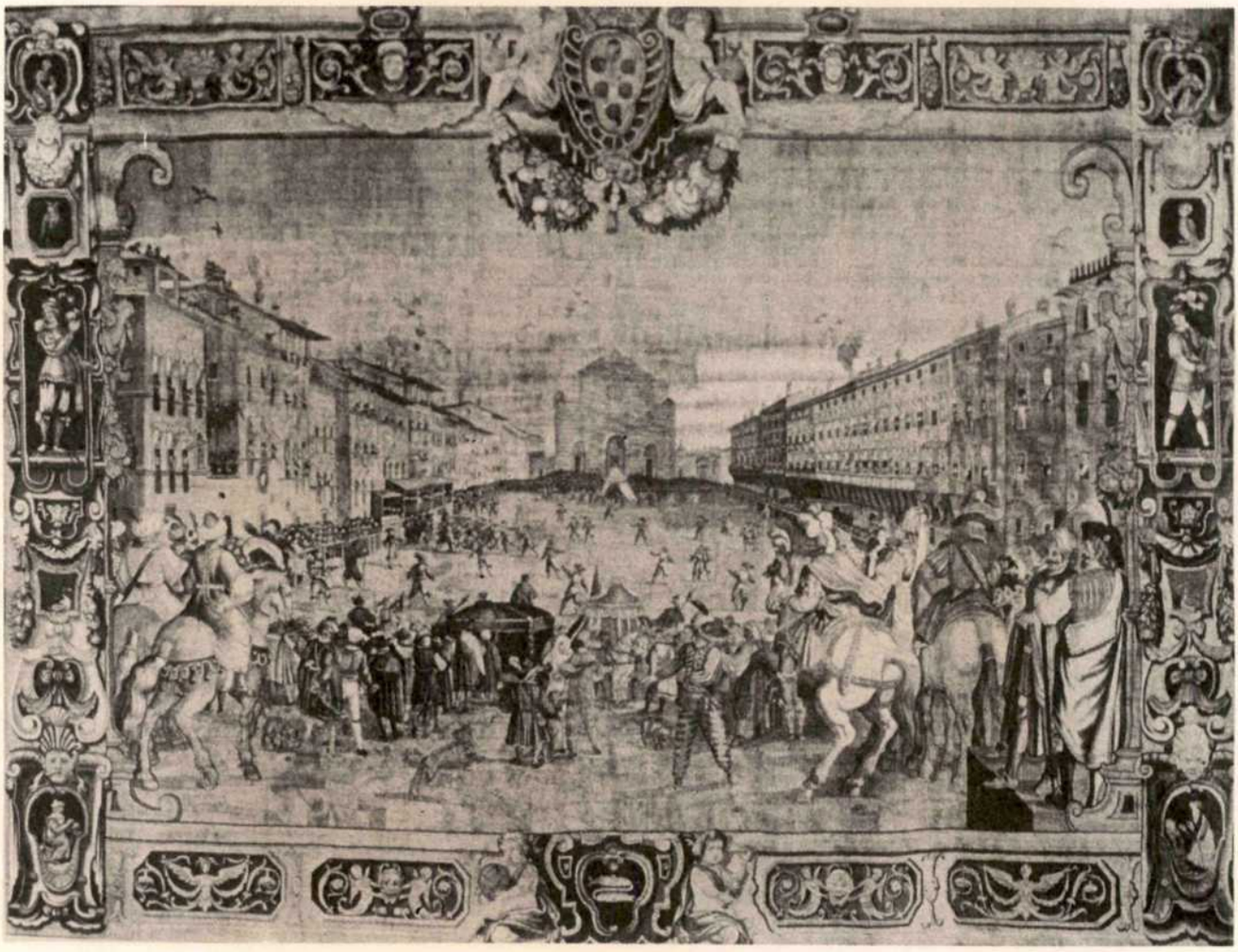
Anonymous, Miniature of Francesco I in a classical allegory; reverse of a copper oval; Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Inv. 1890, n. 4040.

Portrait of Giovanna d'Austria by A. Allori (1535-1607); Florence, Palazzo Pitti.

Johnson & Johnson

Cosimo "pater patriae", Bronzino (1503-1572); Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

ICIM International Computers Indian Manufacture Limited

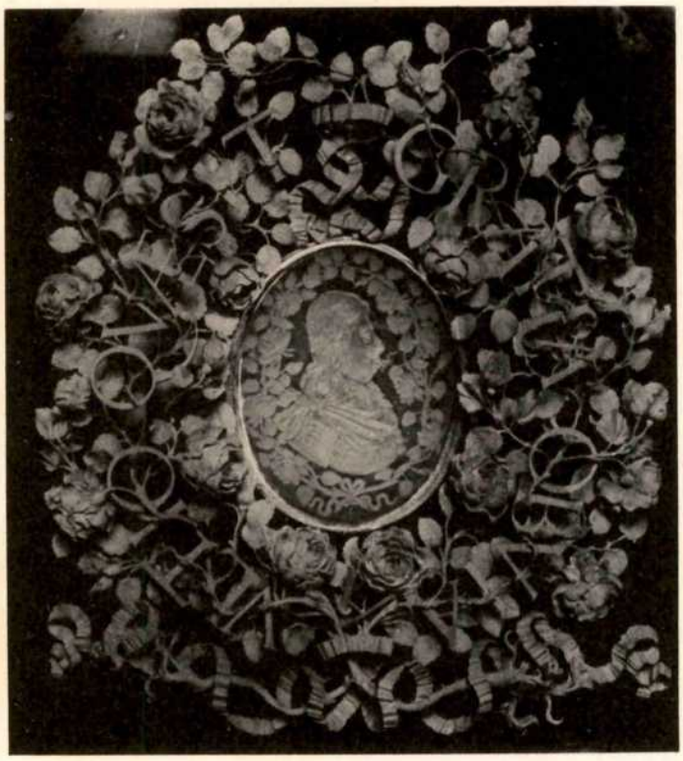


Football game in Piazza Santa Croce; 17th century; tapestry; Florence, Deposito Arazzi della Soprintendenza.

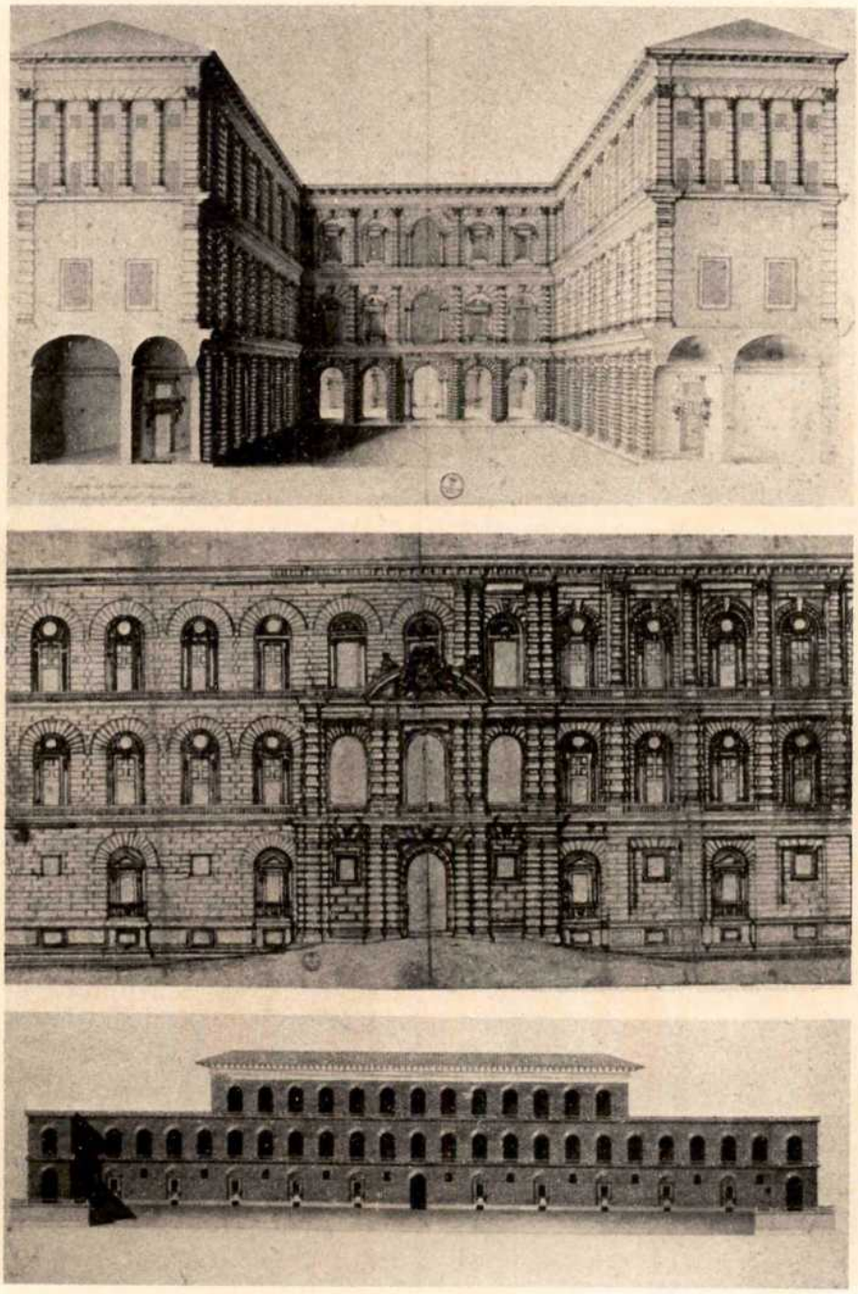
TATA EXPORTS LIMITED
Block A, Shivsagar Estates, Dr. Annie Besant Road,
Worli, Bombay 400 018, India. Tel. No. 492 0300, 492 0404
Telex: 1173691, 1173858, 1173716 • Cable: TATAEXPORT

Cosimo I, anonymous; engraving—rock crystal; Florence, Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti.

AIRFREIGHT
PRIVATE LIMITED



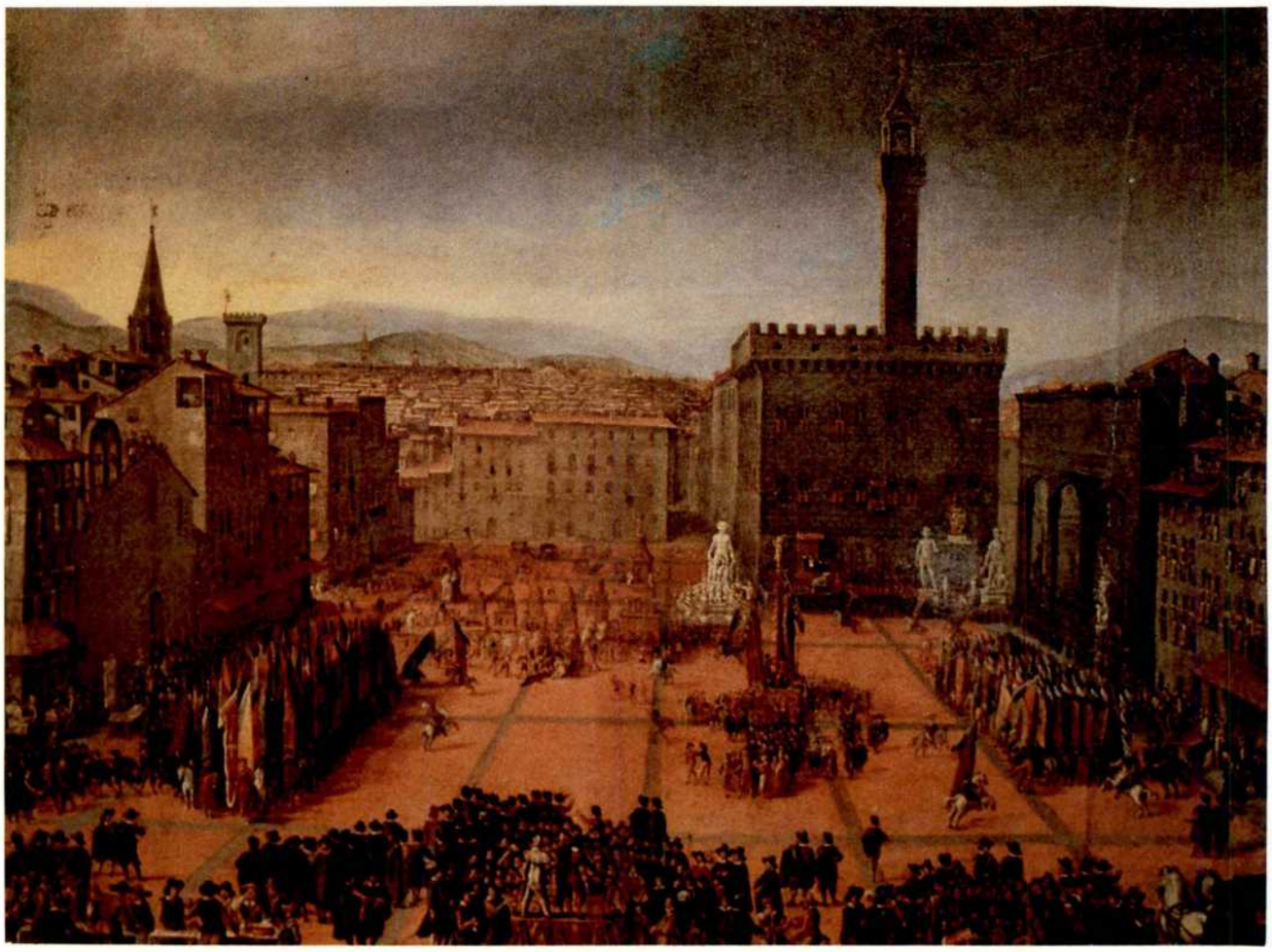
Portrait of Ferdinando II de'Medici; rock crystal; Florence, Opificio delle Pietre Dure.



G. Martelli, perspective of Palazzo Pitti; 19th century. Pietro da Cortona project for the face of Palazzo Pitti, 1640-45. Carl von Fischer, drawing of Palazzo Pitti.

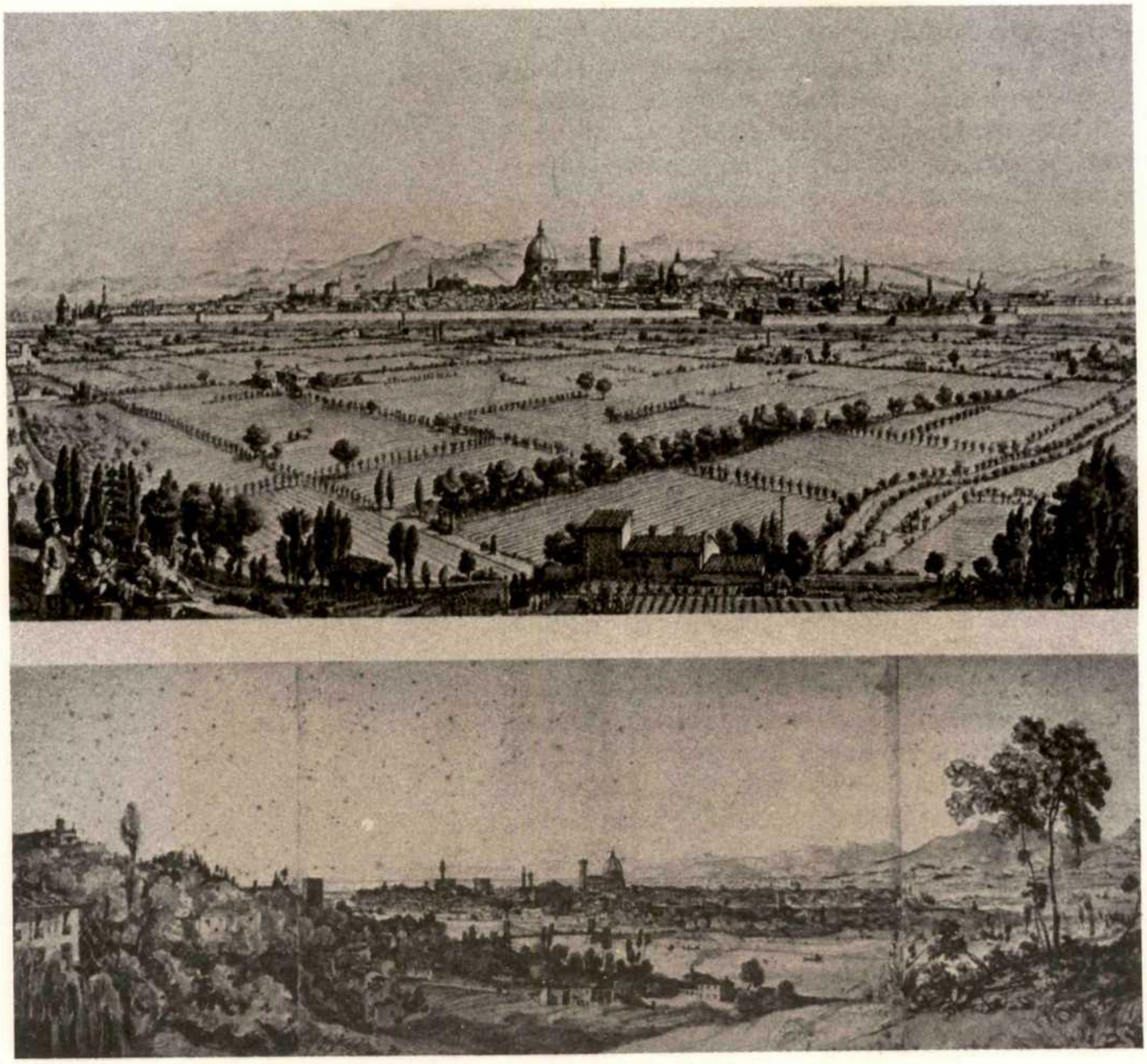
ULKA ADVERTISING PVT. LTD.

Marble panel with pietra dura; Shah Jahan period; Kuwait Museum, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, inv. n. LNS 70 S.



View of Florence, Piazza della Signoria.

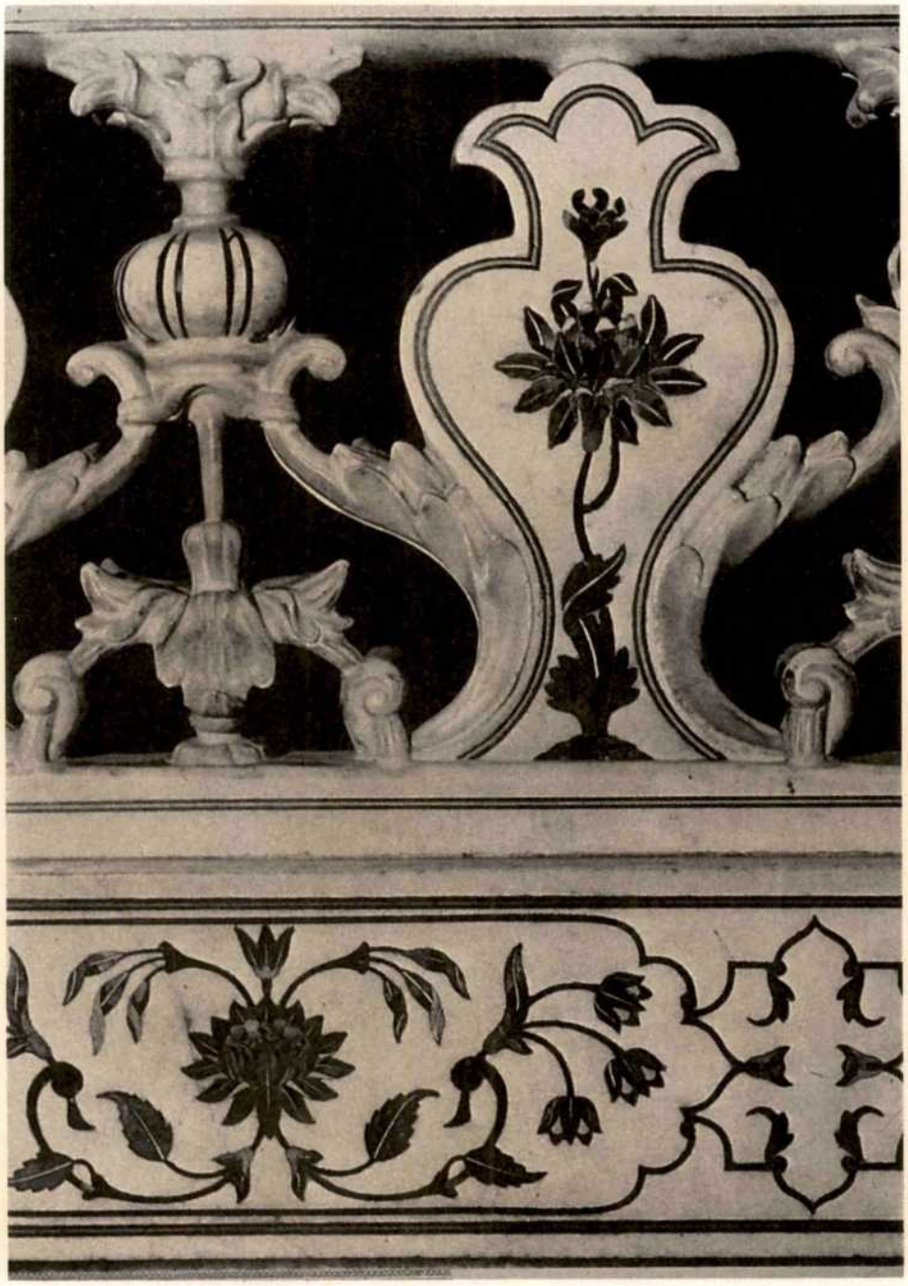
THE STANDARD MILLS COMPANY LIMITED
Fabrics that maintain the best standards
Mafatlal Centre, Nariman Point, P.O. Box 1051, Bombay 400 021.



View of Florence from the convent of the Cappuccini of Montughi, drawing by G. Zocchi; 1744. Panorama of Florence from South-East (Rusciano), drawing by E. Borci; ca. 1850.

Portrait of Alessandro de'Medici in armour in a classical pose by Vasari (1534); Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

It's a better life with RALLIS
Multi-Technology Group

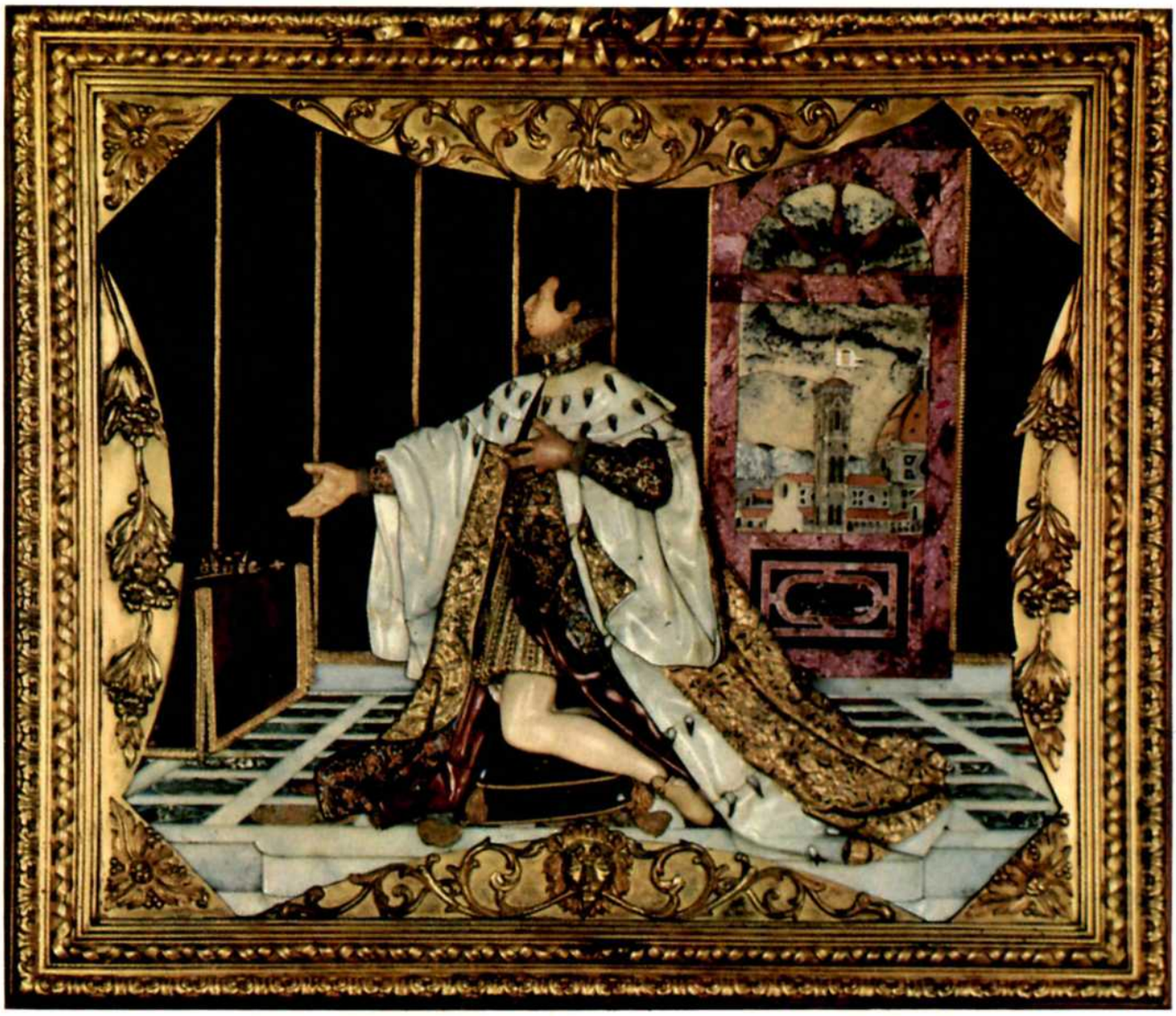


Marble inlaid decoration; Mughal; Agra, Taj Mahal.

FORBES FORBES CAMPBELL & COMPANY LIMITED
GOKAK PATEL VOLKART LIMITED
FACIT ASIA LIMITED
EUREKA FORBES LIMITED
Forbes Building, Charanjit Rai Marg, Bombay 400 001
Tel. No. 204 8081.

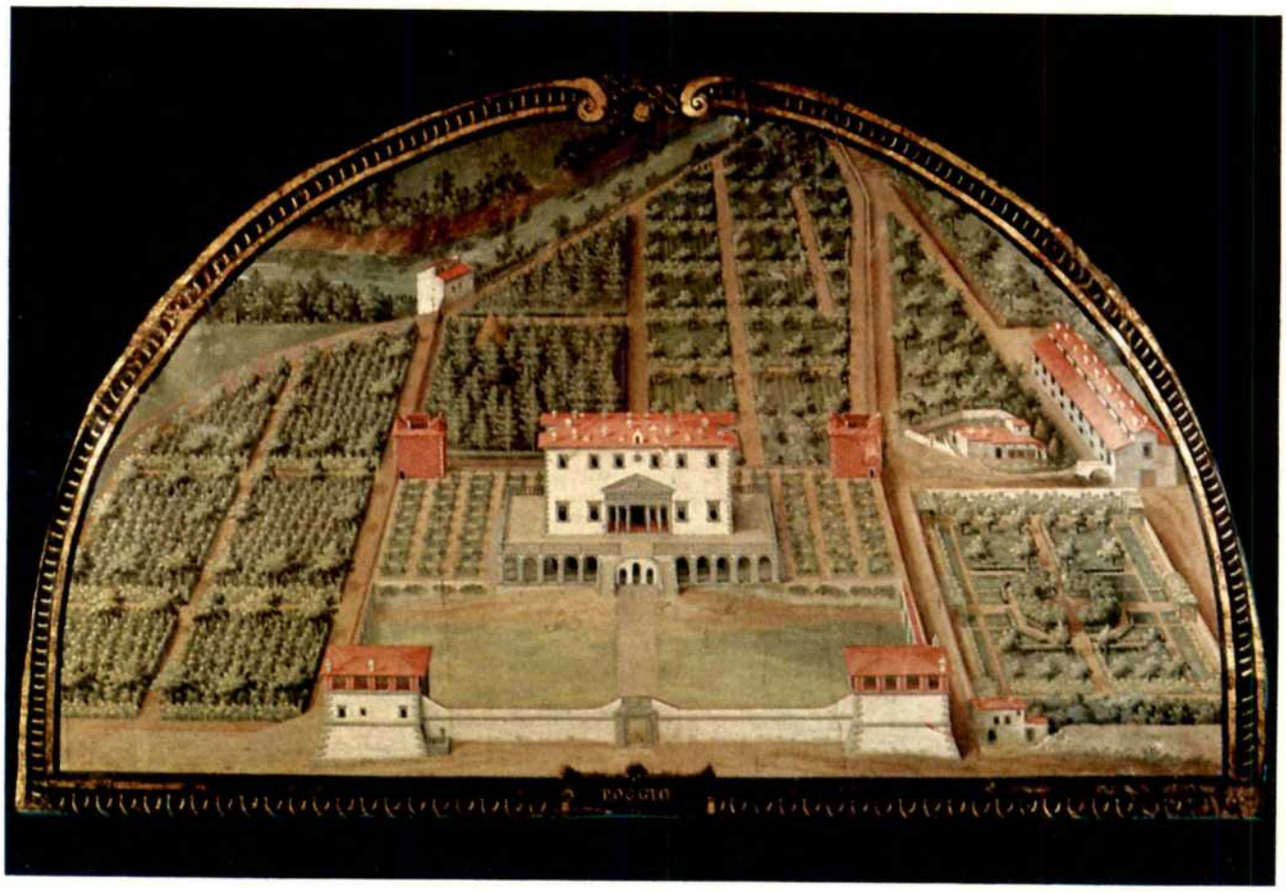
Decorations for the funeral of Gian Gastone de'Medici by F. Ruggeri; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale.

TATA DAVY LIMITED
6A, Middleton Street, Calcutta 700 071.

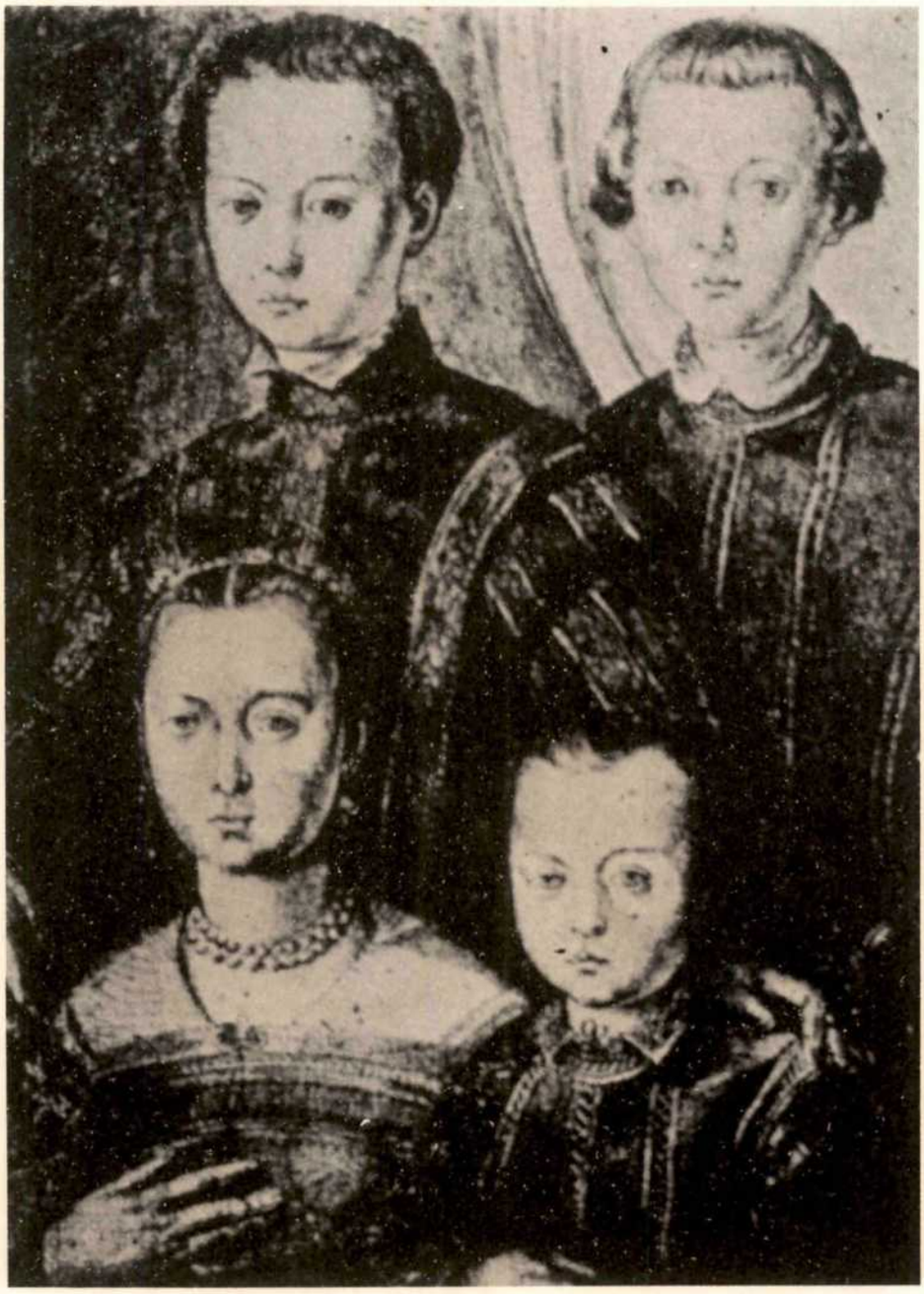


Cosimo II de'Medici; relief in pietra dura; *Florence, Museo degli Argenti.*

POLYCHEM LIMITED
Pioneers in plastics
7, J. Tata Road, Churchgate Reclamation, Bombay 400 020.



Villa Cafaggiolo de'Medici, Florence, lunette by Utens (d. 1609).

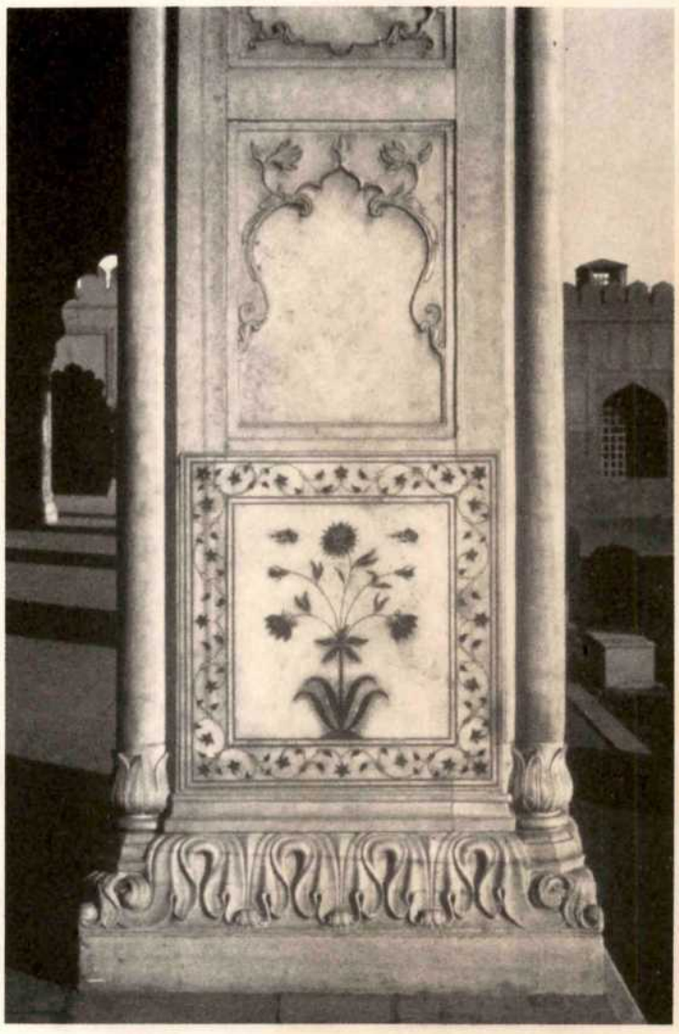


Garzia di Cosimo I by Bronzino (1503-1572); black chalk; Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

CENTURY TEXTILES AND INDUSTRIES LTD.

Leading exporter of cotton textiles from India

Regd. Office: 'Century Bhavan',
Dr. Annie Besant Road, Worli, Bombay 400 025.
Tel: 430 0351
Telex: 011-71027 CENT IN, 011-71434 CENT IN
Cable: 'CENTURY', Bombay.



Marble inlaid decoration; Mughal; Delhi, Red Fort.

WESMAN

1/2 Allenby Road, Calcutta 700 020

Manufacturers of:

Industrial Fuel Fired and Electric Furnaces, Fuel Firing Systems, Foundry Equipments, and Sand Preparation Systems

Branches at:

New Delhi, Madras, Bombay, Bangalore, Pune, Vishakhapatnam

Marble inlaid decoration; Mughal; Agra, Taj Mahal.

TITAN
QUARTZ

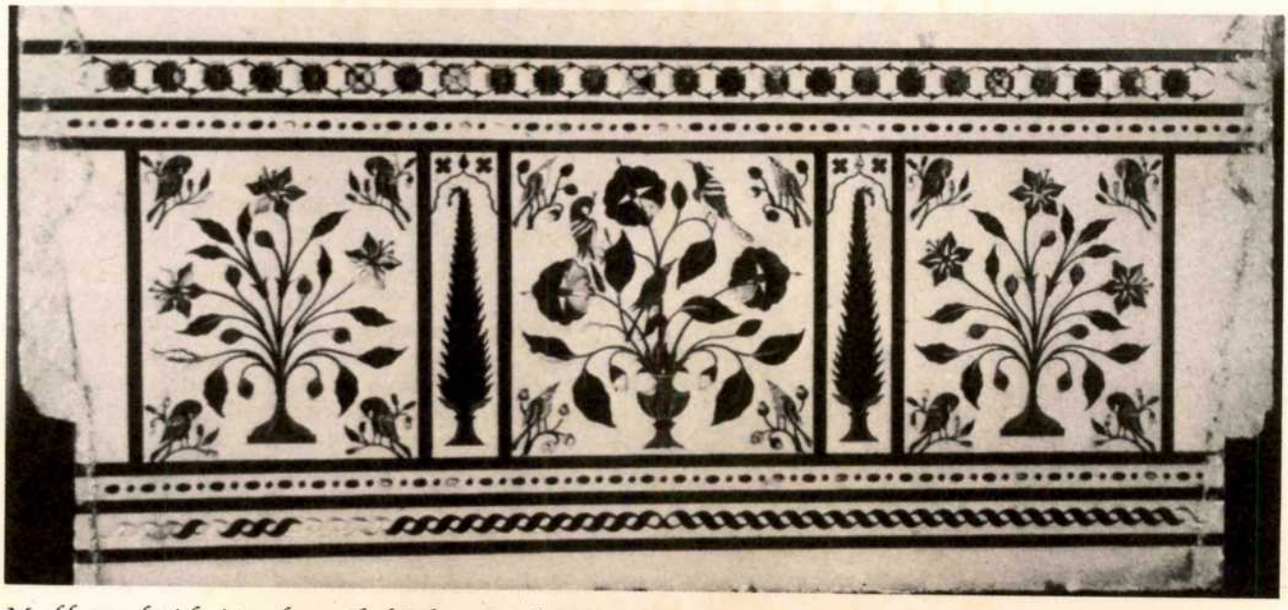
TITAN WATCHES LIMITED

Sona Towers, 71, Miller Road,
Bangalore-560 052 Tel : 75051

Lorenzo il Magnifico, anonymous; Prague Natinal Galerie.

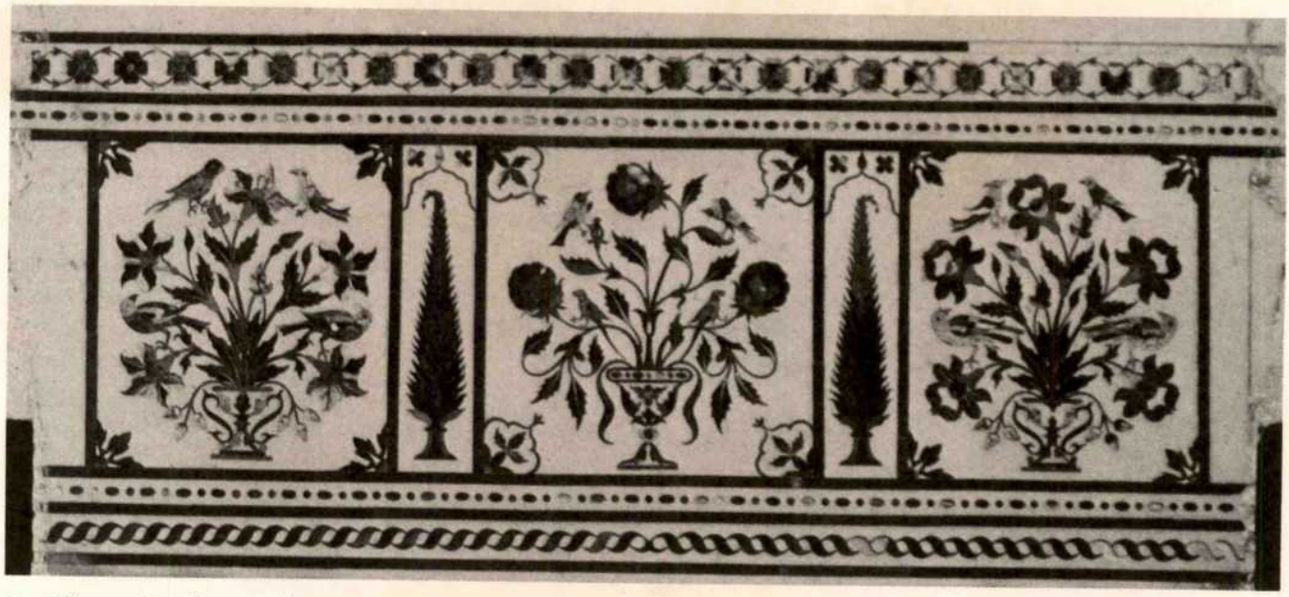
Goodricke Group Limited

14 Gurusaday Road, Calcutta 700 019
Regd. Office: 9 Lala Lajpat Rai Sarani, Calcutta 700 020
Tel: 44-3067, 44-8737, 44-7395, 44-7269, 44-1816, 44-7185
Telex: 2150 (GGL) • Telegrams: 'GOODRICAL', CALCUTTA



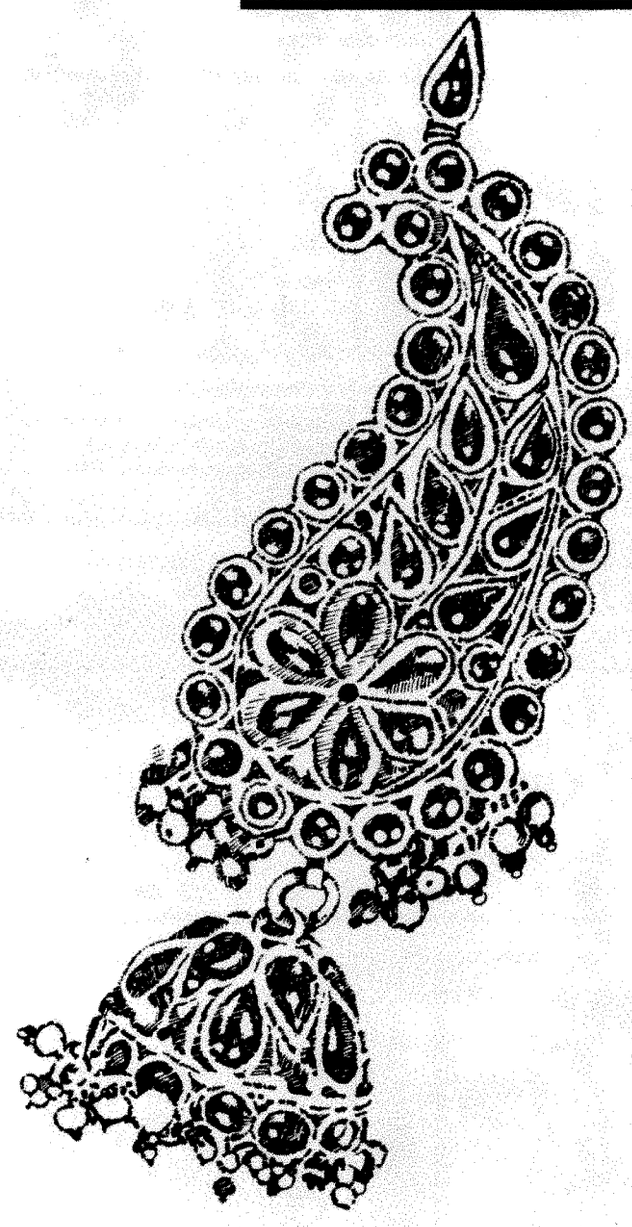
Marble panel with pietra dura; Shah Jahan period; Kuwait Museum, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, inv. n. LNS 70 S.

Lakmé LIMITED



Marble panel with pietra dura; Shah Jahan period; Kuwait Museum, Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah, inv. n. LNS 70 S.

LEND AN EAR TO THIS STORY



An earring. Pretty to go out in. And put back in its box at night. But what about the story behind it? The story of the hands that crafted it?

It begins when India became free in 1947, forty years ago. In the first flush of freedom a small but powerful, elite group thought that big industries were in and crafts were out. "They are backward," they said, "they're handmade and clumsy, they cost too much to produce. Nothing like the machine and modernity." False notions, of course.

For a moment Indian crafts with their thousands of years of heritage and beauty were imperilled. Millions of craftsmen with no other livelihood faced extinction.

But a band of dedicated people thwarted this design.

With their endeavour the Central Cottage Industries Emporium, New Delhi, was set up and became a showcase of crafts retaining their pristine purity and beauty and moulded to modern usage.

The Cottage set about promoting and marketing crafts with the latest techniques. It helped restore the craftsmen's pride in their work, recognised their genius and gave them a viable and honoured future.

More, it helped to give India and the world access to the finest crafts with a guarantee of authenticity and value. It helped to set standards in aesthetics across the globe.

Today Indian Crafts are a rage around the world, built through dedication, devotion and imagination. Each piece unique, superb, gracious.

Machines admirably conform, human hands admirably don't!

Central Cottage Industries Emporium

A Govt of India Undertaking

Delhi. Bombay. Calcutta. Bangalore

Changing people's lives. Dramatically.

ASP/CCIE/87/

ARE YOU SURE?

SUBSCRIBE TO

Oriental Art

THE LEADING
QUARTERLY
DEVOTED TO ALL FORMS
OF ORIENTAL ART

THE MOST authoritative and lavishly illustrated articles by contributors of international repute on the arts of the Near, Middle and Far East appear in ORIENTAL ART—the most widely read periodical in its field.

Other informative features are the illustrated Sales Reports from Britain and the U.S.A. that reflect the tone of the Dealer's market, and the scholarly Book Reviews.

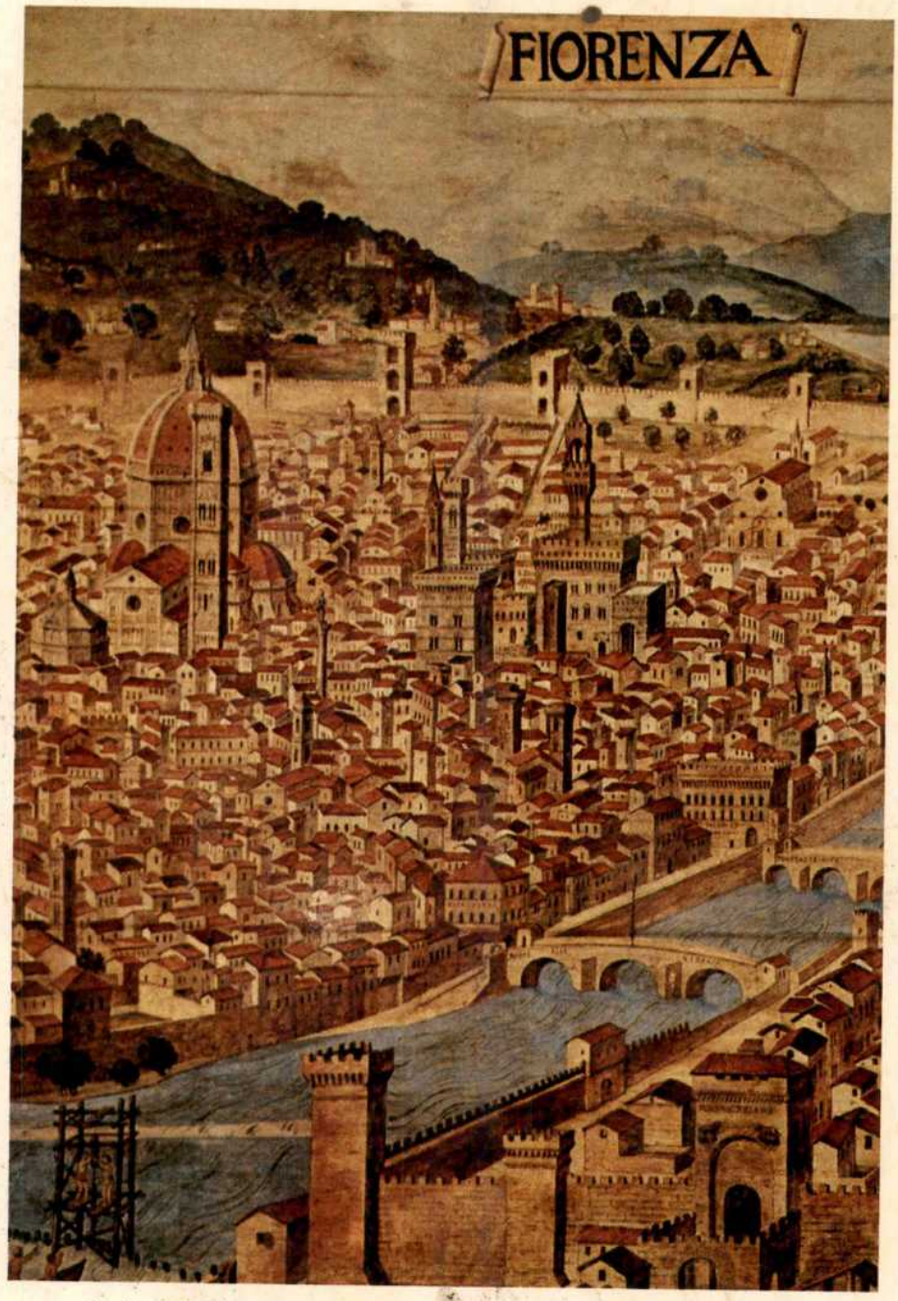
To be well-informed on Oriental Art a subscription to this unique Quarterly is essential: £14.00, USA $26.00 (air-speeded) as remittance.

Dept A **THE ORIENTAL ART MAGAZINE LTD**
12 ENNERDALE ROAD RICHMOND SURREY ENGLAND

Portrait of Pope Leo X with Giulio de' Medici, by Raffaello (1483-1520); Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi.

Registered with the Registrar of Newspapers
for India under No. 14157/57

STERLING INVESTMENT CORPORATION PRIVATE LIMITED

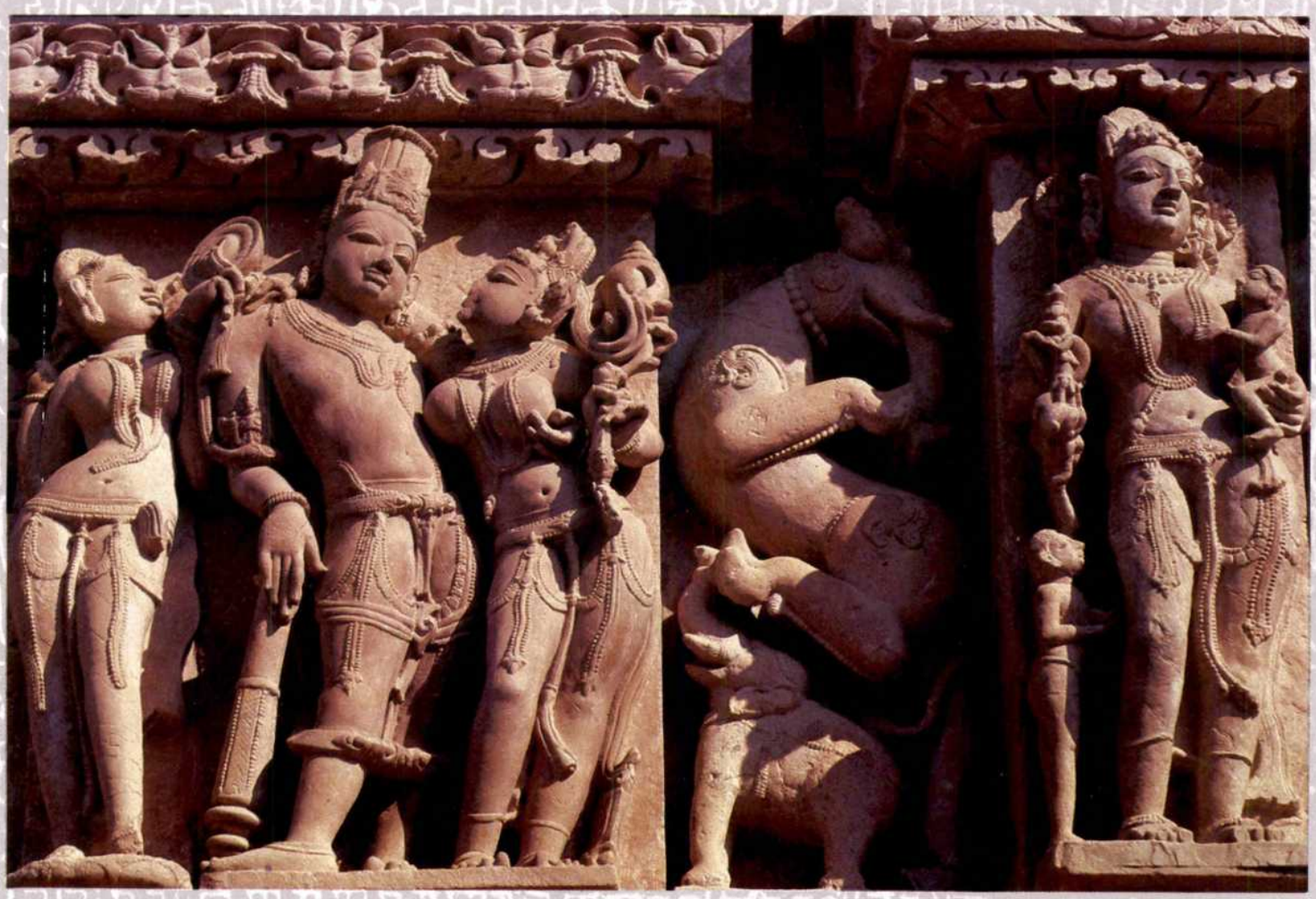


View of Florence in the Middle Ages.

17 SEP 1988

Mārg

Monarchs and Temples



Khajuraho: Parshvanatha Jain temple built in the reign of King Dhanga;
Surasundaris, divine couple and *vyla* (griffin) on the wall; *c.* A. D. 950-970.

Marg

NATIONAL CENTRE FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS

Monarchs and Temples

Volume XXXIX No. 2

A MAGAZINE OF THE ARTS

Editorial Panel
Karl Khandalavala
Roshan Sabavala
Sadashiv Gorakshkar

Guest Editor
Vidya Dehejia

Senior Editorial Executive
Radhika Sabavala

Editorial Executives
Sudha Seshadri
L. K. Mehta

Executive-in-Charge
(Design and Production)
Behroze J. Bilimoria

Design and Production Assistant
Vivek Panchal

Executive Manager
Secretary, Managing Committee
A. D. Katrak

Chief Accountant
K. P. S. Nambiar

Articles, photographs and drawings sent with a view to publication will be carefully considered, but the editors will not undertake responsibility for loss or damage. All articles and illustrations should bear the name and address of the sender, and postage should be sent to cover their return.

Marg Publications publish with each of their quarterly journals, a book on the same theme. Designed as a de-luxe edition of the journal, the book is bound in hard cover and contains additional information on the subject in the form of erudite articles as well as excellent reproductions in black and white and colour.

Annual subscription for 4 books:
Inland: Rs. 650.00 inclusive of packing and registered A.D. postage.
Foreign: U.S. $ 85.00 inclusive of packing and registered sea mail postage.

Annual subscription for 4 magazines:
Inland: Rs. 295.00 inclusive of packing and registered A.D. postage.
Foreign: U.S. $ 40.00 inclusive of packing and registered sea mail postage.

Single copy: Rs. 85.00, U.S. $ 12.00 plus postage.

All cheques should be crossed and payable to MARG PUBLICATIONS

MARG PUBLICATIONS, ARMY AND NAVY BUILDING, M. G. ROAD, BOMBAY 400 023.

Published by J. J. Bhabha for Marg Publications at Army and Navy Building, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 400 023. Printed by K. Sanjiva Rao at the Tata Press Limited, Bombay 400 025. MARG is a quarterly, printed and published from Bombay, India.

CONTENTS

Patron, Artist and Temple 2
An Introduction
Vidya Dehejia

Munificent Monarch and a Superior Sculptor 9
Eighth Century Chamba
Pratapaditya Pal

Inspired Patron of Himalayan Art 25
Eighth Century Kashmir
Robert E. Fisher

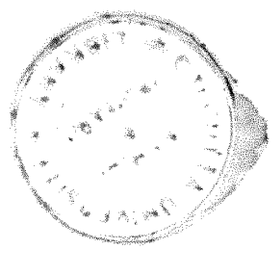
Kalachuri Monarch and his Circular Shrine of the Yoginis 37
Tenth Century Bheraghat
Vidya Dehejia

Lord of Kalanjara and his Shrine of the Emerald Linga 45
Eleventh Century Khajuraho
Devangana Desai

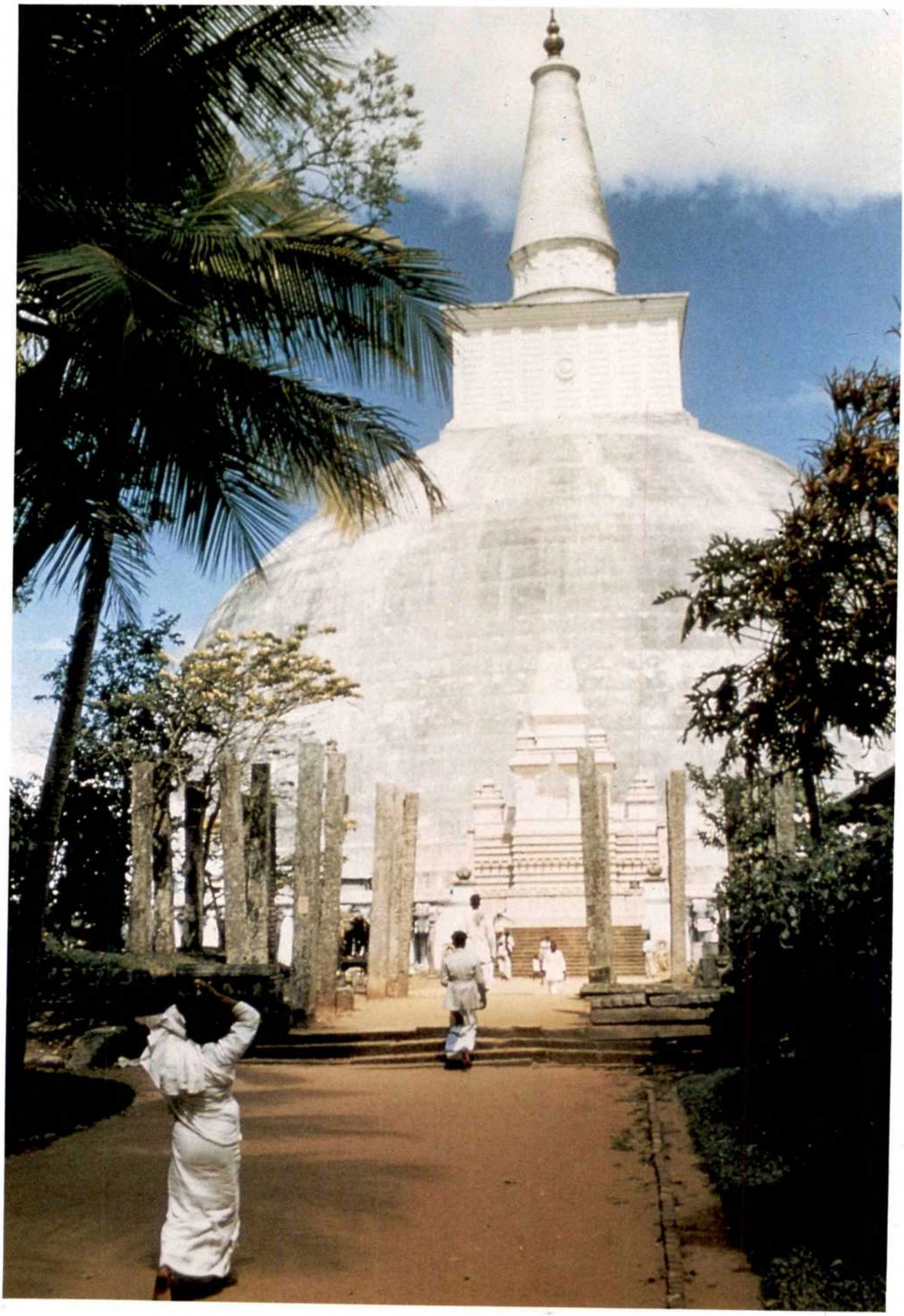
Scholar-emperor and a Funerary Temple 61
Eleventh Century Bhojpur
Kirit Mankodi

Notes 73

Book Review 78



Cover: Vishvanatha temple along with subsidiary shrines, from west, rear view, 1002, Chandella style, Khajuraho.



1 The Ruvanveli or "Gold Dust" stupa at Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka. Built by King Dutthagamini in the second century B.C., this royal dedication is popularly known as the *Mahathupa* or Great Stupa.

Patron, Artist and Temple

An Introduction

Vidya Dehejia

And the King made it known: 'Work shall not be done here without wage.'

A thera . . . who wished . . . to take part in the work of building the cetiya . . . came hither and when he had made a brick in the size [such as was used there] after having learned [the exact measure] he, deceiving the work-people, gave it to the workman. This man laid it on its place [in the thupa], and a quarrel arose [on this matter]. When the King knew this he asked: 'Is it possible to recognize the brick?' Although the workman knew it, he answered the King: 'It is impossible.' To the question: 'Dost thou know the thera?' he answered: 'Yes.'

The King commanded that a pair of garments, worth a thousand [pieces of money], and a costly red coverlet be given to him, and when he had [also] commanded to give him many things used by samanas, and sugar and a nali of fragrant oil withal, he laid his command upon him.

The building of the great stupa by King Dutthagamini
Second century B.C.
Mahavamsa, Chapter XXX.[1]

In exchange for adequate, often generous, payment a large group of artists and craftsmen built the great stupa at Anuradhapura in Sri Lanka for the royal patron, King Dutthagamini. It was considered vital that every craftsman be paid in good measure for the work executed by him; for

only thus could the king ensure that the religious merit involved in the construction of this sacred monument would accrue to him alone. The monk who wished to acquire a measure of this merit and who persuaded the bricklayer to lay in place a brick made by him, instead of using the bricks provided by the monarch, was paid many times over in order to make doubly sure that the entire religious merit was retained by the king. One of the prime concerns of the patron of sacred monuments in ancient India, whether of Buddhist, Jain or Hindu affiliation, was this acquisition of *punya* or religious merit which would bring divine favor on matters of state, and more significantly, would ensure favorable conditions in a future birth. This aspect of the patronage of temples and other sacred structures in the Indian subcontinent would seem to place patronage in India in a category distinguishing its basic issues from those of the Western world.

The other major concern of the royal patron was obviously pride in his achievement as a great builder of monuments, a concern which the Indian patron shared with his counterparts the world over. When Chola emperor Aditya built several elegant stone temples at the end of the ninth century, it would have given him great joy to read inscriptions describing him as the monarch "by whom the row of large temples of Siva, as it were banners of his own victories, lofty and unacquainted with defeat [collapse] were built of stone on the two banks of the Kaveri from the Sahya mountains . . . even to the ocean."[2] Not infrequently, a royal patron gave his own name to the finest temple he constructed. Thus Rajasimha Pallava's "Shore Temple" at Mahabalipuram is described in its foundation inscription as the Rajasimhesvara temple; similarly the "Great Temple" at Tanjore was named the Rajarajesvara after its royal patron, Rajaraja Chola. These great monuments brought added renown to a monarch already famed for his military prowess and statesmanship; they stood for generations to come as a testimony to his personal glory.

A temple often served to pronounce or underline a political statement, becoming a royal assertion of personal power, and this is amply borne out by the monumental temples built by the imperial Cholas in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. When emperor Rajaraja consolidated the Chola empire and extended its power overseas, he built at his capital a temple that was five times as large as any yet built in south India. Reaching up to a height of 216 feet, it was, in its time, the tallest structure in all of India; its interior was decorated with frescoes, while sculpted images adorned the exterior. Rajaraja, his queen and his nobles commissioned sixty-six metal images, mostly of copper, but a few of gold, and the most sumptuous gem-studded jewelry was gifted to decorate these images. The emperor arranged lavish endowments of land and money for the upkeep of the temple and appointed four treasurers, seven accountants and nine sub-accountants to manage these endowments. One hundred and forty-three watchmen patrolled the temple, while four hundred dancing girls from ninety-one shrines all over the empire were brought to Tanjore to serve the Lord of Rajaraja. In addition, there were four hundred and fifty other functionaries attached to the temple, including a chief architect and two assistant architects. It is interesting to note that while we are told the name of each dancing girl, and while the exact number of the house provided for her is specified, no such details are mentioned with regard to the architects. We are informed, in one of the over hundred inscriptions on the temple walls,[3] exactly how many cows and sheep were given to various shepherds so that they could produce specified amounts of ghee to keep the one hundred and fifty-eight temple lamps burning each night; but we hear nothing of the number of workers involved in building the great granite temple that still stands testimony to Rajaraja's power. Incidentally, it is inconceivable that forced labor could have played any part in Rajaraja's temple[4] in view of the concept of *punya* resulting from temple construction, and the consequent importance of the payment of craftsmen so specifically stated in the *Mahavamsa* account quoted earlier.

When Rajendra Chola succeeded his father, he too felt the need to proclaim and perpetuate his personal glory, and he launched out into the construction of a new capital with a temple therein that would rival the one built by his father. He named his temple the Rajendra-Cholisvara or the Lord of Rajendra Chola. This tradition was carried on by the later Chola rulers. Thus Rajaraja II's temple at Darasuram is the Rajarajesvara, while Tribhuvanavira Kulottunga III's temple is named the Tribhuvana-virisvaram and described in its inscription as having "a brilliant, tall and excellent vimana which interrupts the Sun."[5]

2 The Rajarajesvara temple at Tanjore built by emperor Rajaraja Chola, *c.* A.D. 1000.

An entire temple or a stupa was a monumental undertaking and generally it was only a royal patron or a member of the aristocracy who had resources necessary to ensure its completion. Yet, as we look back to the beginnings of construction in the medium of stone—to the century before Christ and the first few centuries A.D.—we find that major monuments were erected through popular and collective patronage. In the century before Christ, the great stupa at Sanchi, 120 feet in diameter, was faced with stone slabs, and surrounded with a massive stone railing with four ornamental gateways giving access to a broad circumambulatory path. A second ambulatory path was laid 15 feet from the ground with steps leading up to it, and a *harmika* railing was laid at

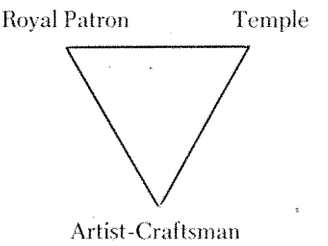
the top of the stupa. This ambitious project, in which stone was used for the first time on an unprecedented scale, was not, as one might have imagined, the result of royal patronage. On the contrary, as I have discussed at length elsewhere,[6] the monument was raised through numerous small donations from the residents of various towns. There are no less than six hundred and thirty-one donative inscriptions at Sanchi, each engraved on the paving stone, crossbar, rail pillar, coping or sculpture gifted by the individual donor. Only one inscription, a small donation from a certain Queen Vakula, involved royalty. The remaining six hundred and thirty speak of donations from monks and nuns, lay worshipers, householders and housewives, and from members of a variety of professions including merchants, bankers, surveyors, and masons.

Comparable collective patronage was also responsible for the construction of the extensive rock-cut monasteries of Hinayana Buddhism in western India. The great *chaitya* hall at Karle, extending 124 feet into the rock, the most extensive monument of this period, is a case in point. As I have shown elsewhere,[7] the cave contains twenty-seven donative inscriptions from monks, nuns and traders, from a carpenter and a perfumer. Only one gift, of the lion pillar outside the cave, is connected with officialdom, and it comes from a *maharathi* who is probably a highly placed official. From a total of several thousand caves in western India, only two caves at the site of Nasik were excavated by royalty. However, monarchs appear to have supported the more important of these Buddhist monasteries by granting villages for their upkeep.

Between B.C. 100 and A.D. 300, collective and popular patronage of sacred monuments, Buddhist and Jain, existed on a wide scale in domains ruled by various dynasties including the

2

Sungas, Satavahanas, Kushans and Ikshvakus. Economic prosperity apparently led to surplus money accumulating in the hands of a wide section of the community, with the result that the patronage of religious art was not the prerogative of royalty and nobility. Persons of humbler professions were able to indulge in this luxury. The later history of the art of India presents us with evidence of overwhelming, if not exclusive, royal involvement in religious art. Are we to believe that a similar wave of prosperity never again arose among the people, or that the populace were never again so staunchly religious? Neither proposition seems feasible since we find, for instance, that bronze images of the gods and the saints were gifted by a variety of donors to the temples of south India. Yet, these temples themselves were invariably royal constructions, having been built by monarchs who were presumably aware of the value of art as a political statement. The answer then would appear to lie in the dual ambition of monarchs both to amass religious merit that would be their mainstay in a future birth, and to acquire the degree of worldly prestige that would enable them to arrogate to themselves the title of "Great Builder of Temples".



The process of royal patronage in ancient India was a three-cornered process. The royal patron stood at the top, with the result of his patronage, the temple, beside him; the artist-cum-craftsman whom he patronized belonged at the bottom of the triangle. While patronage invariably involves a relationship of social disparity, nowhere else in the world is this disparity so marked. The artist in India belonged to the lowest order of society, to the caste of Sudras, comprised of those who labored with their hands, whether it be to produce a basic wooden beam or an elegant sandalwood sculpture, a simple thatched hut or a fine stone temple. The artist was a member of a guild, and guilds of sculptors, painters and architects occupied a position in the social order parallel to that of guilds of potters, blacksmiths, weavers or carpenters. Despite the fact that the artist frequently had access to the monarch and played a significant role in both royal court and temple, he had a lowly status, similar to that of musician and dancer who held similar privileged positions and yet were of low caste.

To examine the role of the artist, we may return to the document with which this essay commenced, the *Mahavamsa* account of the construction of the great stupa at Anuradhapura by the monarch Dutthagamini. We read there of the king questioning the architect who was ultimately entrusted with the plan of the monument:

> "'In what form will thou make the cetiya?'
>
> When the master builder had had a golden bowl filled with water, he took water in his hand and let it fall on the surface of the water. A great bubble rose up like unto a half-globe of crystal. He said 'Thus will I make it.'
>
> And well-pleased the King bestowed on him a pair of garments worth a thousand [pieces of money] and ornamented shoes and twelve thousand kahapanas."[8]

After this single mention, the architect disappears from the narrative, and we do not even get to know his name, despite the fact that several chapters are devoted to the construction of this royal monument. We are not even told if the architect of the *mahathupa* had built other monuments that conferred fame on him, thus entitling him to an audience with Dutthagamini. He remains a nebulous figure.

It is however a misrepresentation to say that the artist deliberately chose to remain anonymous, and thus "conformed to that general pursuit of depersonification and renunciation of individuality which was directed toward the attainment of the Absolute."[9] The artist had little choice in the matter and did not voluntarily or consciously renounce his personality. We may assume that the master architect of a temple or the master sculptor of a major image was justifiably proud of his workmanship. Certainly the sculptor Sivamitra, who, in the second century A.D., carved a life-size image of the Buddha for the famous Jetavana monastery at Sravasti, proudly proclaimed his authorship in an inscription along the base of the image and further announced that he belonged to the town of Mathura.[10] One may assume that the *mahathupa* architect would have been pleased to take credit for the elegant form of the monument he designed, and so too the nameless chief architect of the Tanjore temple. However, the social position of the artist in ancient India rarely allowed him this choice; more often, he worked unprotestingly in the background for his patron who was a powerful magnate, if not the monarch himself. Only occasionally, as in the case of ruler Meruvarman of Chamba and bronze-caster Gugga, highlighted by the first essay in this volume, is a close and direct relationship between patron and artist evident.

When joint work was involved, as when an entire guild of sculptors worked on the richly ornamented walls of a temple, one would expect the guild as a whole to claim recognition for their work. For instance, the ivory-carvers of Vidisa proudly claimed the honor of carving a stone bas-relief on the south gateway of the Sanchi stupa.[11] Yet it is not often that we find such

proclamations. We may assume, for instance, that the guilds of sculptors and painters who worked on the richly decorated caves at Ajanta were proud of their work. Yet, apart from one hastily scratched inscription which records the name of Sutradhara Yugadhara,[12] there is no reference to these guilds; on the other hand, the achievements of the patrons are elaborately extolled. Clearly the artists worked behind the scenes, so to say, and their lowly social position went hand in hand with the proclaimed glory of the patron, who certainly never renounced his ego or forsook his identity.

While the artists responsible for several major monuments in India remain shadowy figures, they are not anonymous, and in certain parts of the country, we have a plethora of individual names. Perhaps the best-known instance is of the artists who worked during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries for the Hoysala rulers of the Karnataka region. An inscription in the Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid glorifies its royal patron Narasimha I, and also proclaims the name of his chief architect, Kedarojai, and of master sculptor Kalidasi, extolled as "a thunderbolt to the hill of rival sculptors."[13] Recent studies of sculptors' names that are to be found on most Hoysala temples, indicate the possibility of tracing the stylistic development in the work of a sculptor. One such instance is the thirteenth century master, Mallitamma, whose signature is found on a number of shrines from the district of Chikmaglur to Mysore, (a distance of some 150 miles), and ranging over a period of sixty years.[14] It is clear that artists traveled quite extensively within a kingdom, and in the course of their careers, worked on several major temples. It is interesting to note that famed sculptors such as Mallitamma, did not always put their complete names on each piece of sculpture they produced for a temple, being often content with carving only their initials.

Since artists were members of a guild, it might seem true that their personalities "no longer shone as an individual light, but was reflected in the work of the whole group."[15] This statement however seems to be contradicted by evidence from the Hoysala temple at Belur which contains a unique series of signed images, indicating that a number of accomplished sculptors competed with one another in producing their finest work. Three of Belur's famous bracket maidens are signed by the sculptor Dasoja, who worked also at Halebid and at various other temples, including the Kikkeri shrine near Mysore. His inscriptions proclaim that he belonged to the Sarasvati-gana guild, and he bore the title of "Smiter of the crowds of titled sculptors".[16] Dasoja's son Cavana seems to have worked alongside his famed father, and his inscriptions, in which he identifies himself as son of Dasoja, are found on several images at Belur. Cavana seems to have been sufficiently famous as to claim that he was to rival sculptors, as Siva was to Kamadeva (*biruda ruvari madana mahesa*).[17] It is quite extraordinary to find artists giving themselves such high-sounding titles; this is a practice one associates normally only with monarchs. The strong individualism of Hoysala artists may be underlined by a few more examples. A Belur bracket maiden was carved by Nagoja, "Confounder of the crowd of sculptors"; a second was the work of Malloja, "A pair of scissors to the necks of titled sculptors"; a third was the work of Cikkahampa, "Champion among rival sculptors"; and a fourth was produced by Kumaramacari, called "Tiger among sculptors".[18] The Hoysala kingdom is quite exceptional in the status that it seems to have accorded to its artists.

Certainly one cannot continue to maintain that "the notion of signing a work of art is of little importance as it is believed that the artist himself does not directly imagine his work—he is 'guided' and functions only as the executor."[19] Not only did artists sign their work, but they frequently took great personal pride in proclaiming the superiority of their work over the productions of their rivals. Consider the way in which Udega, architect of the Sarasvati temple at Gadag, an eleventh century monument of the later Chalukyas, disparages fellow members of his profession:

> Triumphant in the world is Udega, the disciple of Sri Kriyasakti Pandita, equal to god Brahma in expounding the various arts and sciences; who, to the wicked architects, is as god Siva was to Kama; who would overpower the opponent architects just as a lion would overpower a rutting elephant; who would break the pride of the jealous architects as an expert paramour would do to a harlot.[20]

The Kalachuri territory of central India (tenth and eleventh centuries) is another area in which a high status seems to have been allowed to the artist. Temple inscriptions give sculptor Hasala the title of "Repository of all arts" (*sakala-silpa-nidhi*), while Chitaku's long inscription describes him as "well-known for his proficiency in *silpasastras* . . . who can work on wood and stone and also gold with ease . . . knows how to carve creepers and leaves . . . the science of yantras . . . also knows the *tritala* and *saptatala*" (iconometry).[21] Architect Mahidhara is described as "Crest-jewel of sutradharas" (*sutradhara siromani*), and as son of the foremost among *sutradharas*,[22] the latter statement further confirming the hereditary nature of the craft.

While such instances may not have their counterparts in too many areas of the country, I would

predict that as attention begins to focus increasingly on the artist, many relatively neglected inscriptions, if reviewed, will reveal more about the artist than hitherto suspected. One such instance is provided by two records in the tenth century Chola temple at Konerirajapuram.[23] On the south wall of the shrine is an inscription in which Queen Sembiyan Mahadevi claims to have erected the temple in memory of her deceased husband, who is portrayed in a relief carving just above the inscription. On the very same wall is a record of Shattan Gunabhattan who also claims to have erected the temple, being honored for this achievement with the title of Rajakesari Muvendra-velar; a relief portrait of Gunabhattan is carved just above his record. The two inscriptions are contemporary, and it is a consideration of the original Tamil phraseology that provides the clue to their correct interpretation. The queen merely states that she graciously bestowed (*ezhundarulivitta*) the temple, while Gunabhattan claims that he physically raised it (*edupitta*). I would suggest that Gunabhattan was the architect of the temple, and if this be so, his portrait is a unique representation of an artist from ancient India.

While it is understandable to find artists leaving their signatures and titles on the actual works they produced, it is intriguing to find names of artists inscribed some distance from the monuments on which they worked. One such instance is provided by the two hundred or so sculptors' names inscribed on the cliff face some little distance from the caves at Badami, and recently brought to our attention by S. V. Padigar.[24] Another parallel occurrence may be seen at Mahabalipuram where sculptors' names are carved on a group of low isolated boulders, some distance behind the main rocky outcrop which is the center of the site.[25] Since in these instances there is no way in which we can identify the specific work produced by each artist, the exact intention in thus inscribing their names remains mystifying. We must assume that the royal patrons of the monuments at Badami and Mahabalipuram saw no place for the artists' ego in their scheme of personal glory. The monuments themselves would contain eulogies of only god and monarch; artists' names were relegated to isolated rocks.

NOTES

1. Wilhelm Geiger tr., *The Mahavamsa* (London, 1934): 200-201, lines 17-37.
2. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, "Anbil Plates of Sundara Chola: The 4th Year", *Epigraphica Indica, XV* (1919-20): 68.
3. E. Hultzsch ed., *South Indian Inscriptions, II* (Madras, 1916).
4. G. Hoekveld-Meijer, *Koyils in the Colamandalam* (Amsterdam, 1981): 165.
5. K. R. Srinivasan, "The Last of the Great Cola Temples", *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art,* XVI (1948): 25.
6. Vidya Dehejia, "The Popular and Collective Basis of Early Buddhist Patronage" in Barbara Stoler Miller ed., *Patronage in Indian Culture* (Princeton University Press, forthcoming).
7. *Idem.*
8. *The Mahavamsa, op. cit.:* 199.
9. M. Bussagli and C. Sivaramamurti, *5000 Years of the Art of India* (New York, 1971): 12.
10. R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art of Mathura* (Delhi, 1984): 180, Fig. 87.
11. John Marshall & Alfred Foucher, *The Monuments of Sanchi,* Vol. I (Calcutta, 1940): 342, No. 400.
12. R. K. Dhavalikar, "Sri Yugadhara—A Master Artist of Ajanta", *Artibus Asiae XXXI,* 4 (1969).
13. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, "A Study of the Label Inscriptions of the Hoysala Sculptors" in Frederick Asher and G. S. Gai ed., *Indian Epigraphy: Its Bearing on the History of Art* (New Delhi, 1985): 215-220.
14. S. Settar, "Peregrinations of Medieval Artists", *Journal of Indian History Golden Jubilee Volume* (1973): 419-435.
15. M. Bussagli and C. Sivaramamurti, *op. cit.:* 12.
16. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *op. cit.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. George Michell, *The Hindu Temple* (New York, 1977): 54.
20. S. H. Ritti, "Udega, the Chief Architect of the Saraswati Temple at Gadag" in Frederick Asher and G. S. Gai ed., *op. cit.:* 213-214.
21. R. N. Misra, "Artists of Dahala and Dakshina Kosala: A Study based on Epigraphs", in Asher and Gai ed., *op. cit.:* 185-190.
22. *Ibid.* See also R. N. Misra, *Ancient Artists and Art-Activity* (Simla, 1975).
23. E. Hultzsch and H. Krishna Sastri ed., *South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. III* (Madras, 1929): 295-297, Inscriptions 146 & 147.
24. I am indebted to Carol Bolon for drawing my attention to this article: S. V. Padigar, "Craftsmen's Inscriptions from Badami: Their Significance", paper read to U.G.C. Seminar on Ellora Caves, Ellora, Nov. 18-21, 1985.
25. Dr. R. Nagaswamy brought these to my attention some three years back.

□

Munificent Monarch and a Superior Sculptor

Eighth Century Chamba

Pratapaditya Pal

Om, Adoration to Ganapati. Born in the lineage of Mushunasva and belonging to the Solar race, the great-grandson of Sri Adityavarma-deva, the grandson of Sri Balavarma-deva, the son of Sri Divakaravarma-deva, the great king Sri Meruvarman has caused this image of the god to be made by the workman Gugga.[1]

Thus reads the dedicatory inscription on the base of a brass image of Ganesa, still worshiped in a modest, unpretentious shrine in the sacred area of Bharmaur in the erstwhile native state of Chamba in Himachal Pradesh. There are three other enshrined brass sculptures at the site, two of which bear inscriptions similar to that on the Ganesa. One represents the bull of Siva and the other the Goddess Lakshana Devi. Both were dedicated by the monarch Meruvarman and created by the artist Gugga. A fifth brass figure, also of the goddess, is still in worship in a temple at Chhatradi, halfway between Bharmaur and Chamba. This, too, is an example of Gugga's workmanship for his royal patron.

A typical hill town on the bank of the Budhil, a tributary of the river Ravi, Bharmaur (or Brahmor) was apparently known as Brahmapura in antiquity, and may have been the capital of the realm when Meruvarman was the king. When exactly he ruled is not known with certainty, but the consensus places his reign around 700. From the fact that he mentions at least three of his immediate predecessors, one can assume that the dynasty was in control of the Chamba hills at least from about 650, and possibly earlier. Nothing is definitely known about the origins of the dynasty, and suggestions have been made that the family was from Kanauj. This is not impossible, considering the *varman* endings of their names. However, if they were related to the Kanauj royal family, the inscriptions would probably have boasted of the fact. It is possible that they were feudatories of Harshavardhan and declared their independence from Kanauj after the emperor's death in 647. Adityavarman, Meruvarman's great-grandfather, may have been the first monarch to assert the dynasty's independence. On the other hand, a Kashmiri origin of this Chamba dynasty cannot be ruled out.

Whatever the origins, their political hegemony was short-lived. The state was probably reduced to a vassalage under the powerful Lalitaditya of Kashmir (*c.* 699-736), but Meruvarman's

successors seem to have been much too weak to take advantage of the equally weak successors of Lalitaditya to reassert their independence. Be that as it may, what we can assert with certainty is that Meruvarman must have been a remarkable personality and the most illustrious member of the dynasty that ruled the ancient kingdom of Brahmapura for perhaps a century or less.

Little or nothing is known of the political or military career of Meruvarman, but there can be little doubt of his interest in religion and art. Two of his inscriptions do suggest that he undertook military campaigns and, therefore, may have been the first and only member of his family to do so. Although one of the inscriptions, that at Chhatradi, does state that his father was "an eminent chief of a pure race" and "of accomplished fame,"[2] nothing remains in the region to demonstrate his accomplishments. With regard to Meruvarman, however, we are specifically told in the Bharmaur bull inscription that he was "famous over the four oceans, [tending] to increase continually the [spiritual] fruit of his parents and himself."[3] The Chhatradi inscription informs us that he set up the image of Sakti Devi "after having conquered the enemies in their invincible castles, he who has prolonged his life by glory, fame and religious merit."[4]

It becomes clear, therefore, that—like most rulers of ancient India—Meruvarman, too, launched wars of aggression against his neighbors and then atoned for his actions by undertaking acts of piety with the booty brought home from his defeated adversaries. Clearly, the temple of Chhatradi and the image of the goddess were consecrated as thanksgiving for his victories. The other temples, and Bharmaur itself—if it served as his new capital as Goetz seemed to think[5]—may have also been built with the spoils of war and with captive labor. Unfortunately, nothing remains of the palaces and secular buildings built by Meruvarman. However, judging by the still existing, though much later, palace of the maharaja of Chamba and other old hill state palaces, it is likely that, in more ancient times, the palaces were neither too large nor too ostentatious. By and large, the ancient Indian kings appear to have built more impressive edifices for their tutelary deities than for themselves, as is clear from Khajuraho, Bhubaneswar, Tanjore, Gangaikondacholapuram, and other sites that may have served as capital cities. The practice of building forts and palaces that eclipsed the religious buildings seems to have been the influence of first the Muslim conquerors of India and then the British.

Meruvarman appears to have been a devotee of both Siva and the goddess. With the exception of the Chhatradi temple, all of his benefactions are enshrined in a small square in Bharmaur that is known today as Chaurasi, presumably named after the eighty-four *mahasiddhas.* This name for the site must be of comparatively late origin, perhaps after its association with the "Pierced-ear" (*kanphata*) yogins. In any event, the Siva temple that dominates Chaurasi today is of stone and of the northern Indian *nagara* or *sikhara* variety of the type seen in Chamba. How the original looked can only be surmised. According to the inscription on the bull, the temple was "like unto Mount Meru on the top of the Himavant."[6] The eminent Dutch scholar, J. Ph. Vogel, who read and translated the inscriptions, was rather uncertain of the lines describing the temple itself, but it may have consisted of an impressive sanctum, enclosed by a covered hallway (*mandapa*) beautifully decorated with reliefs or pictures. It was probably not much different from the existing temple of the goddess at the site. A separate structure, perhaps less ostentatious, was built for the bull.

Judging by the present Lakshana Devi temple at Chaurasi and the Sakti Devi temple at Chhatradi, parts of which probably belong to the original foundations, one can surmise that the Siva temple, as well as that of Ganesa, was made largely of wood. Although Goetz believed that the carved wood columns and facades of both the goddess temples survive from Meruvarman's time, a recent publication on the arts of Himachal Pradesh, without any grounds, suggests a later date for the Chhatradi wood structures.[7] It is true that very little comparative material from the neighboring areas survives, but the style of the carvings, the iconographic program, as well as the decorative design of the columns, capitals, door-frames, lintels, and pediments can easily be paralleled in such sites as Aihole, Sirpur, Rajim, and Mukhalingam, to name only a few. In the immediate neighborhood, the stylistic forebears of these early eighth century wood carvings of Chamba are the four bracket figures and two images of the seventh century preserved in the Docha-Mocha temple at Gajan in the Kulu District.[8] Their importance for Gugga's conception of the female form will be presently discussed.

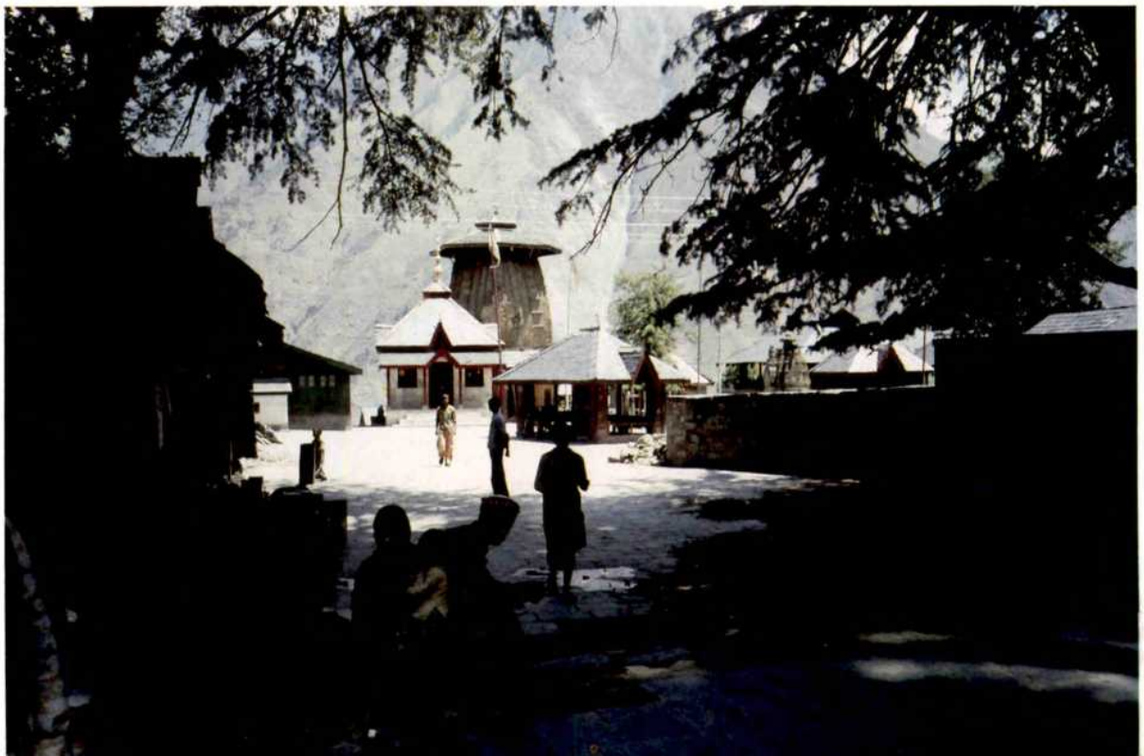
Apart from being an aggressive conqueror, Meruvarman was a devotee of both Siva and the goddess. In fact, of the four surviving images bearing inscriptions, two represent the goddess as the embodiment of *sakti,* which clearly indicates the monarch's militant nature. Very likely, there was no image of Siva in the temple now called Manimahesa, but simply a linga, as is the case today.

As a patron, Meruvarman seems to have been more interested in art and architecture than literature. This is clearly evident from the fact that the surviving bronzes created by Gugga are qualitatively far superior to the Sanskrit composed for his inscriptions. As Vogel commented while editing them:

1 Gugga's Ganesa wrapped in orange clothing as he is seen daily by devotees at Bharmaur.

2 View of Chaurasi at Bharmaur with Manimahesa temple and the shrine of the bull.

1



2

> The language of Meruvarman's inscription is Sanskrit, but of a kind which, especially in the metrical portions, would certainly have startled Panini . . . . The numerous grammatical as well as metrical mistakes occurring in the two latter do not suggest great ability on the part of Meruvarman's pundits.[9]

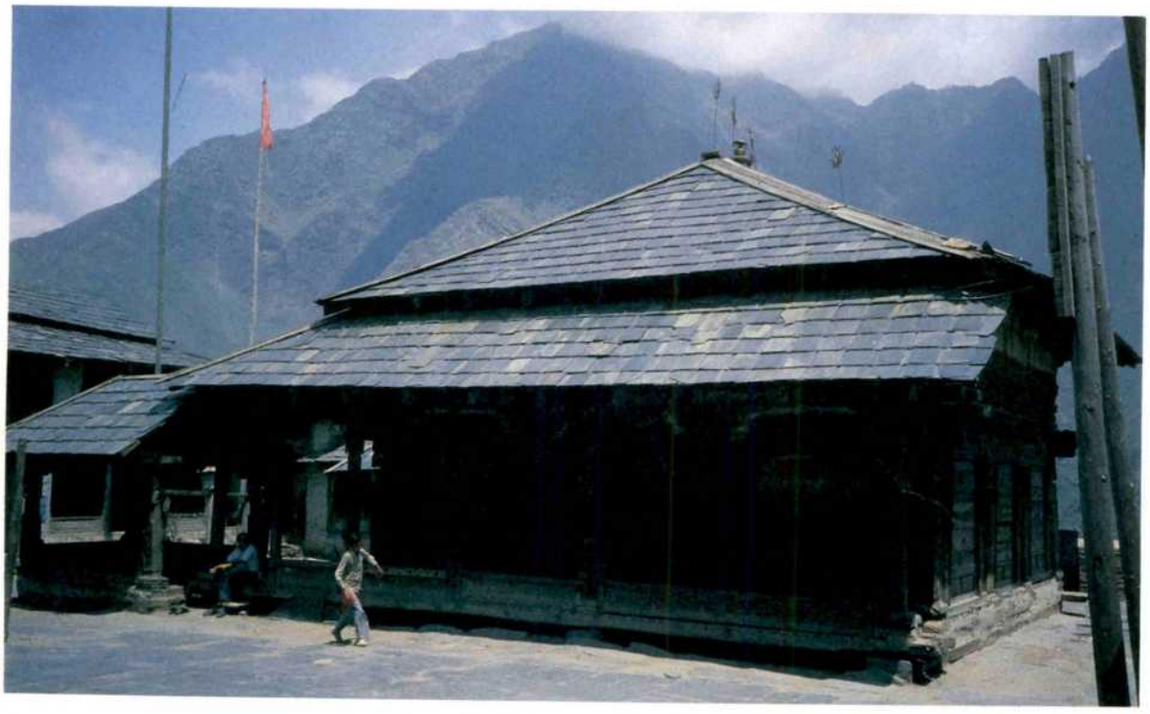
Clearly then, if the family had some connection with Kanauj, it did not help in their procuring learned pundits from the city that, by the seventh century, had become well known across the subcontinent as a place of pilgrimage of Sanskrit poets and writers. Brahmins from Kanauj were considered among the most learned. One must presume that the inscriptions on Meruvarman's bronzes were composed by the court pundit, but their poor quality must be interpreted as the monarch's lack of interest in literature.

The inscribed sculptures and the superb temple carvings, however, tell another story about Meruvarman's refined taste in the visual arts and architecture. What is even of greater interest is the fact that all four bronzes were made by a master sculptor named Gugga. True, we know nothing else about this great Indian sculptor, except that he was humble enough to refer to himself simply as a workman (*karmina*), just as much later Muslim artists often characterized themselves as "slaves" of their masters. Nevertheless, I know of no other instance in the history of Indian art when a corpus of four metal sculptures bears the signatures of a single artist. (Two names occur on several bronzes discovered in the Sirpur hoard, which are considered to be the

3 Temple of Sakti Devi at Chhatradi against the mountains.

4 Original pediment and tympanum of carved wood adorning the facade of Lakshana Devi temple at Bharmaur.

5 Entrance to the shrine of Lakshana Devi with original wood carvings.

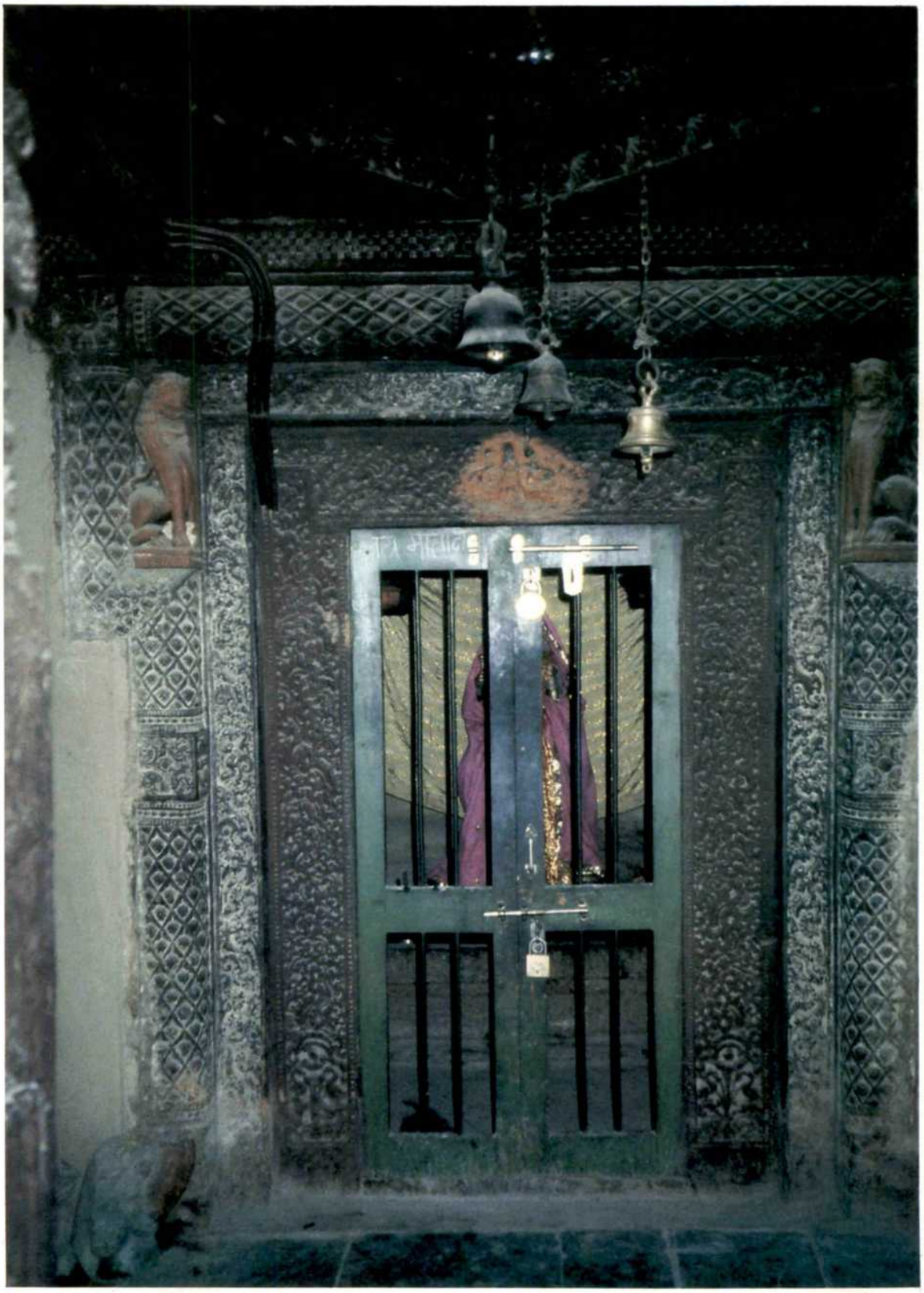


3

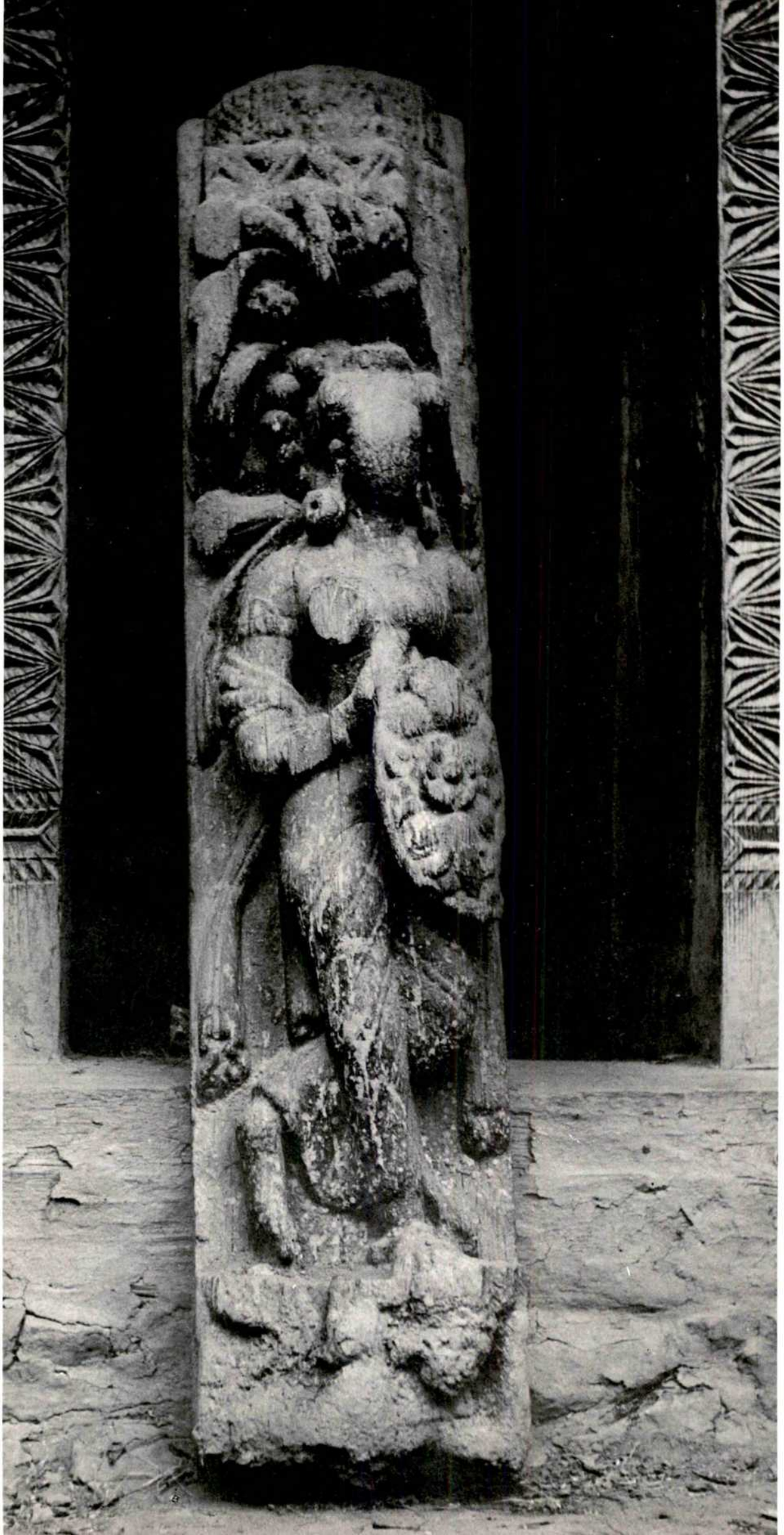
4

artists' signatures, but more likely they are names of donors). What is, perhaps, sadder still is that few Indians know either the name or the works of this master sculptor, who was no less a genius than the better-known sculptors of ancient Greece or Renaissance Europe.

We do not know whether Gugga was a local sculptor, though this is unlikely. More probably, he was brought from somewhere else by a monarch who certainly was no less a connoisseur of the visual arts than a Jahangir, a Sawant Singh, or a Balawant Singh. The superb artistry and technical sophistication of these brass sculptures clearly demonstrate that Gugga could not have learnt his craft in isolation. As there is no surviving evidence of earlier art in the Chamba region, one must conclude that Gugga was brought from somewhere else. The existence of a superior tradition of woodcarving in nearby Kulu, as demonstrated by the few surviving examples at Gajan—with which Gugga's goddesses are stylistically related—may be significant, but it should be noted that there is no evidence of a flourishing tradition of metal casting in Kulu; certainly not the kind that would have produced a Gugga.

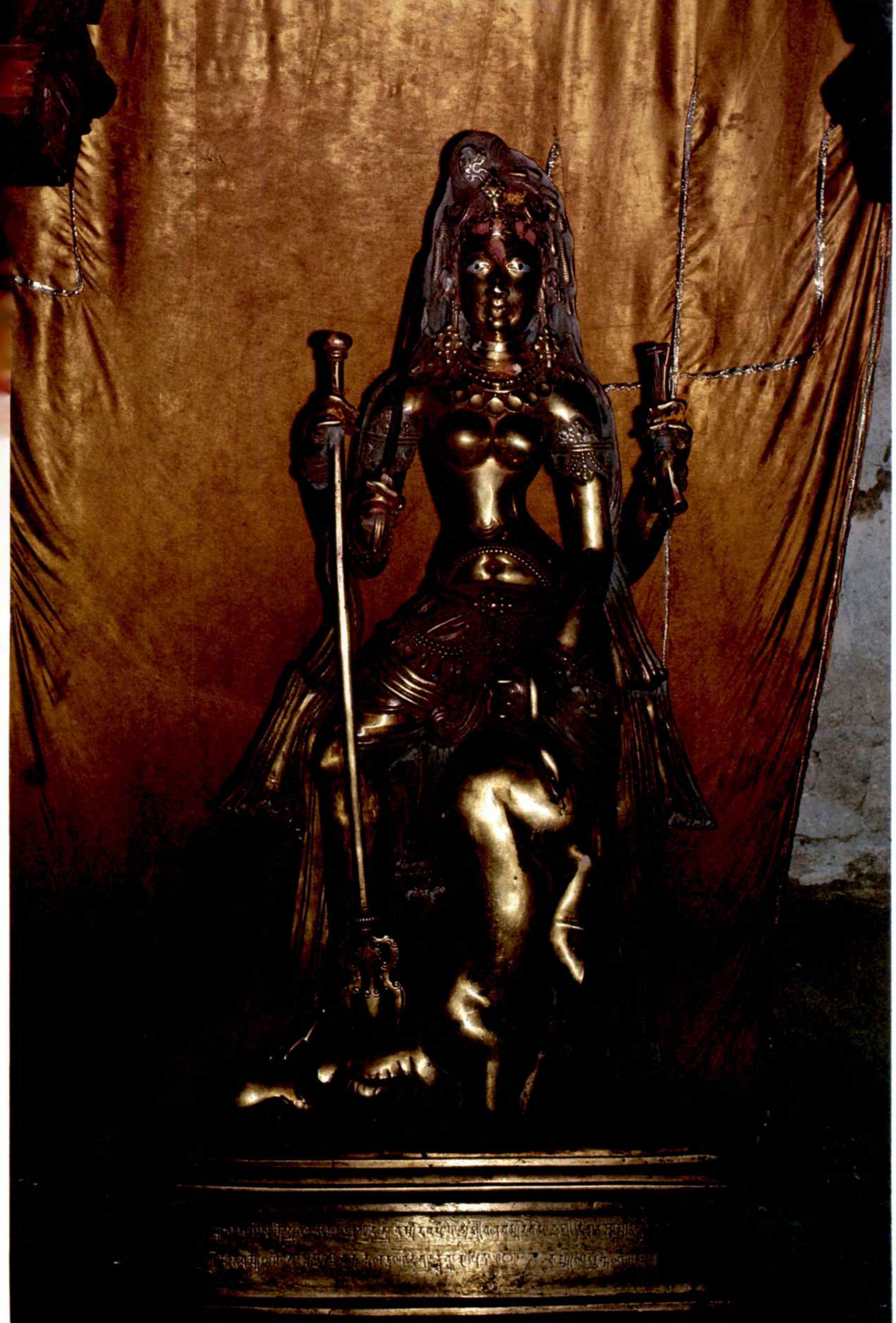


5



6 Seventh century wood bracket depicting celestial female at Gajan in Kulu.

7 Lakshana Devi by Gugga at Bharmaur.



8 Sakti Devi by Gugga at Chhatradi.

9 Close-up of Sakti Devi as seen daily by devotees.

The prima facie evidence shows that Gugga preferred to work in brass rather than the copper alloy employed predominantly in eastern India, where, in Bihar, an important school of metal casting was flourishing by the seventh century. Thus, both in terms of material and style, Bihar can be ruled out. Brass has remained the principal material for metal sculpture in a very large area of the Indian subcontinent, including much of central and western India as well as the northwest. However, neither central India, including Uttar Pradesh and Haryana, nor western India has produced, at least as far as surviving evidence goes, anything in metal sculpture that matches either in style or monumentality Gugga's creations. The northwestern region of the country, though, tells a different tale.

There can now be little doubt that Kashmir became a major center of metal casting, probably from the seventh century, but certainly from the early eighth. Like Gugga, the Kashmiri artists, too, worked mainly in brass, which they inlaid richly with copper and silver. Although most Kashmiri finds so far are small, portable images that have largely emerged from Tibetan monasteries in recent decades, literary evidence makes it clear that certainly during the reign of Lalitaditya, the early part of which coincides with Meruvarman's rule, Kashmiri sculptors were creating brass figures that were even larger than Gugga's sculptures. As the historian Kalhana (twelfth century) writes in his *Rajatarangini* (River of Kings), Lalitaditya built several

9

temples dedicated to both Vishnu and Buddha, all of which contained large images of gold, silver, and brass.[10] The Buddha image is once described simply as large and again as reaching the sky. One Vishnu image required eighty-four thousand *tolakas* (modern tola = 0.4 ounces) of gold and another many thousands of *tolakas* of silver, and therefore they must have been at least as large and possibly larger than the impressive, though later, Vishnu image still in worship in the Harirai temple in Chamba. It is significant that most of these installed images, as described by Kalhana, were made of metal—as is the case in Chamba. While it was more common for Buddhists, and perhaps the Jains, to use metal images for their principal shrines, by and large most surviving Hindu temples of the period seem to have preferred stone icons.

The sculptures themselves, too, tend to confirm that, if not a Kashmiri, Gugga was almost certainly trained in that paradisiacal valley. While most scholars have found stylistic affinity with Gupta-period sculptures of Uttar Pradesh, or even with Chalukyan art of Badami and Aihole, they seem to have missed a significant detail. In both images, the goddess wears a blouse whose tailored shape is made clearly evident on her gently swelling stomach. This kind of blouse is never encountered in female figures in the plains, except when it represents a lady from the northwest, such as the exotic female dancers at Ajanta and Deogarh. It was, however, an essential part of the female attire in Kashmir and the Chamba region, and is even described by Kalhana. Although the type of four-armed Durga killing the buffalo-demon, who is represented as a buffalo rather than a hybrid creature or a man emerging from the buffalo, is encountered in Gupta-period sculpture of central India, the prototype occurs also in earlier Kashmiri art, such as a small example in Los Angeles.

Notwithstanding the compositional variations, the two images clearly belong to the same artistic tradition. Like Lakshana Devi, Durga wears a tailored dress, though the designs are different; the bell is common to both. Each of them holds the buffalo by his tail, uses the right foot to hold him in position, and drives home the trident. Noteworthy, also, is the use of the same type of pedestal in both representations. Yet another variation of the same four-armed goddess occurs in wood among the deities adorning the side-posts of the entrance of the Chhatradi temple. Holding a bell in the upper left hand and plunging the trident into the animal's back, the goddess, in fact, is splitting open his mouth with her two other hands. This is exactly what she is doing in the fragmentary marble representation in Rome known as the "Scoretti marble", which, when complete, must have looked very much like the Chhatradi wood representation.

A Kashmiri connection is also postulated by the Ganesa, especially in the manner in which his pectoral and abdominal muscles are modeled. Such naturalistic modeling is far more characteristic of Kashmiri sculptures than of central India.[11] Thus, it seems a reasonable assumption that Gugga was an eminent sculptor of Kashmir, who had been brought to the neighboring Brahmapura kingdom by Meruvarman to become his court artist. Gugga was not only responsible for creating the principal icons himself, but may well have supervised the design and construction of the major temples.

In the context of ancient Indian art, it is always difficult to know the exact relationship between a patron and an artist. Certainly, Meruvarman, along with the royal priest, would have decided

10 A seventh century stone image of Durga from Kashmir now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. 5.7 inches.

11 Section of door frame from the Sakti Devi temple showing Durga killing the buffalo.

10

11

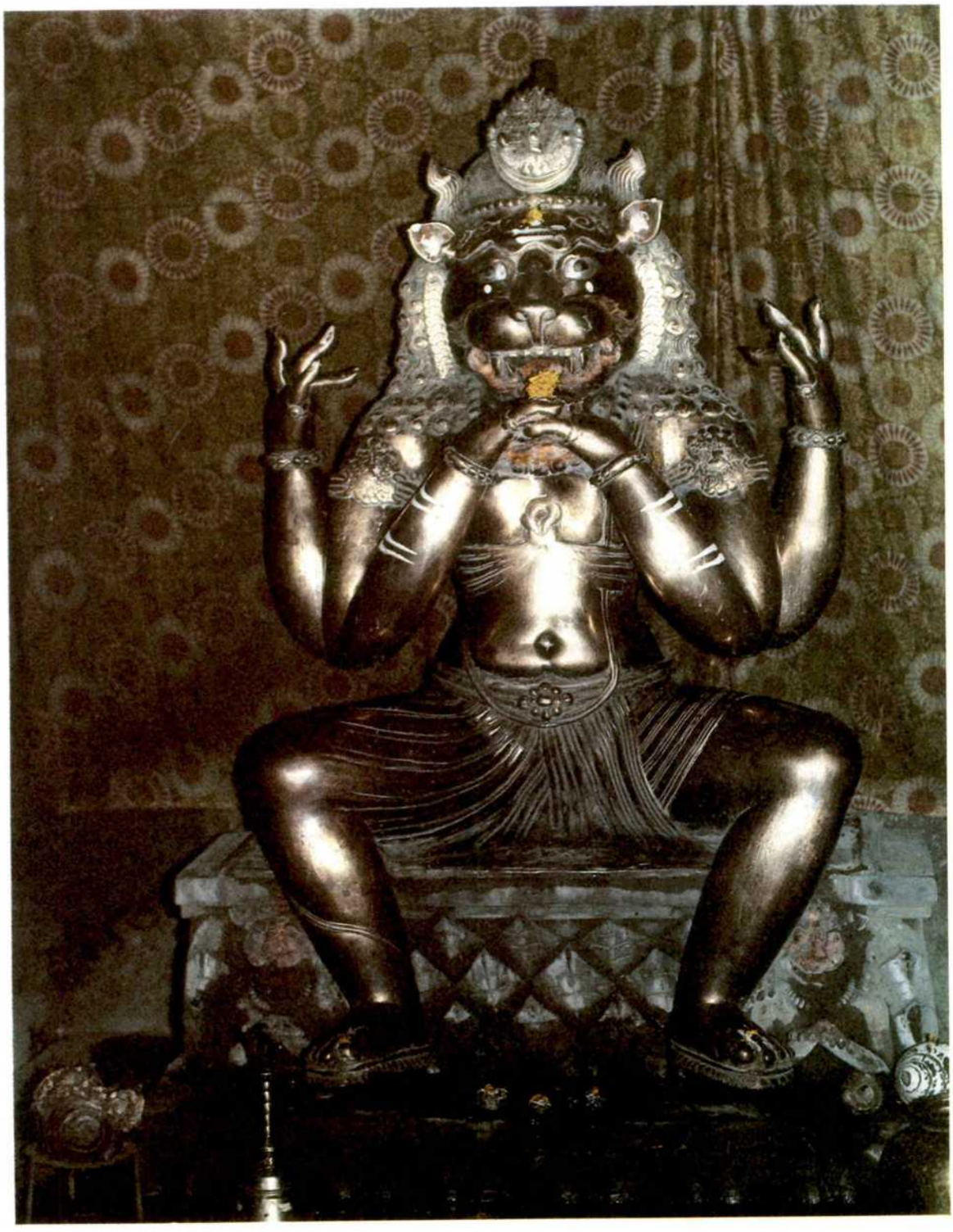
12 Narasimha at Bharmaur, unclothed.

13 Eighth century Buddhist altarpiece from Kashmir now in the Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena (California). 13.3 inches.

14 Gugga's Ganesa unclothed.

which deities were to be enshrined in the temples. The priest would have been directly responsible for determining the iconography, but the form of the image, as well as its aesthetics, would have been the prerogative of the artist. This is clear from the four masterpieces of Gugga. Although he worked within his inherited and acquired tradition, clearly he was interested in breaking new ground and creating works of art that would bear his individual stamp.

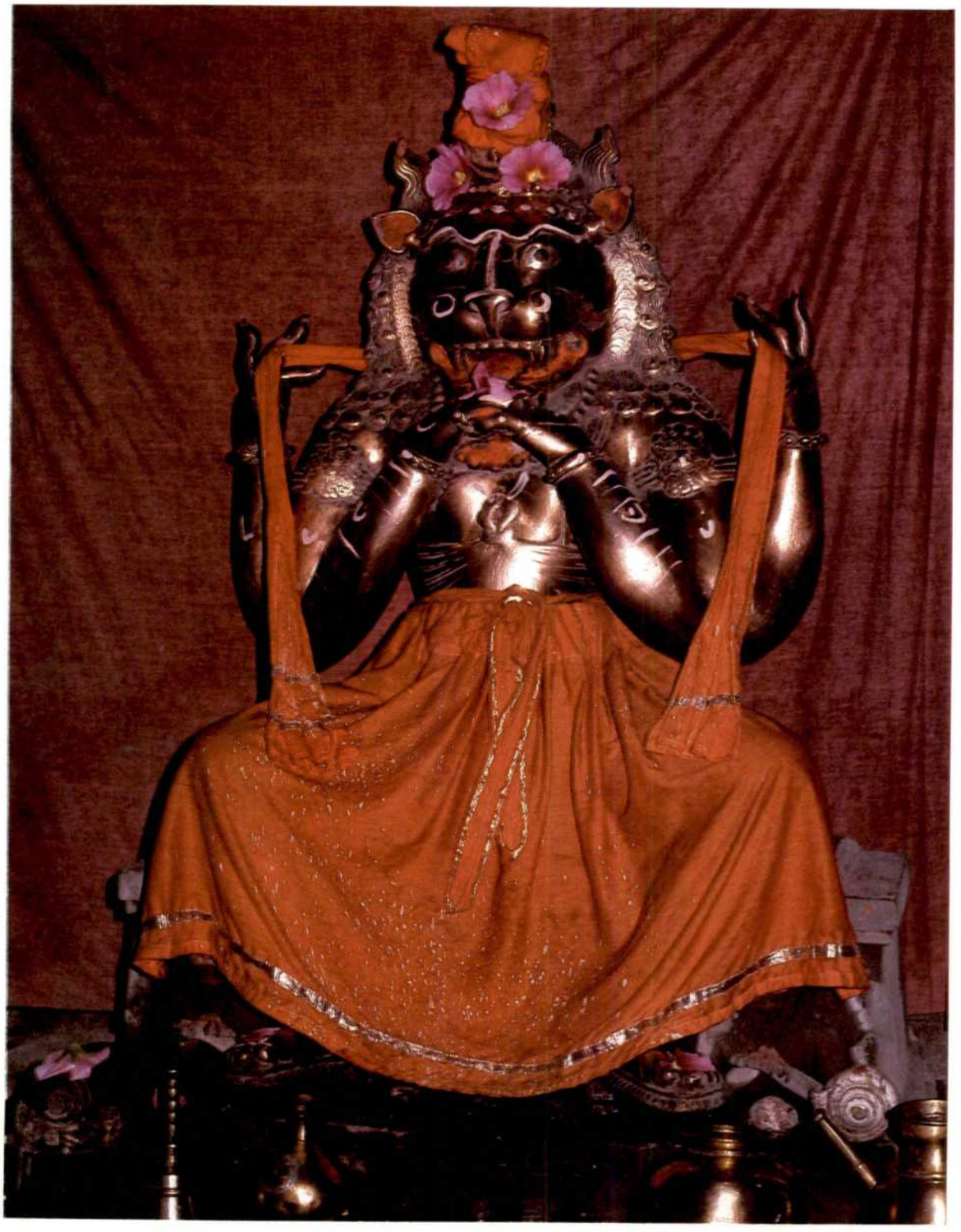
His Kashmiri association or inheritance notwithstanding, Gugga has modeled the forms of the two goddesses with unusually linear contours and restrained elegance. The tall, slim figures are remarkably naturalistic in their calm bearing and dignified postures, but their bodies are not as fleshy as one notes in contemporary Kashmiri figures. The shapes of the faces are much more elongated, and the sharp features are defined with greater articulation. Sculpturally, they seem much more closely related to the earlier wood figures of Kulu than they are to Kashmiri figural forms. Restraint and subtlety are also characteristic of details, such as jewelry and garments, which are not allowed to obscure the clean and taut outlines of the torso or the strikingly slender and long legs. His attention to details, as well as his inventiveness, is clearly apparent in the variations he has introduced in the two figures in terms of the ornamentations and the hair style. While Sakti Devi is given an additional strand of pearls that hang down the cleavage between her well-separated breasts, Lakshana Devi's breasts are smaller and press against each other,



12

perhaps to add a greater sense of movement, thus leaving no room for such an ornament. However, her hair is arranged in a unique coiffure for which I have yet to find a parallel anywhere else. Sakti Devi, on the other hand, is given a diadem consisting of a single conical finial. Even more unusual is the arrangement of the scarf behind the back of both heads and serving almost as nimbuses. It should be noted that, while this became a distinct mannerism of the later art of both Kashmir and the Chamba regions, this mode of delineating the scarf is found for the first time in these two extraordinary creations of Gugga. They, in fact, may reflect Gugga's idiosyncrasy which subsequently became a cliché with later artists in both regions. Even the bells held by the goddesses are unlike any others encountered elsewhere. Unfortunately, as the images are enshrined, one cannot see their backs, but, significantly, neither has an aureole and appears to have been modeled in the round. As a matter of fact, normally, the images are clothed, and, therefore, only from photographs can one see their forms.

Of the four inscribed sculptures, only the Ganesa is damaged. Stylistically, it is quite different from the two goddesses and more akin to the Narasimha at Bharmaur. For various reasons, some scholars have expressed doubt as to Gugga's association with these two sculptures. While one might do so because of the apparent lack of an inscription on the Narasimha (though there is a much-effaced one), there seems no reason to deny the prima facie evidence of the inscription



15 Narasimha as seen daily by devotees.

16 Gugga's bull at Bharmaur.

(quoted at the beginning of this essay) in the case of Ganesa. Moreover, the strong stylistic and technical similarities between the Ganesa, Narasimha, and the bull clearly indicate that they are the products of the same period and artistic vision. A detailed discussion must be postponed for another occasion, but a few remarks here will not be out of place.

One of the most distinctive features of the two goddesses is the necklace of discs which, to my knowledge, does not occur in any other sculptures, including the equally monumental later bronzes from Chamba or those from Kashmir. This necklace is also given to Ganesa and the bull, where the discs alternate with bells, as in the Sakti Devi image. Similar bells also form a chain against the pedestal of the Ganesa. Noteworthy are other idiosyncratic details that demonstrate the individuality of a master. The garments of both Ganesa and Narasimha are tied in an identical fashion and, again, in a mode unique to these two figures. The animal skin around Ganesa's torso has been disposed in such a way as to emphasize his rippling abdominal muscles. Similarly, Narasimha's sash is tied around his chest in a distinctive and unusual fashion, as is that around the thighs of Lakshana Devi. Apart from the similarities of the crown and ornaments of Ganesa and Narasimha, whose cascading locks of hair are as stylishly handled as the distinctive hairdo of Lakshana Devi, there seems little doubt that his leonine head is the work of the same sculptor who was responsible for the lions on both pedestals.

As a matter of fact, both of these pedestals, too, reflect the skill and whimsicality of a single artist, who can be none other than the highly creative Gugga. Most curious is the seated monkey between the heraldic lions against the pedestal of Ganesa. While I am unable to explain this simian's presence on this image, instead of the usual rat, there can be no doubt again of the striking similarity in the unusual gesture of his hands, those of the two lions on Narasimha's base, and of Narasimha himself. I know of no other Narasimha in Indian art where he is portrayed in a similar fashion. It almost looks as if his hands rested on a club (which is lost like the other two emblems). Behind his divine features, one can envision an elderly gentleman, seated on a park bench, resting his chin on his palms supported by a walking stick. In fact, in contrast to the somber divine images they carry, both pedestals are infused with a sense of capriciousness that is unusual

16

in the context of Indian art; only a highly respected sculptor could have dared introduce such levity. In some ways, such whimsy is also a striking feature of the well-known Kashmiri Buddha, now in the Norton Simon Collection, where the sculptor even went so far as to show a lion licking his genitalia. Both the lions on Narasimha's pedestal, as well as the monkey in the other, express a similar comical flavor that shows Gugga was not reticent in introducing a sense of humor in his otherwise serious subjects. As a matter of fact, the two lions against the highly conventionalized, but again distinctive, rock formations seem almost to mimic the god above who has temporarily borrowed their leonine mien. The different, though distinctive, formula for the rock motif on the lower tier of the pedestal is unquestionably of Kashmiri origin, as is evident from a comparison with the Simon altarpiece. This, once more, corroborates Gugga's connection with Kashmir.

That Gugga was a sculptor of exceptional skill and ingenuity is abundantly clear. He was equally sagacious in modeling animals as the human body, albeit in a divine guise. Here is a sculptor who reveals an uncanny mastery in modifying his style to suit his subjects. The goddesses are serene and elegant, even when engaged in violence, and are superb personifications of physical grace and lithesome movement, even though their bodies are modeled as abstracted masses within a flawlessly smooth and fluid outline. The same economy of form is evident also in the Narasimha figure, but with a greater sense of volume and impassivity more appropriate for his heroic stature and function. He sits solidly and imperiously on a pedestal of immovable rocks that enhances both his majestic bearing and his awesome power. Ganesa, however, has a more welcome presence, seated as he is in the graceful posture known as *lalitasana.* Here, Gugga employed a more naturalistic delineation of form, and, by emphasizing his flesh and providing him with a chubby figure, he has admirably succeeded in harmonizing the human body with the elephant's head. The realistic animal head, he must have felt, required a realistically modeled human body.

With regard to his animals, it is very likely that he was not directly familiar with the lion. Until the Mughal period, Indian artists have rarely represented the lion with the kind of naturalism expressed in their studies of the elephant. Thus, even though Gugga's lions are largely conceptual, nevertheless they appear on the pedestals as delightful creatures of empathy and humor. As to Narasimha's head, one cannot but be impressed by its awesome expressiveness. Gugga's familiarity with the monkey, however, is clear from the charming representation of the animal. He has expressed the mischievous playfulness of the simian with remarkable accuracy and animation. That he was equally felicitous and familiar with bovines needs little emphasis. However, in contrast to the lean and naturalistically modeled buffalo, the bull is rather plump and conceptually rendered. This is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that, traditionally, the bull has been rendered in Indian art with perceptive physical accuracy and empathy. While the head is sensitively modeled, little attempt has been made to define the contours of the form realistically, or to articulate the muscles or the folds of the dewlap. Nevertheless, it remains one of the largest metal bulls to have survived from antiquity, and is a *tour de force* of casting. As the pundit who composed the inscription on the base describes the animal, "fat of cheeks and body, solid of breast and hump, the exalted vehicle of the god . . . ."[12]

In conclusion, it should be stressed that, although we know little or nothing about the personal life of this master sculptor of ancient India, his surviving creations unquestionably proclaim Gugga's genius. No other instance has survived from ancient India that demonstrates such obvious rapport between a royal connoisseur and his court artist. We have no documentation of their actual relationship, but the masterpieces that continue to be worshiped in humble shrines in a relatively obscure region of the Himalayas do reflect that Gugga had an appreciative patron who not only encouraged his sculptor, but allowed him a certain degree of independence to express himself with both candor and ingenuity. These little-known brass sculptures that are the result of the felicitous association between a munificent monarch and a superior sculptor remain among the most inspiring aesthetic creations of Indian civilization.

NOTES

1. J. Ph. Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State,* Part I (Calcutta, 1911): 143.
2. *Ibid.:* 145.
3. *Ibid.:* 144.
4. *Ibid.:* 145.
5. H. Goetz, *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba* (Leiden, 1955): *passim.*
6. Vogel, *op. cit.:* 144.
7. M. Postel, A. Neven, K. Mankodi, *Antiquities of Himachal* (Bombay, 1985): 47.
8. *Ibid.:* 65-69.
9. Vogel, *op. cit.:* 140.
10. Sir M. Aurel Stein, *Kalhana's Rajatarangini,* IV (Delhi, 1961 reprint): 196-205.
11. The interested reader may consult the images in U. von Schroeder, *Indo-Tibetan Bronzes* (Hong Kong, 1981).
12. Vogel, *op. cit.:* 144.

□

Inspired Patron of Himalayan Art

Eighth Century Kashmir

Robert E. Fisher

Then the illustrious King Lalitaditya became the universal monarch, he who was [far] beyond the conception of Fate which creates [only] rulers of limited territories.

With the shining mass of his glory's rays he adorned, as it were, the elephant [representing the isle] of Jambudvipa with scented powders.

Then with the treasures obtained by his conquests he proceeded to his own land, as the lion goes to the mountain with his claws full of the pearls [taken from the frontal protuberances] of the destroyed elephants.

There is no town, no village, no river, no sea, and no island where he did not consecrate a shrine.

Who could determine accurately in number how many treasures, villages, and establishments he bestowed on these [shrines]?

From Book IV of Kalhana's Rajatarangini.[1]

Kalhana's words quoted above begin to suggest the range of achievements and the extensive patronage of Lalitaditya Muktapida, Kashmir's greatest ruler. Lalitaditya's accomplishments in both the political and artistic arenas have seldom been matched elsewhere and are certainly without equal in Kashmir. His political activities, reaching far beyond the Himalayan kingdom, gained him the most extensive conquests in eighth century India, while the monumental ruins that remain throughout the Kashmiri valley attest to an equally spectacular patronage.

Lalitaditya and the Kashmiri Legacy

Throughout the first millennium Kashmir was an intellectual and artistic center whose influence greatly exceeded its small size and secluded location. Its pastoral setting and moderate climate supported the contemplative atmosphere conducive to religious pursuits, allowing Hindus, Buddhists and lesser known sects to flourish there. Famous political figures, from Kanishka to Akbar, as well as such intellectual giants as Abhinavagupta visited or resided in Kashmir and the valley's reputation generated legends about other political and religious leaders, such as Ashoka and Nagarjuna, visiting its peaceful confines.

Its long and rich history has been recorded in a remarkable chronicle, the earliest known Indian historical text, written in the twelfth century by the Kashmiri pundit, Kalhana. Although his *Rajatarangini* or "River of Kings" lacks adequate corroboration for the early centuries, a combination of Chinese chronicles and extant temple ruins has provided modern scholars with sufficient evidence to validate most of his historical record from at least the beginning of the seventh century. That date coincides with the beginning of Kashmir's greatest political and artistic period, under the rule of the Karkota dynasty, culminating in the eighth century rule of Lalitaditya Muktapida, whose military success extended Kashmir's hegemony far beyond its borders and whose artistic patronage stands unequaled in Kashmir's history.

With the advent of the Karkota dynasty, beginning with the rule of Durlabhavardhana around 600, Kashmir achieved new cultural and political heights. During the first half of the seventh century the famous Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang spent two years there, and from within China proper the T'ang Chronicles credited Kashmir with extensive political control over large areas west and south of the valley. Further evidence indicates that the early Karkotas vigorously patronized Hindu building projects while maintaining harmony with the Buddhists, and continuing the Kashmiri tradition of broad religious toleration and activity. This pattern reached its climax with Lalitaditya, the fifth Karkota ruler, when both political and cultural achievements rose to levels unknown in earlier Kashmiri history and unmatched by later rulers.

Beginning his rule by 724, Lalitaditya found his ambitious political goals supported by weakened and changing kingdoms on all sides. The Gupta empire was only a memory with a series of ambitious generals attempting, unsuccessfully, to regain the former kingdom. Likewise, Sassanian power to the west was being overrun by the Muslims while the Deccan was undergoing the last years of the declining Pallavas and Chalukyas. Future kingdoms, such as the Gurjara-Pratiharas or the Palas of Bengal were yet to mature into dominant political forces. Even

1 Martand temple. View from hill above, showing panorama of valley of Kashmir beyond, typical of Lalitaditya's choice for important temples.

2 Martand temple. Temple seen from inside entrance gate showing remains of Roman style colonnade and pair of detached shrines flanking the *mandapa*.

1

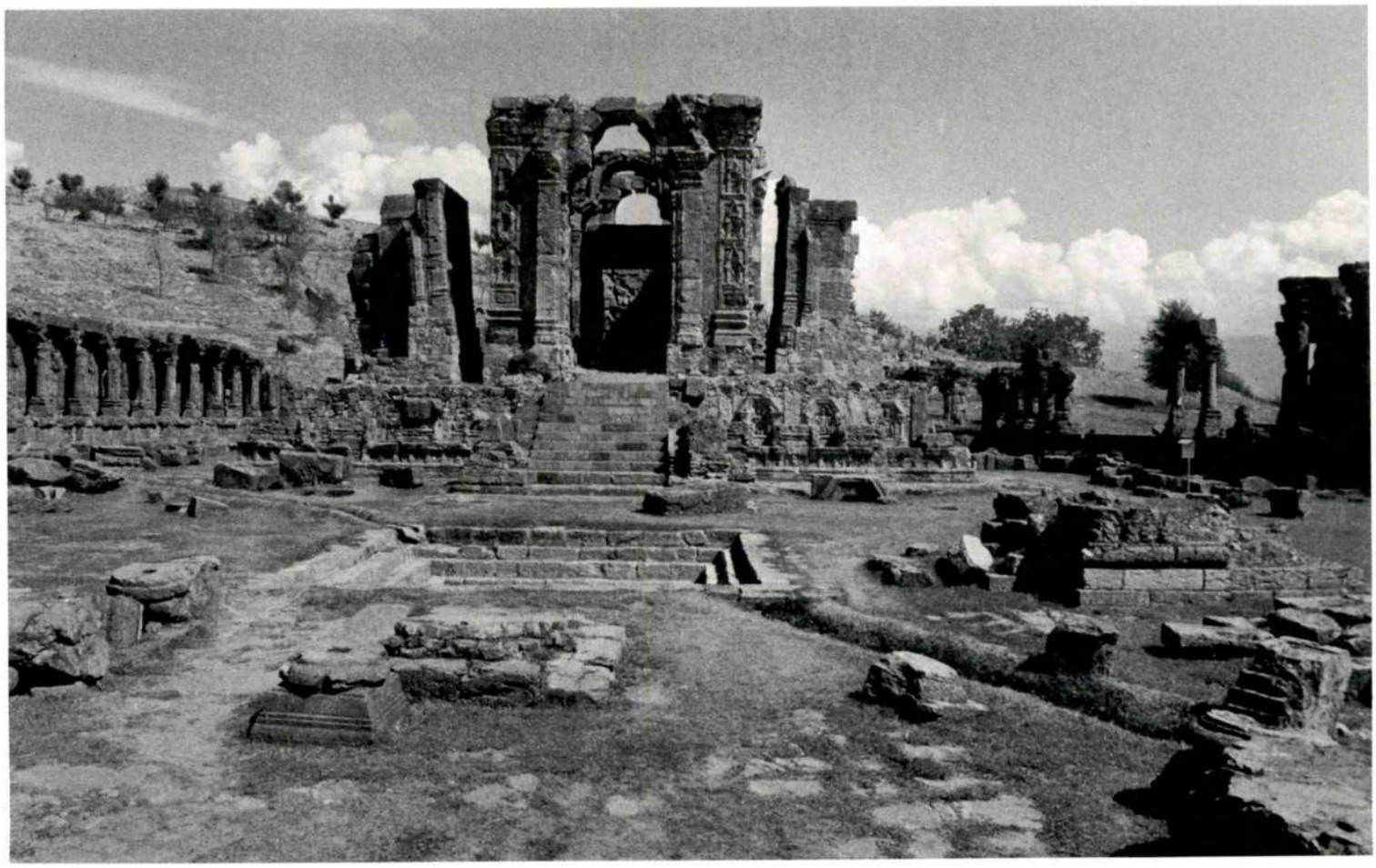
the Chinese, after having extended their control well into Central Asia, including Kucha, Khotan and Khashgar, and receiving an embassy from Lalitaditya, were about to see this extended empire slip from their control. Tibet was in the early stages of its political and cultural development and not yet a factor in South Asian events although it engaged the Kashmiri king in a number of battles. Only to the south of Kashmir, under the rule of Yasovarman, was there a kingdom large enough to challenge the imperialistic goals of Lalitaditya. With the rapid conquest of this competitor and its capital at Kanauj, Lalitaditya found his armies unmatched as he set about extending his power far beyond the valley of his birth.

The precise extent of Lalitaditya's victories remains controversial and some of his reputed conquests cannot be verified. Some scholars, such as Hermann Goetz, credit him with vast territorial domains, nearly all of India,[2] while others, equally unconvincing, label his empire "ephemeral."[3] Perhaps Kalhana, in his poetic fashion, best summarized these achievements: "The king, eager for conquests, passed his life chiefly on expeditions, moving around the earth like the sun."[4] There is no question that following his conquest of Kanauj he marched east, reaching Bihar and finally the sea coast at Orissa. His possible activity in the Deccan remains questionable but upon his return to Kashmir, there followed a series of forays into the Punjab, against Shahi territories along the Indus, then the firm conquest of Ladakh, numerous engagements with Tibetan forces and finally military excursions into Central Asia proper, ultimately resulting in his death around 761. Whatever the extent of his military powers it would appear that his military achievements made him, if only briefly, ruler of the largest kingdom in northern India since Gupta times, supporting Kalhana's label of a "universal monarch."[5]

Within Kashmir proper, however, most of Lalitaditya's achievements are clear. Although no firsthand account of his life remains, enough evidence can be gathered to establish that this one Kashmiri ruler erected more buildings and dedicated more images than any other, before or since, and his achievements as patron of the arts place him among the greatest in Indian history.

Lalitaditya's Style in Architecture and Sculpture

Lalitaditya's patronage was not limited simply to images or hindered by sectarian beliefs. His donations ranged from individual shrine images to entire temples, and included at least one complex of Buddhist and Hindu temples and an entire new city. His immediate circle of family and officials shared in this building zeal, making the eighth century Kashmir's greatest period of



2

artistic achievement. Subsequent events, especially Muslim iconoclasm, but also local villagers and later rulers seeking dressed stones, have decimated these monuments. Enough remains, however, to support Kalhana's obvious pride in acknowledging Lalitaditya's extensive artistic activity.

His best known dedication is the majestic sun temple known as Martand.[6] Evidence of Lalitaditya's support of sun worship appears early in his career, for he celebrated the conquest of Yasovarman of Kanauj with the dedication of a shrine to Aditya in one of the towns he founded within Kashmir.[7] Except for the later sun temple at Konarak, Martand may well be the largest shrine dedicated to the sun god in India. It was still intact in the twelfth century when Kalhana wrote ". . . that liberal king built the wonderful shrine of Martanda, with its massive walls of stone within a lofty enclosure."[8]

3 Vishnu from inside Martand temple. Although badly eroded enough remains to suggest the mature eighth century style including the double-pent roof structure that typically surrounds images done in Lalitaditya's time and is still found in a few extant temples, such as Pandrethan.

4 Surya. Deity to whom the Martand temple was dedicated and one of Lalitaditya's favorite gods. Despite its size, just under 20 inches, this impressive image embodies the monumental quality expected of the now missing chief icon of Martand. The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Katherine Holden Thayer.

Lalitaditya's choice of a site reflected both aesthetic and traditional concerns. The temple stands upon a plateau with a sweeping view of the entire valley, a location traditionally favored by sun worshipers, according to the Kashmiri text, the *Nilamatapurana.*[9] It reflects Lalitaditya's flair for the dramatic, the sense of grandeur and monumentality that are so often a part of his creations, as well as the epic scope of much of his activity.

Martand is the largest example of the Brahmanical type of Kashmiri temple.[10] The courtyard is 220 feet deep and 142 feet wide, entirely enclosed within a pillared arcade, with fluted columns, bases and capitals of provincial Roman style. Within this colonnade are some eighty-one individual cells, now empty, but once occupied by images of Surya and various forms of Vishnu. The pedestals remaining in some of the cubicles confirm their use as image shrines. The central shrine is composed of two main parts, the *mandapa* and cella with two detached shrines flanking the *mandapa.* Most remaining images are found around the inside walls of the *mandapa* or encircling the podium, the latter being in a somewhat later style. The approach to the temple is from below and the towering, double gateway establishes the visual axis and monumental scale of the entire complex. Entrance gate, encircling colonnade and the temple proper are all elevated, enhancing the feeling of monumentality and subordinating the worshiper, much as political events were dominated by Lalitaditya. The elevated temple and colonnade led Cunningham, writing in 1848, to postulate that the interior of the compound was kept submerged under water, with stone pathways connecting the main parts, much as seen in Kashmir's Mughal gardens.[11] Instead of such a fanciful explanation for these structural arrangements, deriving, according to Cunningham, from local *naga* or serpent worship, a more direct source can be found among neighboring Gandharan Buddhist temples, such as Takht-i-bahi, where the enclosure wall is likewise elevated above the compound floor with open niches housing images as they once did at Martand.[12] In fact, the origin of most of the Kashmiri Hindu architectural tradition derives from earlier Buddhist monuments, especially as found in Gandhara.

Although dedicated to Surya, most of the images that remain today are of Vishnu, including the four-headed Vishnu Caturmurti, a form well known among Kashmiri images, as well as a rare form of Vishvarupa Vishnu, similar to the Gupta type that includes boar and lion heads. None of

5 Parihasapura: Cankuna's stupa. Some idea of the original enormous size of this monument can be seen in this partial view of the basement of one of the four sides. The completed structure once towered several hundred feet, its superstructure made of wood, in a style similar to the votive stupa from Gandhara.

6 Votive stupa from Gandhara. This bronze stupa reflects the style likely followed by Lalitaditya's monuments, of which only the foundations remain at Parihasapura. Peshawar Museum.

7 Buniar temple. The best preserved of the Karkota monuments, especially the surrounding colonnade, giving some idea, though on a smaller scale, of the grand arcade that once surrounded the larger temple of Martand.

5

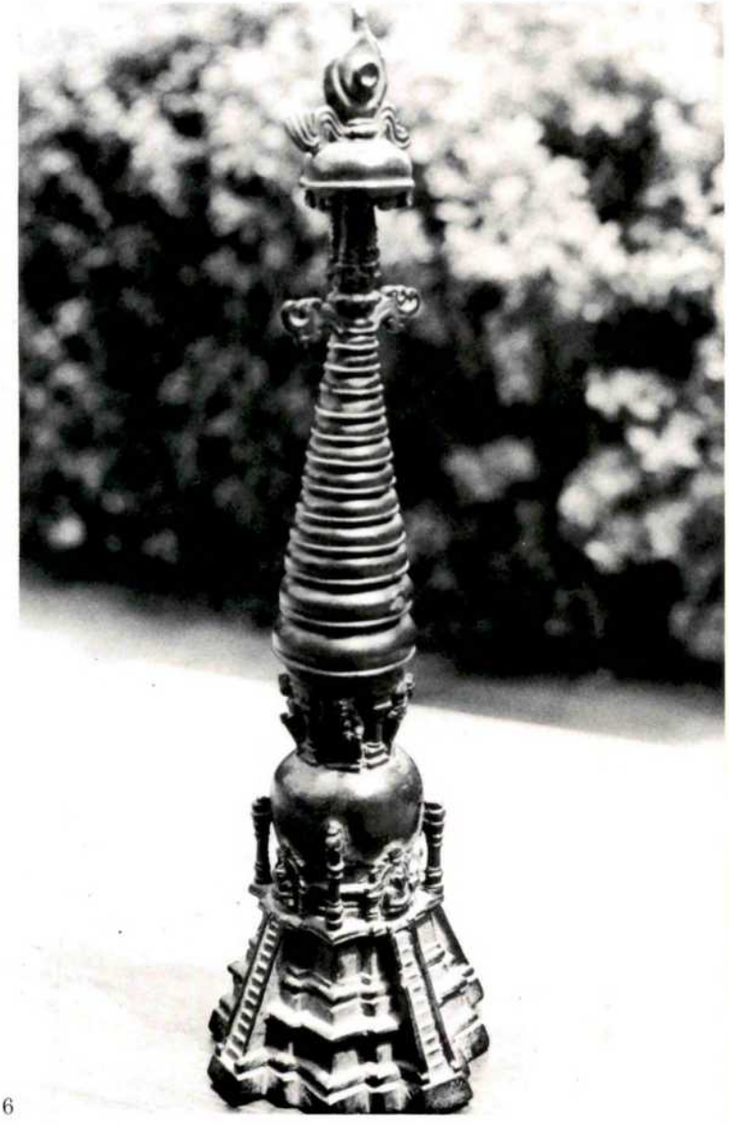
the fourteen figures located just below the cornice in the *mandapa* is recognizable and of the four niches at the rear, the only identifiable one is of Surya, flanked by attendants and riding in a chariot driven by Aruna and pulled by seven horses. There is no record of the primary image but Lalitaditya's reputation for grand patronage suggests that a prodigious icon originally occupied this temple. It may well have resembled the eighth century bronze Surya, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art,[13] an image of great monumentality and reflective of the stylistic currents passing through Karkota Kashmir.

Such issues as the stylistic origins of Martand's decorative motifs, the presence of the two freestanding shrines, what appears to be a later rebuilding of the arch over the *garbha-griha* and the preponderance of Vishnu images remain to be resolved.[14] However, Lalitaditya's patronage extended well beyond this one majestic complex, into other areas of the valley and even beyond his own Hindu religion.

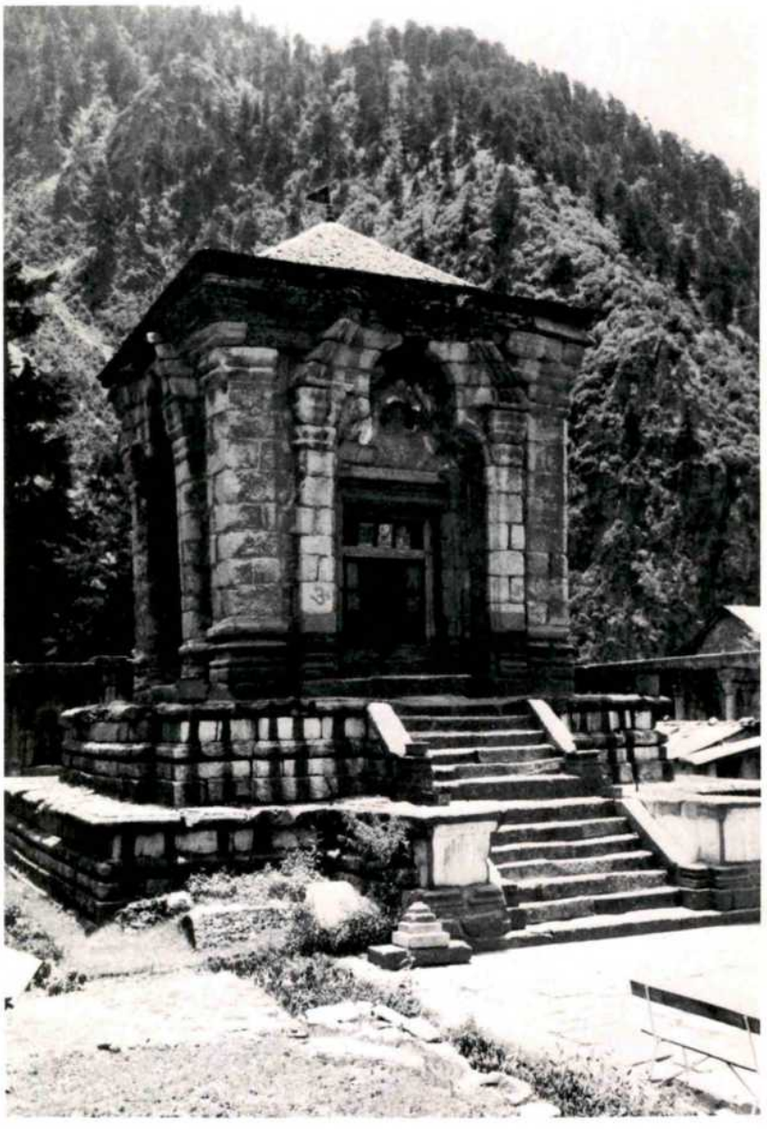
According to Kalhana, among Lalitaditya's donations are Buddhist stupas, *viharas* and shrines at Ushkur[15] and Parihasapura[16] as well as images suitable for these large monuments. Shrines to Siva were added to the existing group near Wangath[17] as well as colossal carved lingas, unfortunately now destroyed, although some idea of their size can be realized from the massive remains near Fathgarh.[18] He constructed an entire town, called Lokapunya, then made it and neighboring villages an offering to Vishnu.[19]

Perhaps his most ambitious complex was his town of Parihasapura. Not satisfied with the existing Kashmiri capital and flushed with success from his extensive conquests, Lalitaditya built a new and grand city. According to Kalhana: "Then again that Indra of the earth, when given to merry jesting [parihasa], built the town of Parihasapura, which mocked the residence of Indra."[20] Among the various images dedicated there:

> The famous [image of] Visnu Muktakesava, made of gold, shone as if it had taken its luster from the many stamina of the lotus [rising from Visnu's] navel.
> Clad in golden armor, the image...shone forth like the sun....
> He had a silver [image of the] god.Govardhanadhara made, which was white as if [colored] by the streams of milk [flowing] from [his] herds of cows.



6



7

With...many thousands of Prasthasa of copper he made the glorious [statue of] the 'Great Buddha' which reached up to the sky.

He, like another Kubera, placed as attendants by the side of the chief deities [other] images of gods, which in some [shrines] were of silver and in others of gold.[21]

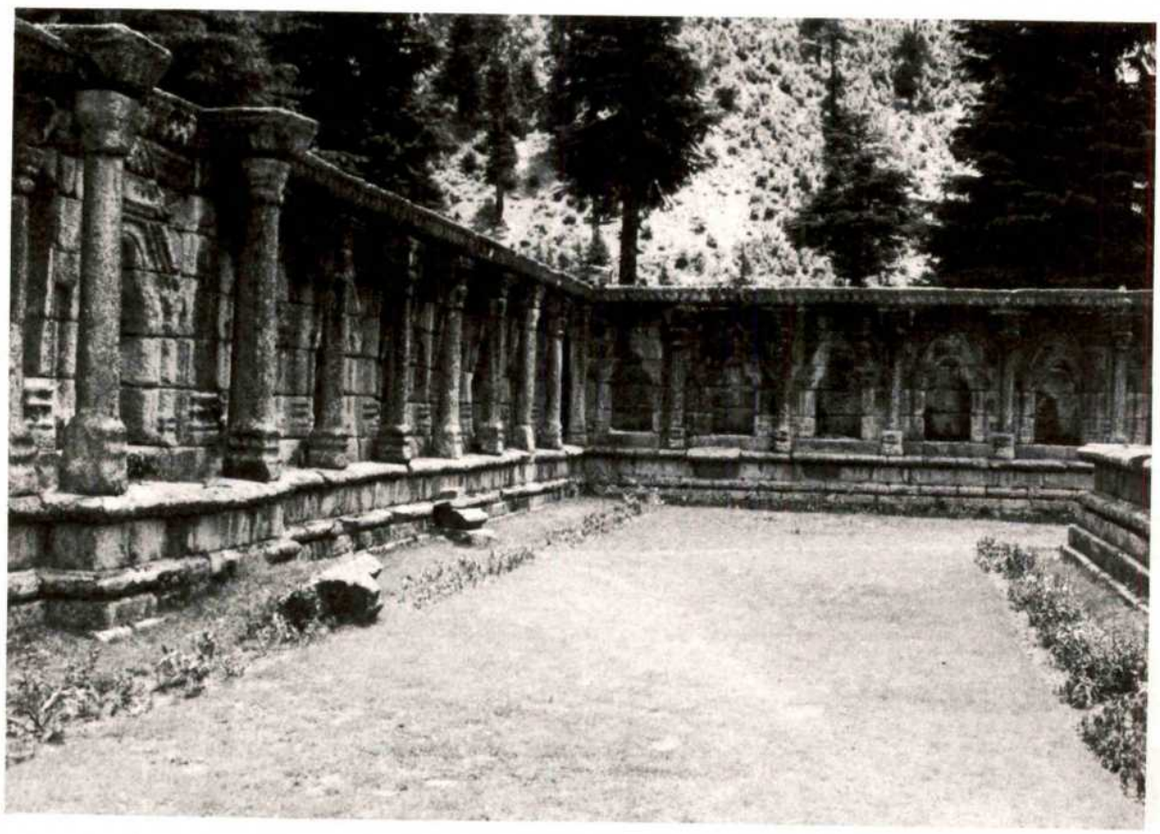
As Kalhana goes on to say: "Who could determine accurately in number how many treasures, villages, and establishments he bestowed on these [shrines]?"[22] In addition, his immediate family as also his appointed ministers and political associates were inspired by his generosity and extended this wealth of patronage by donations of their own.

These claims by Kalhana are not entirely without proof. Lalitaditya's once grand city of Parihasapura, by virtue of its location atop a plateau with a sweeping view of the valley in all directions, and despite being now little more than mounds of broken stones, still maintains some sense of its once monumental scale. All that can be seen today are the ruins of three monuments: a stupa,[23] a *vihara* and a shrine. In 1892 Stein found several other ruined temples, about a mile away, each one larger than Martand. In all, Kalhana names six large temples, four dedicated to Vishnu, one Buddhist, and Martand itself, all erected by Lalitaditya; the stupa was dedicated by his minister Cankuna.[24] In addition, a colossal stone Garuda column, said by Kalhana to be "...fifty-four hands high..."[25] was reported to be still present in the early nineteenth century.[26] From this litany of literary superlatives and shattered stones comes a picture of an artistic style linked in its consistency to the taste and ideas of one man.

This temple style of Lalitaditya's, as found at Martand, can also be seen in other remains across the valley, some of his time and others of later date repeating the formula he established. So pervasive was this architectural manner that only one temple built in a fundamentally different style remains in Kashmir, and it was erected before the Karkota period.[27]

The best preserved example of the Lalitaditya type is Buniar. Its state of preservation is due, in part, to being made of granite instead of the limestone found in nearly all other Kashmiri monuments. Except for the pyramidal roofs over the shrine and gateway, all the key elements remain. Especially prominent are the trilobed openings, topped by a triangular pediment, found throughout the colonnade, gateway and upon the four sides of the shrine proper. This double-pent roof design, based upon wooden originals, was repeated as part of the decorative system as well. At Martand, Buniar and numerous other shrines are found miniature relief carvings of this distinctive Kashmiri roof style, often serving as enclosures for Hindu images.

One remarkable architectural motif, perhaps not deriving from Lalitaditya's era but often used then, is the "lantern" roof. At Pandrethan and Payar, two temples traditionally dated later than the eighth century yet stylistically in agreement with monuments of that period, as well as among smaller, less preserved ruins, can be found one of the most interesting types of ceiling designs in Asia. It is best seen at Pandrethan, where it consists of nine stone slabs, arranged in overlapping courses with the exposed corners filled with flying figures or *vidyadharas.* The topmost slab is

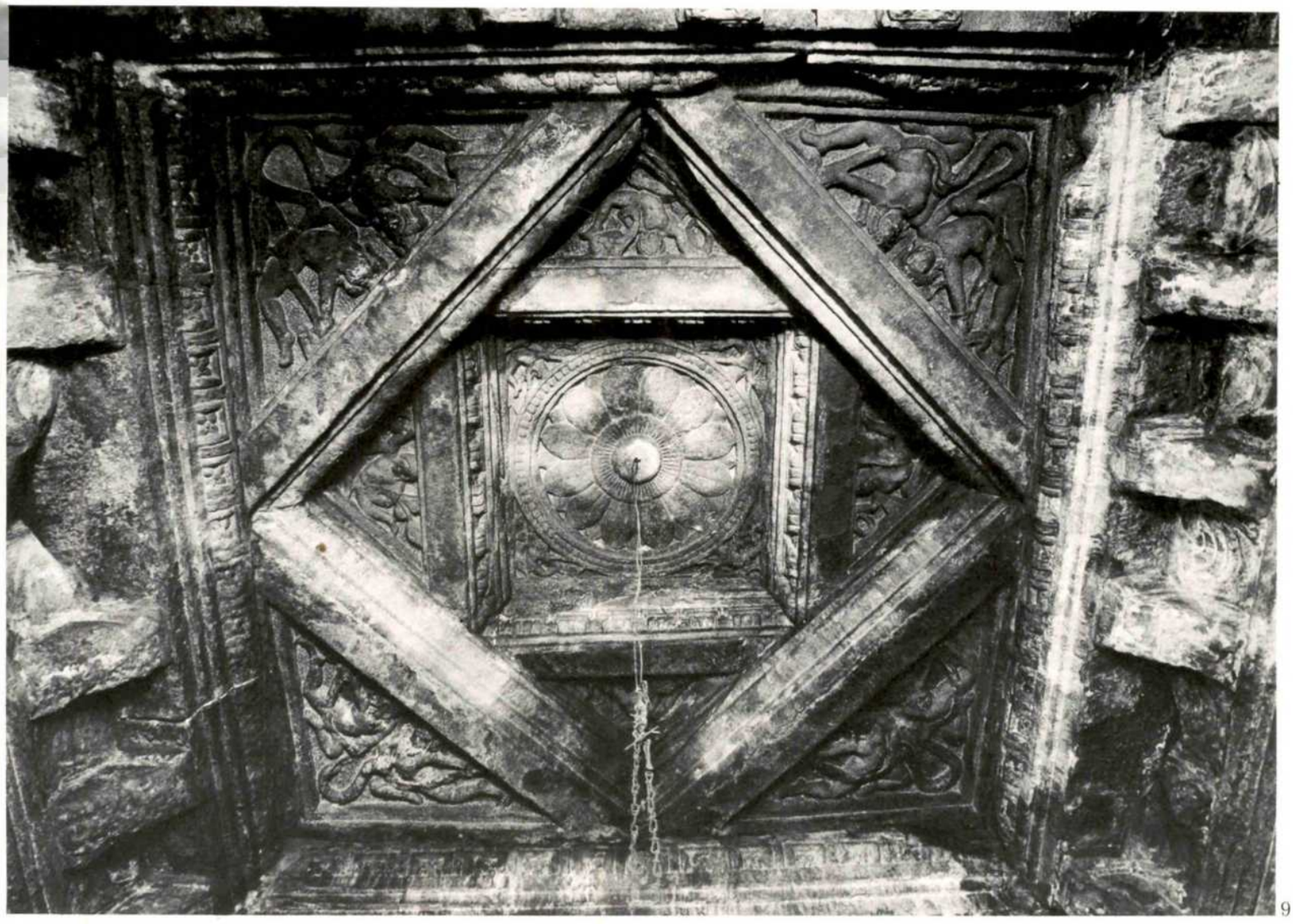


8

8 Colonnade of the Buniar temple. In style, this colonnade closely follows the Buddhist temples in nearby Gandhara, indicating the source for much of the style followed by the Hindu temples of Kashmir.

9 Lantern ceiling at Pandrethan. One of the most interesting types of ceilings, found in various parts of India but far more popular in the northwest, with some of the finest examples in Kashmir.

10 Pandrethan temple. A full-sized example of the double-pent roof so often found surrounding images upon walls of Karkota period temples. A spring has covered the basement level and the various carvings surrounding the shrine.



9

10

11 Preaching Buddha. One of the best examples of the mature Karkota style, revealing its Gandharan and Gupta sources and the blend of elements that became a paradigm for later Kashmiri sculpture. Los Angeles County Museum of Art, from the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Associates Purchase.

12 *Matrika* from Pandrethan. One of the six figures remaining from the original set of seven that once occupied a *matrika* shrine in the Pandrethan area. Few if any *matrika* sets throughout India express more energy and movement than this group.

13 *Matrika* from Pandrethan.

carved into a twelve-petalled lotus, surrounded by a beaded border. The whole is supported by a corbelled system that brings the upper portions of the walls slightly into the interior space. This system has intrigued scholars with its mandala-like arrangement, lending itself to representation of various cosmic diagrams.[28] It is also based upon wooden prototypes, as still found in nearby Himalayan regions and is well known in replicas painted and carved upon domes of Buddhist caves from Bamiyan, across Central Asia to Kyzil and Tun-huang.[29] It is found in China by the third century A.D. and in Korea by the fifth century.[30] Although known widely in India it must be considered a minor type there, compared to other kinds of ceiling structures[31] and due possibly to its Parthian origin,[32] it remained more popular in the northwestern regions.

None of the monumental images credited by Kalhana to Lalitaditya remains today. However, a number of bronzes dated to his time are known[33] and compared to earlier examples it would appear that the emergence of a distinctive Kashmiri image style coincides with Lalitaditya's rule. Most Kashmiri images before the eighth century reveal pronounced Gandharan and Gupta influences, but beginning around 700 notable changes occur and subsequent examples reveal a distinctive style that has become widely accepted as Kashmiri. The seated Buddha, now in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art,[34] reveals both its Gupta and Gandharan sources, notably in the garment and the "atlas" figure below, as well as singular Kashmiri traits, especially the facial features with their silver inlay and the grouping of animal motifs along the base.

These bronzes cannot match, in size or richness, the images Kalhana attributes to Lalitaditya's patronage although the largest one known, a 38 inches tall Buddha Sakyamuni, does communicate an aura of confidence and majesty befitting the political and artistic achievements of eighth century Kashmir.[35] A remarkable group of stone figures, discovered at Pandrethan,[36] also exhibits this confident, powerful character and their size, each being around 6 feet tall, more effectively represents the type of image Lalitaditya was likely to have sponsored. These *matrikas* constitute one of the most remarkable of such groups in Indian art. Their dynamic postures, expressive poses and deep carving make them distinctive from nearly all other representations and again provide evidence of the emergence of a Kashmiri style during Lalitaditya's century.

Almost nothing is known about Lalitaditya's personality. Two episodes told by Kalhana, suggest an unsavory side. In one, while angry and drunk, he ordered a town burnt but his

ministers wisely disobeyed the command. In another he murdered the king of Gauda (Bengal) despite having guaranteed him safe passage.[37] One of the few instances of kindness, assisting a badly mutilated man, is simply a retelling of an older story designed to enhance a ruler's image.[38] What emerges is an individual driven by the need for conquest and the need to placate the gods through continuous building and religious dedications. His achievements in artistic areas outlasted his political conquests, for subsequent pre-Islamic Kashmiri architecture and sculpture changed little, so total was his impact upon this tradition. While those concrete remains are his lasting legacy, Kalhana best captured the man's ambitious life in these poetic phrases:

> Thus over various affairs the king passed his days, a few in his own city but most in foreign regions.... The sun, though hidden by dense clouds, comforts the lotus-flowers. The cloud, though far away, gives a touch of coolness to the sunshine. There is, certainly, some unimpaired power of the great force of which even the remotest tasks are freely carried out without hindrance.[39]

NOTES

1. The most thorough analysis of Kalhana's chronicle is found in the translation and detailed study, first published in 1900, of ancient Kashmir geography and monuments by Sir M. Aurel Stein, reprinted in 1961, *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, Delhi.
2. H. Goetz, "The Conquest of Northern and Western India by Lalitaditya-Muktapida of Kashmir", *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XXVIII, pt. 1 (1952): 43ff, and reprinted in H. Goetz, *Studies in the History and Art of Kashmir and the Indian Himalaya* (Wiesbaden, 1969): 8-22. Despite the mass of documentation, Goetz's conclusions about a vast empire are not convincing.
3. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir* (New Delhi, 1973): 119.
4. *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, book IV (Delhi, 1961): verse 131, hereafter RT.
5. RT, IV: 126.
6. RT, IV: 192, also the earliest known use of the name Martand for this temple.
7. RT, IV: 187.
8. RT, IV: 192.
9. V. Kumari, *The Nilamata Purana*, vol. I (1968): 15, and RT, IV: 192, note. Lalitaditya's Martand was constructed over the remains of an earlier shrine, possibly also to the sun god.
10. The cella at Fathgarh is larger, but in ruins and nothing of its colonnade or gateway has been found.
11. A. Cunningham, "An Essay on the Arian Order of Architecture, as Exhibited in the Temples of Kashmir", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Sept. 1848): 273.
12. P. Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Bombay, 1971): pl. XXXIII.
13. D. Klimburg-Salter, *The Silk Road and the Diamond Path* (UCLA Art Council, 1982): pl. 39 and P. Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir* (Graz, 1975): pl. 17.
14. Discussed in my forthcoming monograph on the architecture of pre-Islamic Kashmir.
15. RT, IV: 188 and note.
16. RT, IV: 200.
17. RT, IV: 189.
18. In the archives of the Archaeological Survey in New Delhi there exists a photograph of another massive Siva linga, now missing, in this same style.
19. RT, IV: 193.
20. RT, IV: 194.
21. RT, IV: 196-205.
22. RT, IV: 206.
23. Some idea of what this stupa originally looked like can be gained from the ruined foundations and a more complete picture from the stupas portrayed on the votive bronze from Lalitaditya's time, now in the JDR 3rd Collection, see *Handbook of the Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection* (New York, n.d.): 23.
24. RT, vol. II: 301-3.
25. RT, IV: 199.
26. H. H. Wilson, *Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and the Punjab* . . . (London, 1825): 49.
27. The Loduv temple, located near Avantipur, has been linked to the Guniyar temple in Swat, most notably by Foucher in *L'art greco-bouddhique du Gandhara* (Paris, 1905-1923) tome I: 131ff and later by R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (New Delhi, 1971): 55.
28. A. C. Soper, "The 'Dome of Heaven' in Asia", *The Art Bulletin*, XXIX, no. 4 (1947): 225-48.
29. H. Goetz, *The Early Wooden Temples of Chamba* (Leiden, 1955): pl. XIII; A. von Le Coq, *Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkestan* (London, 1926): pl. 46, pp. 92-3; J. Hackin, *L'Oeuvre de la Delagation Archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan (1922-1932)*, I (Tokyo): fig. 33.
30. Tseng Chao-yu, et al., *Excavation Report on the Decorated Stone Temple at I-Nan* (Shanghai, 1956, in Chinese): p. 6 and pls. 9, 10, 23 and Won-yong Kim, *Historical Murals of Korea* (Seoul, 1980, in Korean): 106ff and Chewon Kim, *The Art of Burma, Korea, Tibet* (New York, 1964): 73.
31. Klaus Fischer's summary of Indian roofs and domes places the great majority of lantern ceilings in the northwest, including Kashmir, see K. Fischer, *Dacher, Decker und Gewolbe indischer Kultstatten und Nutzbauten* (Wiesbaden, 1974): 182-87.
32. R. Ghirshman, *Parthian Art: The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties* (New York, 1962): pl. 37.
33. First seen in D. Barrett, "Bronzes from Northwest India and Western Pakistan", *Lalit Kala*, no. 11 (April 1962): 35-44 and Pal (1975) and most recently in P. G. Paul, *Early Sculpture of Kashmir* (1986).
34. Pal (1975): pl. 21.
35. P. Pal, et al., *Light of Asia: Buddha Sakyamuni in Asian Art* (Los Angeles, 1984): pl. 114, where it is dated *c.* 1000 primarily due to an inscription, which, as pointed out by Pal, may have been added later.
36. Although prominently displayed in the Sri Pratap Singh Museum in Srinagar, this group is yet to be published. One, Indrani, is illustrated in D. Mitra, *Pandrethan, Avantipur and Martand* (New Delhi, 1977): pl. II, and assigned to Lalitaditya's period, p. 18.
37. RT, IV: 310-23.
38. RT, IV: 277ff.
39. RT, IV: 336, 365. □

Kalachuri Monarch and his Circular Shrine of the Yoginis

Tenth Century Bheraghat

Vidya Dehejia

And Siva said:
If a king worships the Yoginis with total devotion, O Devi;
His fame will reach the shores of the four oceans
Of that there is no doubt

Kularnava Tantra[1]

Tantric manuscripts dealing with the worship of the extraordinary set of goddesses known as Yoginis who were worshiped collectively in a circular formation, contain repeated exhortations to royalty to support the cult. The tantra quoted above promises the royal worshiper immense fame; a second text assures him of great wealth and victory in battle;[2] while a third guarantees that he will become the foremost among monarchs.[3] One may indeed surmise that the construction of stone temples dedicated to the Yoginis, an enterprise that must have involved considerable expenditure, was frequently the result of royal patronage.

Yogini temples are circular enclosures with no roof and no hidden sanctum sanctorum. Standing open to the sky and permitting the sunlight to pour into the exposed arena, they are unusual phenomena in the context of Indian temple architecture. The circular wall is built up of undecorated blocks of stone and access to the temple is through a simple entrance-way that is little more than an interruption in the enclosing wall. Within the enclosure and placed in niches in its circular wall is a series of images of the Yoginis, all facing the center of the enclosure which contains an open pavilion housing an image of God Siva.

The Bheraghat Yogini temple is a spacious open circle, 125 feet in diameter, with a wall 12 feet high. Along the inner face of the wall are eighty-one niches separated by pilasters; placed upon a lofty pedestal within each niche is the image of a Yogini. These statuesque goddesses, more than life-size in dimension, are today protected by a 5-foot wide circular pillared colonnade with a flat roof. However, this walk was not part of the original plan in which the Yoginis stood completely open to light and air. A central shrine dedicated to Siva and his entourage once stood at the center of the enclosure. While this shrine is no longer intact, two Saiva images and a dancing Ganesa that belonged to it still survive. The central shrine which seems to

have been irreparably damaged, was replaced by a standard *sikhara* temple of the northern style that today stands off-center within the Yogini enclosure. Inscriptional evidence indicates that this *sikhara* temple was built roughly two hundred years after the construction of the Yogini temple, at which time it appears that the cloistered walk too was added.

1 Yogini temple at Bheraghat.

2 Interior view of Bheraghat's Yogini circle.

Royalty and the Eighty-one Yoginis

The entire phenomenon of Yogini worship and the construction of temples dedicated to this group of goddesses has its roots outside the fold of orthodox Brahminical worship. The Yoginis, worshiped collectively in groups generally of sixty-four but occasionally also of eighty-one and forty-two, are part of a tantric tradition. Their origin may be traced back to the local village goddesses, the *grama devatas,* who are the favored deities in rural India. Tantrism elevated these deities and gave them new form and vigor as a group of Yoginis who could bestow magical powers on their worshipers.

A scrutiny of tantric texts reveals that the Yoginis were regarded as patron deities by those who were followers of a tantric sect known as the Kaulas. Worshipers of the Yoginis referred to themselves as Yogini Kaulas; they invoked the Yoginis both for protection and to obtain a wide variety of occult powers. This tantric cult did not concern itself with salvation or liberation; rather the goal was the acquisition, in this world, of magical powers known as *siddhis.* Texts on the Yoginis repeatedly state that these goddesses, when appropriately invoked in their temples, will confer on their devotees the eight great powers or *ashta-maha-siddhis.* These consist of the ability to become minute in size (*anima*) and its opposite, the power to become gigantic (*mahima*); weightlessness (*laghima*) and its opposite, excessive weightiness (*garima*); an irresistible will that compels others to do one's wishes (*prakamya);* control over body and mind (*isitiva*) and over the natural elements (*vasitva*), and lastly the fulfillment of all desires (*kamavasayita*). Special importance was given to a group of lesser abilities that enabled the worshiper to control and influence others, with the result that "black magic" powers are frequently highlighted in these tantric texts.

Worship of the group of eighty-one Yoginis, as distinct from a group of sixty-four, appears to have been the special prerogative of royalty. We learn from a Yogini text[4] that the group of eighty-one may be divided into nine groups, each consisting of nine Yoginis, located in nine directions (four cardinal points, four intermediate directions and the center). Worshiped in this manner, the Yoginis in the east confer on the devotee a male heir, while the group in the south confers the great magical powers. The remaining seven groups of Yoginis bestow gifts that are meaningful to none but royalty. Thus the Yoginis grouped in the western direction are to be worshiped for destroying enemies, while those in the north confer the boon of a kingdom. The southeastern group ensures the success of an army, the southwestern secures territorial gain, and the northwestern banishes fear when attacked by the enemy.[5] The ninth group at the center is specially to be invoked by those who have lost their kingdoms and wealth and are being oppressed by enemies. Consideration of these boons conferred on those who worship the eighty-one Yoginis leads one to the undeniable conclusion that a group of eighty-one was intended mainly for royalty. If indeed others worshiped this group, they were to invoke them as a single circle of eighty-one, and in this manner the Yoginis would fulfill all desires, bestow untold wealth and also the eight magical *siddhis.* It is quite clear that Bheraghat's temple of eighty-one Yoginis is a royal construction. In keeping with a royal Yogini temple, we find that the *sikhara* temple that replaced the original central shrine two hundred years later was also built by royalty, being the gift of a dowager queen and her two sons.

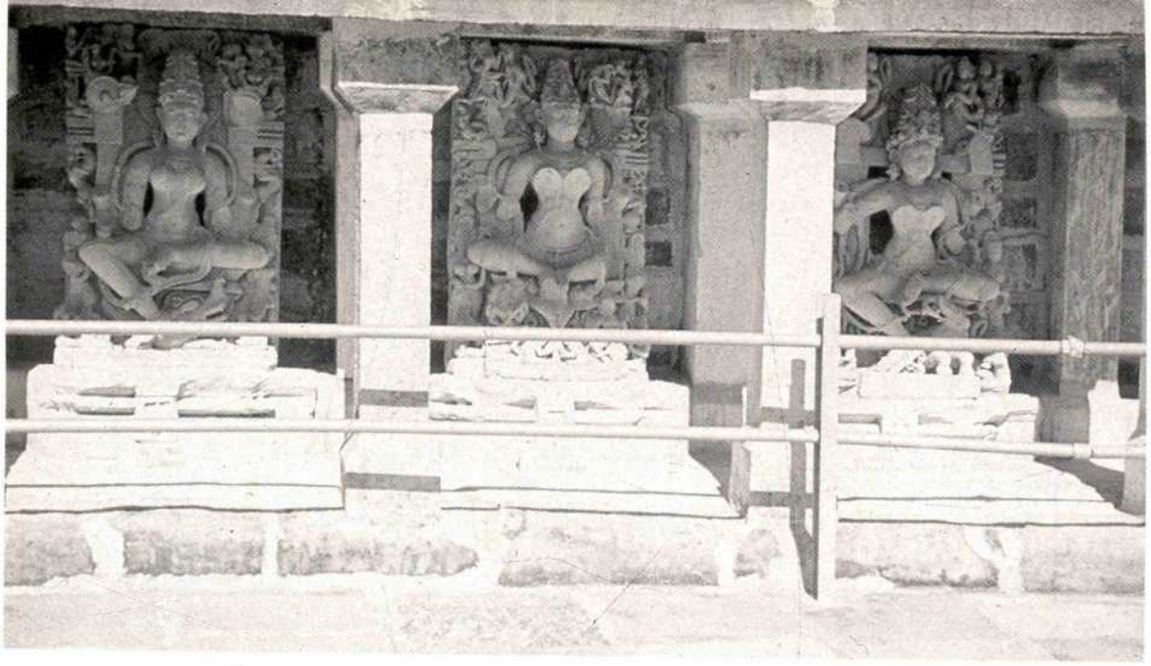
Just as eighty-one Yoginis had special boons to grant to their royal worshipers, so too one discovers that the number eighty-one in temple construction was specially reserved for royalty. The floor plan of a temple is based on a square mandala, frequently of sixty-four, but also of eighty-one squares. It has been pointed out that several texts on temple construction speak of mandalas of eighty-one squares as being specially suitable for use by monarchs, while the *Manasollasa,* a royal compendium, refers only to a plan of eighty-one squares.[6] The concordance between these two independent lines of enquiry on the importance of the number eighty-one for royalty, is indeed striking.

The Bheraghat Yoginis

In keeping with its status as a royal dedication, Bheraghat is the largest among the Yogini temples. It presents us with an impressive group of images, each almost 8 feet high, designed to dwarf the viewer and strike him with a sense of awe and wonder. Bheraghat's Yoginis are

1

2



3

3 Bheraghat's over life-size Yoginis.

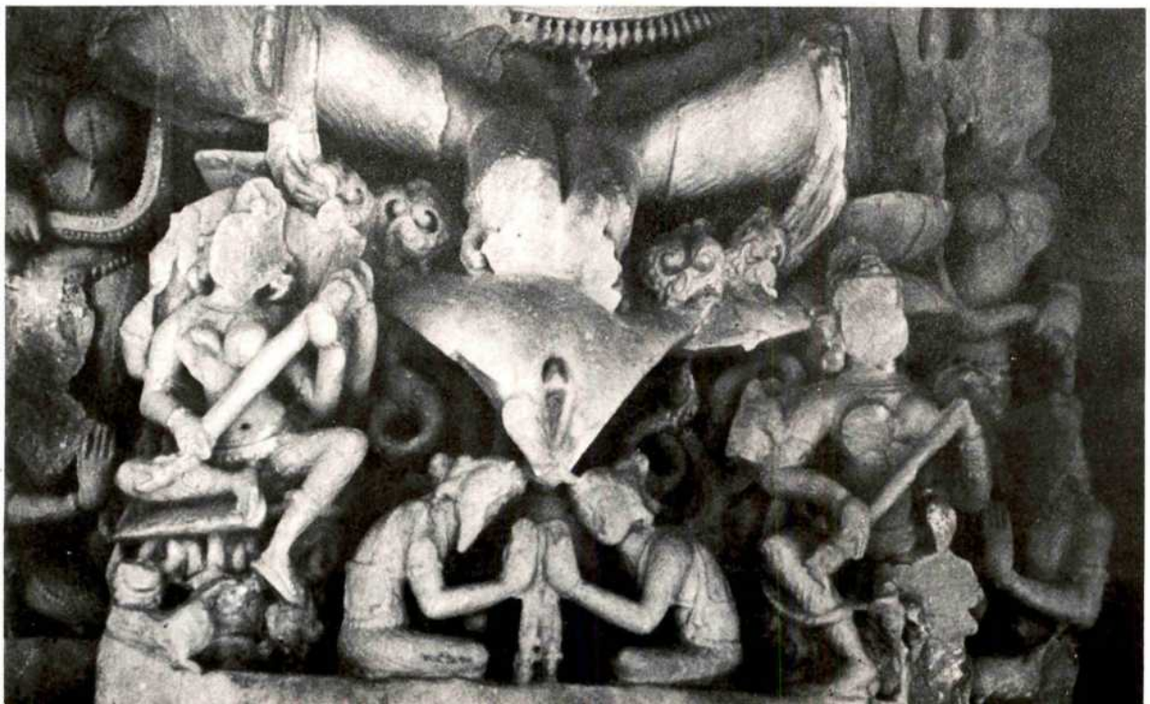
4 Yogini Antakari ("She who destroys").

5 Yogini Sarvatomukhi ("She who looks in all directions").

4

5

6



7

6 Yogini Kamada ("Giver of love").

7 Scene of *yoni* puja on pedestal of Yogini Kamada.

8 Horse-headed Yogini Erudi.

9 Yogini Teramva killing the buffalo demon.

mature, voluptuous goddesses, generously endowed with ample hips and heavy spherical breasts. Bereft of an upper garment, the Yoginis are ornamented with multiple strands of necklaces and garlands, and they wear a variety of armlets, bracelets and earrings. Slung low on their broad hips is a jeweled girdle that holds a transparent skirt reaching down to the ankles. Each Yogini has a halo as well as multiple arms that reinforce her divinity. While sculpted to form part of a slab with flying figures at the top, a throne along the center, and attendant figures along the base, the carving of the Yoginis is so deep as to be almost entirely in the round and partially detached from the background. Their grave unsmiling countenances add to their air of quiet dignity and majesty.

The Bheraghat temple has suffered greatly at the hands of vandals and many of the eighty-one niches no longer contain their original Yogini images. The majority are extensively damaged, several being intact only from the waist downwards, while even the better preserved figures often have mutilated faces. In fact, only twenty-four images survive in a reasonably intact condition.

Each Yogini has her name inscribed along the base of the slab, and the names emphasize the fact that Bheraghat's Yoginis hold an exceptionally high status. It would appear that these regal deities were either considered to be varying aspects of the Great Goddess of the Hindu tradition, or highly placed acolytes of Devi. Yogini Sri Antakari or "She who destroys" is certainly an awe-inspiring aspect of the Goddess. Her well-formed body contrasts with her fearsome face with its open fanged mouth, protruding eyeballs and tiara of skulls placed upon a headdress of snakes. Yogini Sarvatomukhi, "She who looks in all directions", reminds us of the similar title of Visvatomukhi given to the Goddess in a Devi text.[7] This Yogini wears a tiara of skulls and a long garland of skulls, while a massive skull pendant hangs between her breasts. Her hair standing up around her head adds to her awesome aspect. Below her seat, inscribed in a star placed in an eight-petalled lotus within a sixteen-petalled lotus, is the mantra "hrim" that is clearly intended for her

8

9

special worship. Yogini Kamada, "Giver of love", is again a name given to Devi in the *Kalika Purana,* in which *kama* is specifically identified with sexual love and we read that Devi as Kamada takes away *jadya* or frigidity.[8] Carved against the pedestal of Bheraghat's Yogini Kamada is a scene of *yoni* puja or worship of the female vulva, and it would appear that Yogini Kamada is one who gives sexual enjoyment. Apart from such Yoginis who may be considered aspects of the Goddess, the Bheraghat eighty-one include the nine *matrikas* or mother goddesses and also the river goddesses Ganga and Yamuna.

While the majority of Bheraghat's Yoginis have names derived from the Sanskrit tradition, a number of titles are clearly of a popular non-classical derivation, including names such as Teramva, Paravi, Erudi, Takari and others. Some of these Yoginis, like horse-headed Erudi, are of uncertain, perhaps local origin. Others like Teramva for instance, are deities from the Sanskrit tradition, although here bearing a local name. Teramva is in effect Devi as Mahishamardini, the form in which she killed the buffalo demon. Victorious Yogini Teramva stands with one foot on the back of the buffalo that she has just beheaded, brandishing a variety of weapons in her sixteen arms.

Date and Authorship

Both paleography and the analysis of sculptural style suggest that Bheraghat's Yoginis belong to the very end of the tenth century. A consideration of the label inscriptions on the Yogini images and a comparison with firmly dated royal epigraphs suggest, as I have shown elsewhere,[9] that the style of script belongs between 975 and 1025. A comparison of the Bheraghat sculptures with the images carved on the many dated, mostly royal temples at Khajuraho, capital of the neighboring Chandella kingdom, reveals a similar idiom. The sculptors at both sites had a penchant for the boldly carved, full and statuesque female form, and at both Bheraghat and Khajuraho there is an assured elegance in the treatment of these voluptuous figures (although Khajuraho also has several slender young girls). The manner of dress and ornamentation is closely akin and it is evident that the two sets of carving belong to roughly the same period of time, indicating that the Bheraghat Yoginis may be assigned to around A.D. 1000.

Bheraghat's Yogini temple, located on top of a hill overlooking the river Narmada near Jabalpur, is barely four miles from the Kalachuri capital of Tripuri. There seems little doubt that it was in the nature of a royal chapel, built probably by Yuvaraja II who ruled the Kalachuri empire in the last quarter of the tenth century. Yuvaraja I who ruled until the mid-tenth century, was a devout supporter of a Saiva sect known as Matta Mayura, for whom he constructed monasteries and temples and for whose maintenance he allotted an entire third of the state revenue. He fought several battles against the Chandellas and barely managed to keep them out of his kingdom. Both his son Lakshmanaraja and his grandson Yuvaraja II had to fight protracted battles to retain Kalachuri supremacy which was severely threatened from many directions. Indeed this factor may have been the prime motivation for one of these monarchs to build the large and impressive temple to the eighty-one Yoginis, propitiating these powerful deities, beseeching their aid in defending their territories, securing victory in battle and banishing the foe. Most likely the builder of the Yogini temple was Yuvaraja II whose kingdom, at the end of the tenth century, was confronted with a serious threat from the powerful expanding empire of the Paramaras. If indeed such was the case, it would appear that the all-powerful eighty-one Yoginis ignored this particular royal plea; history informs us that Yuvaraja II lost his throne in a major battle against the Paramaras and had to flee for his very life.

NOTES

1. V. Taranatha & Arthur Avalon, *Kularnava Tantra* (Calcutta, 1941): ch. 10, v. 93.
2. K. D. Vadavyas, *Skanda Purana* (Calcutta, 1965): ch. 45.
3. *Yogini Sadhana,* unpublished manuscript: see Vidya Dehejia, *Yogini Cult and Temples: A Tantric Tradition* (New Delhi, 1986): 56.
4. See Dehejia, *op. cit.:* 48f, and 125-139.
5. We can only guess as to the boons conferred by the northeastern group of Yoginis since the manuscript of the *Matottara Tantra,* which gives us this information, is damaged at this section.
6. Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple* (Delhi, 1976 reprint): 46, 50 (footnote 86).
7. R. Ananthakrishna Sastry, *Lalita Sahasranama* (Adyar, 1951): title no. 780.
8. Bishwanarayan Sastri, *Kalika Purana* (Varanasi, 1972): ch. 61, v. 98.
9. Dehejia, *op. cit.:* 137f.

□

Lord of Kalanjara and his Shrine of the Emerald Linga

Eleventh Century Khajuraho

Devangana Desai

"The emerald linga, which after prostrating was installed by Shri Dhanga, and which was originally worshipped by Indra and after pleasing him brought to earth by Arjuna, and [which] was adored by Yudhishthira, is victorious in the world.

"Another stone linga of Hara [Siva], the remover of the bonds of pain, which was installed by the King, shines in the temple.

"By that King Dhanga was erected this temple of Lord Shambhu, the chief of the gods, with its summit bright like the autumnal clouds . . .

"Indeed, on account of his devotion for Lord Siva, Vishvakarma himself has created this torana [gate] having entered into the bodies of shilpins [sculptors]."[1]

Dhangadeva: Enlightened Monarch and Patron of the Arts

The porch of the Vishvanatha temple at Khajuraho, the ancient Kharjuravahaka in the heart of central India, contains a stone slab with the inscription quoted above, dated to the year 1002. The town witnessed extensive building of temples, lakes and gardens by the Chandella royal family, their chiefs and merchants in the period from 900 to 1150. Tradition records the existence of eighty-five temples, of which only twenty-five, strewn amidst lakes and fields, have survived. Those shrines built by royalty and the aristocracy are situated in the western area near the Shibsagar lake, while those erected by the Jain merchants are to the east of Khajuraho village.

The mighty Chandella King Dhangadeva, who ruled at Khajuraho between 950 and 1002, built this magnificent temple in the western area of the town. As we have seen, the inscription

informs us that Dhanga dedicated two lingas to the temple, one of emerald and a second of stone. The temple, now called the Vishvanatha, was originally known as the Marakateshvara (Emerald Lord) and Pramathanatha (Lord of Goblins). The dedication of an emerald linga is of considerable interest since the *Puranas* record that an emerald or jeweled linga is generally dedicated upon the fulfillment of desire. Inscriptions inform us that the monarch Dhanga lived for over a hundred years, and it would appear that he constructed the Vishvanatha temple towards the end of a long life of achievement when he had attained a high political status and fame on earth. Dhanga was called "Lord of Kalanjara Fort", a title and position coveted by the north Indian Rajput kings. He also conquered the Gwalior fort, and his territory extended from Gwalior to Vidisa, and from Varanasi in the north to the Narmada river in the south. He was one of the leading powers of northern India, compared in might with "Hamvira", the contemporary Ghaznavid invader (Sabuktigin). Dhanga (his name means Black Bee in the local dialect) was the first independent ruler of the Chandella dynasty to deny the overlordship of the Pratihara kings of Kanauj.

The Chandellas, local chiefs of Jejakabhukti (the Vindhya region) and originally feudatories of the Pratiharas of Kanauj, began to consolidate their power from the middle of the ninth century. Dhanga's grandfather Harsha and his father Yasovarman both recognized Pratihara suzerainty. At the same time, however, by building the Lakshmana temple at Khajuraho to enshrine the prestigious Vishnu-Vaikuntha image acquired from the Pratihara ruler,[2] and by supporting the Brahmanas, Yasovarman legitimized the social status of the newly rising Chandella family which possibly had earlier connections with the tribal Gonds and Bhars.[3] This first temple, built in the elite Nagara style of architecture at Khajuraho, must have been the work of an efficient architect since it reveals a well-planned and integrated scheme.[4] However, the architect's name is not mentioned in the inscription which mainly glorifies the royal patron and his family. Fifty years later when Dhangadeva, in his full glory, built the Vishvanatha temple, the inscription bestowing praise on the Chandella family and on the kings Yasovarman and Dhanga also lauded the architect (*sutradhara*) Chhichha, who is described as well-versed in the science of architecture and as the seat of dharma. Praising the temple's entrance-way, the poet described it as created by the divine architect Vishvakarma himself.

Dhangadeva's lengthy life and reign provided the stability conducive to the flourishing of the arts. The monarch appointed efficient officials to help him in administration; of his chief minister Prabhasa we read in an inscription that "the tree of government has struck very firm roots under him."[5] Dhanga's love and patronage of the arts is specially noted in an earlier inscription of A.D. 954 on a temple built by his father Yasovarman, which praises Dhanga "as a source of munificence, bravery, discernment [*viveka*] of arts and dalliance [*kala-vilasa*], of intelligence, majesty and might, accomplishing his purposes, by means of such conduct, all at once created in the minds of well-disposed people the belief that the Kali-age had out of season come to an end." The inscription further mentions Dhanga's love of his subjects and his wish that they may obtain "*nivritti*" (bliss, satisfaction, liberation).[6] During his reign, the Jain merchants of Khajuraho also built temples of their creed. The elegant Parshvanatha temple was built by the Jain merchant Pahila "who was respected by King Dhanga" according to the temple's inscription.[7]

Artists and poets received due recognition under Dhanga. Apart from recording the name of its architect, names of sculptors and masons are carved on the pedestals of some of the images of the Vishvanatha temple, although these are not systematically engraved. It is significant to note that the poet Rama, who composed the eulogy of this temple, informs us that his grandfather Nandana was also a poet and that he was of Shabara (tribal) lineage. The fact that Shabara poets wrote Sanskrit verses indicates the Sanskritization of at least certain tribal families. The earlier Lakshmana temple's inscription also mentions its scribe's knowledge of the Sanskrit language, while its poet Madhava proudly calls himself the son of a grammarian.

The knowledge of words and their multiple meanings was important to Khajuraho artists, whether poets or sculptors, and they have displayed their love of puns or double-entendres in both visual and written language. There was a healthy dialogue between the sculptors and men of letters, who replied to each other's puns. The architects of Khajuraho, particularly of the three Hindu *sandhara* temples (those with a built-in ambulatory, viz. the Lakshmana of 954, the Vishvanatha of 1002, and the Kandariya Mahadeva of the mid-eleventh century), punned by placing conjoint (*sandhi*) figures on the juncture (the *sandhi*-wall) between the hall and the sanctum.[8] On the ground plan this juncture is the overlapping wall formed by the two interlocked squares of the hall and the sanctum. On this overlapping portion, which can be considered to be part of the hall or of the sanctum, the architects have punned and also used enigmatic *sandhya bhasa* ("twilight" or "intentional" language).[9]

The artist of Yasovarman's Lakshmana temple punned on the word "Digambara" or sky-clad—an epithet applied to a Jain Digambara-Kshapanaka monk and also to God Siva. On the juncture wall he placed a figure of a Digambara-Kshapanaka in a row otherwise devoted to

1 A Chandella king and queen *c.* 1100, Site Museum, Khajuraho.

2 Vishvanatha temple along with subsidiary shrines, from west, rear view, 1002, Chandella style, Khajuraho.

images of Siva. The poet Rama appears to reply to this earlier sculptural pun by a verse in his Vishvanatha temple inscription. The verse narrates an amusing conversation between Siva and Parvati in which Parvati appears to deliberately confuse the sky-clad (naked) Siva with the sky-clad Jain monks.[10]

The Vishvanatha Temple

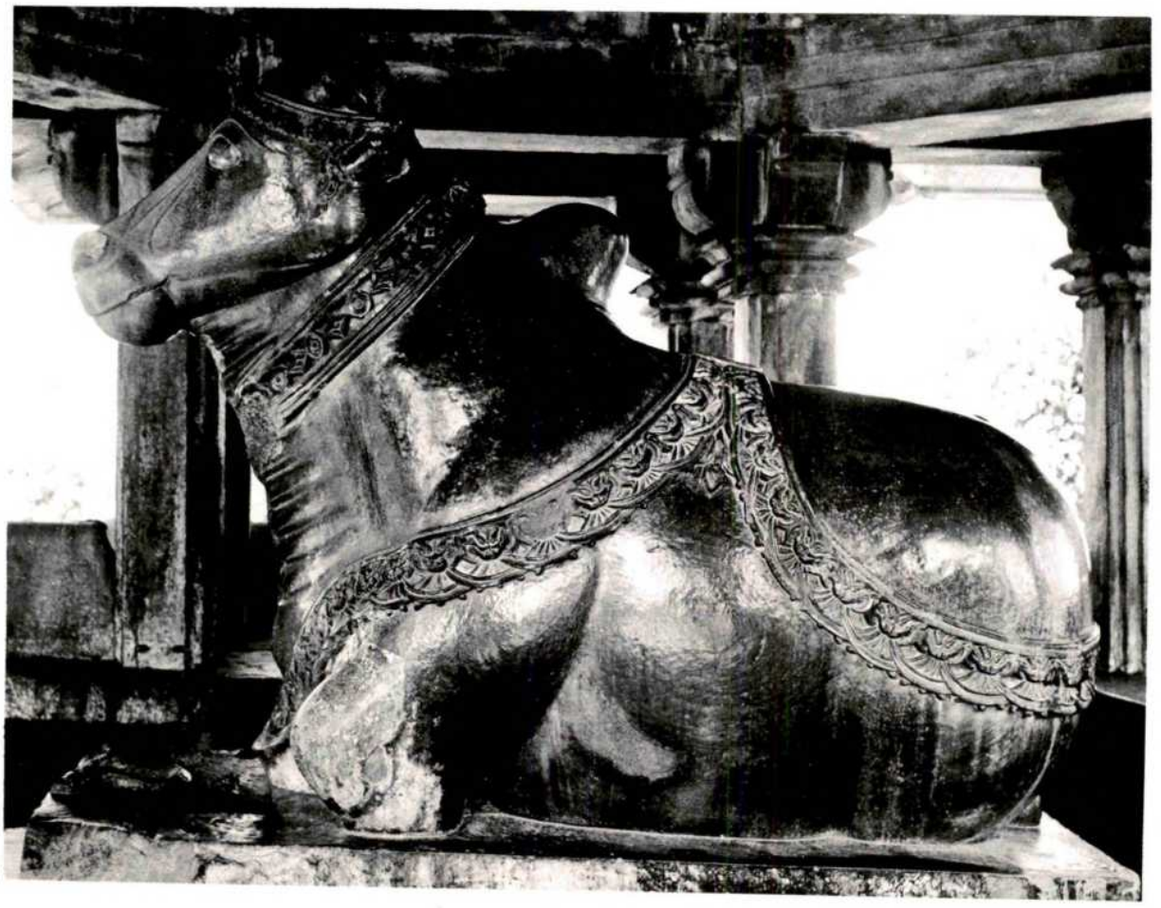
The architect Chhichha of the Vishvanatha shows close familiarity with the design of the earlier Lakshmana temple which stood in the vicinity. While larger in dimensions, the Vishvanatha is similar to the Lakshmana, both being *sandhara* temples with an inner ambulatory. However the *sikhara* (spire) of the Vishvanatha shows an intricate arrangement of subsidiary spires of gradual sizes and an advance in design which prepares the way for the culmination reached in the Kandariya Mahadeva temple built fifty years later.

Facing east and erected on a high platform, the lofty Vishvanatha complex consists of a central shrine with four subsidiary shrines in the four corners (*panchayatana*). A pavilion with a colossal Nandi bull faces the temple, which consists of a porch, hall (*mandapa*), great hall (*mahamandapa*), vestibule (*antarala*) and sanctum (*garbha-griha*). The superstructures of these component units rise in a modulated crescendo giving the temple the shape of a mountain (Kailasa). Exactly below the highest point of the curvilinear *sikhara* of the sanctum lies the linga, the sign of the Highest Reality—Para-Siva. The inscription of the temple in its first verse invokes Siva "who himself devoid of action [*nishkriya*] is the preserver and destroyer . . . ."

The three cardinal niches of the sanctum display images of Siva's manifestations as Andhakantaka slaying the blind demon, as dancing Natesha and as Ardhanari, half-woman, united with Uma. Images of teachers (*acharyas*) are seen on the plinth of the sanctum, and though there is no mention of *acharyas* in the temple's inscription, their figures are also seen on the lintel above the sanctum door. The threshold of the sanctum with its images of Ganesa and Sarasvati, tallies with the instructions of the Saiva Siddhanta text, *Ishanasivagurudevapaddhati.*

Three bands of sculpture enrich the texture of the outer walls and display the lesser aspects of Siva, Vishnu and Brahma, the eight *dikpalas* or the guardians of space in the eight directions, and beautiful young women in graceful attitudes. Such beauties also grace the temple interior, and as

1



3 Nandi facing the Vishvanatha temple.

4 Vishvanatha temple from northeast.

5 Nandi shrine facing the Vishvanatha temple.

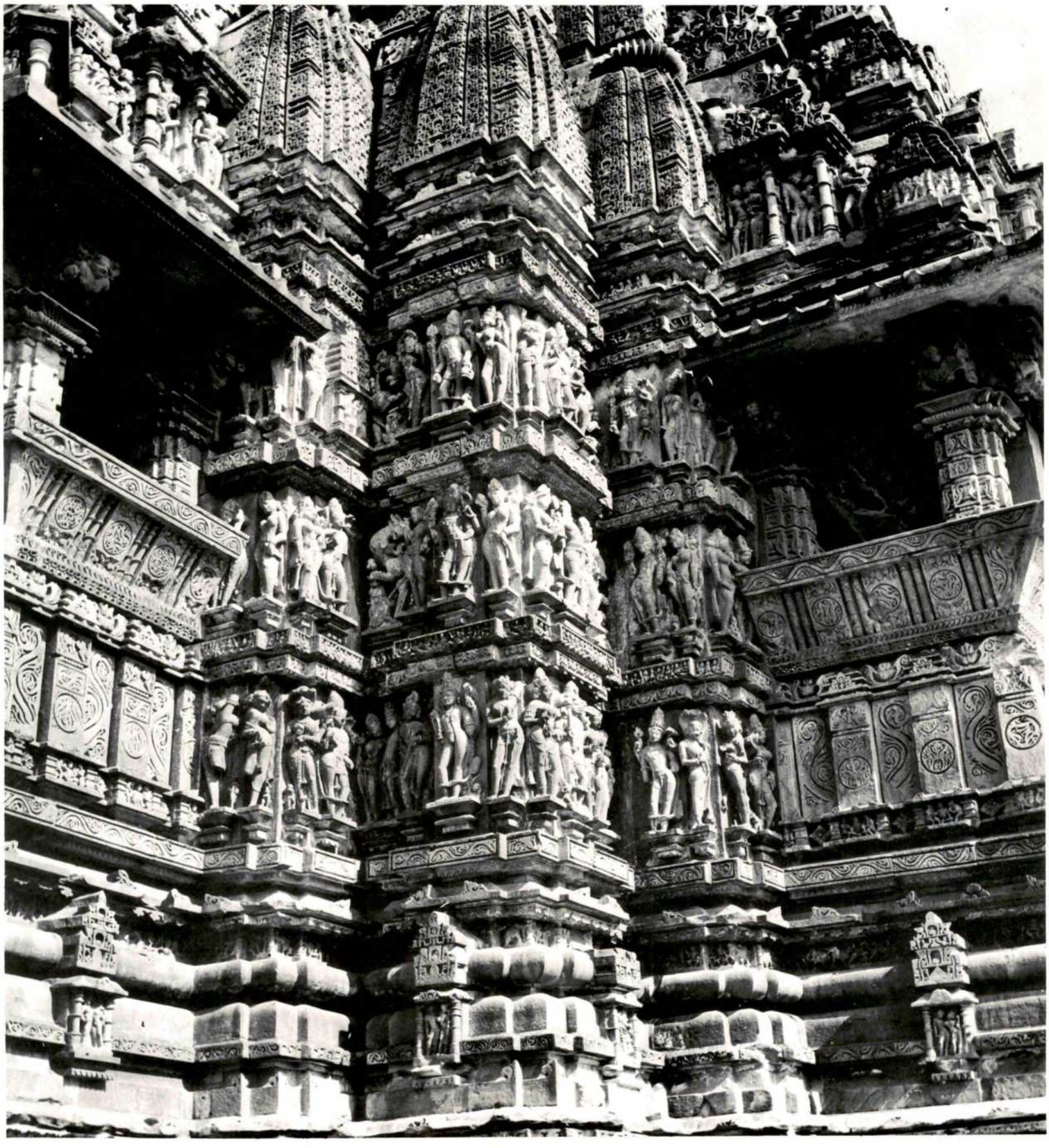
6 Sanctum entrance, Vishvanatha temple.

7 Siva slaying the blind demon Andhakâ in the lower niche and Siva seated as the pot-bellied Bhairava in the upper niche, south wall of sanctum, Vishvanatha temple.

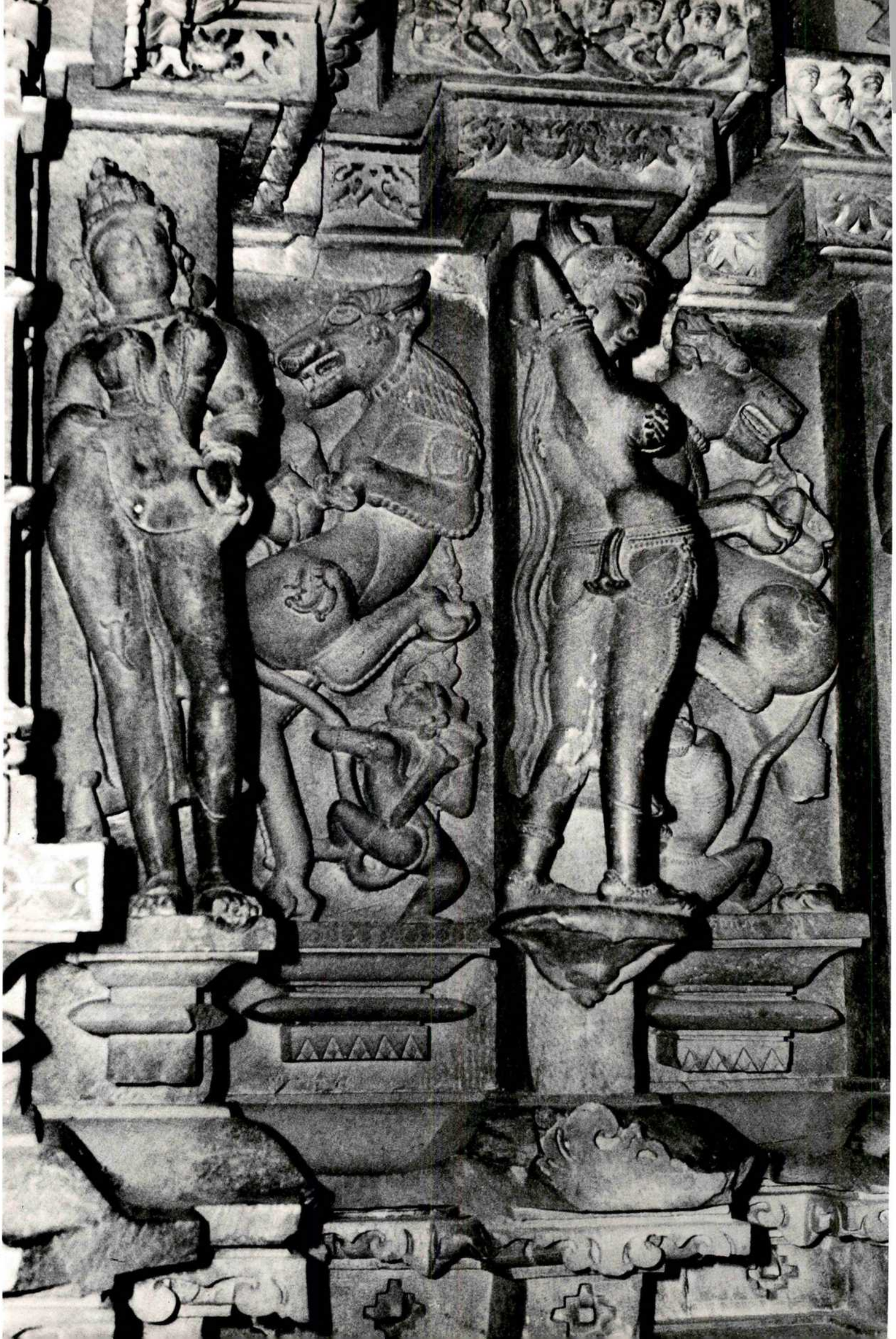
8 Siva Ardhanari (half-woman) in the lower niche, and Devi seated in the upper niche, north wall of sanctum, Vishvanatha temple. *Vyalas* (griffins) and *surasundaris* (heavenly damsels) flank the niches.

significance since such an image was considered to be "a support for meditation on Sadasiva."[13]

There is little evidence in the Khajuraho inscriptions of the much-talked about Kaulas and Kapalikas. The Kapalikas were an extreme Tantric Saiva sect, which was anti-Brahmana, anti-caste system and anti-Vedic, whereas Khajuraho inscriptions support Brahmanas, the caste system (*varnashrama-dharma*) and the Vedic order. We read in the inscription of the Vishvanatha temple that Dhanga performed the *tulapurushadana* ceremony by weighing himself against gold and distributing it to the Brahmanas. He established dwellings for pious Brahmanas well-versed in the six acts (*shat karma*), who practiced "ever-enduring sacrifice," and he donated land, grain, money and cows to the Brahmanas. Dhanga's earlier inscription on the Lakshmana temple (built by his father) also contains his assurance to protect Brahmanas and cows and support the three *Vedas*. The Vishvanatha temple inscription further mentions the royal priest Bhatta Yashodhara who, according to a copperplate of Dhanga, was a Brahmana of the



10



11

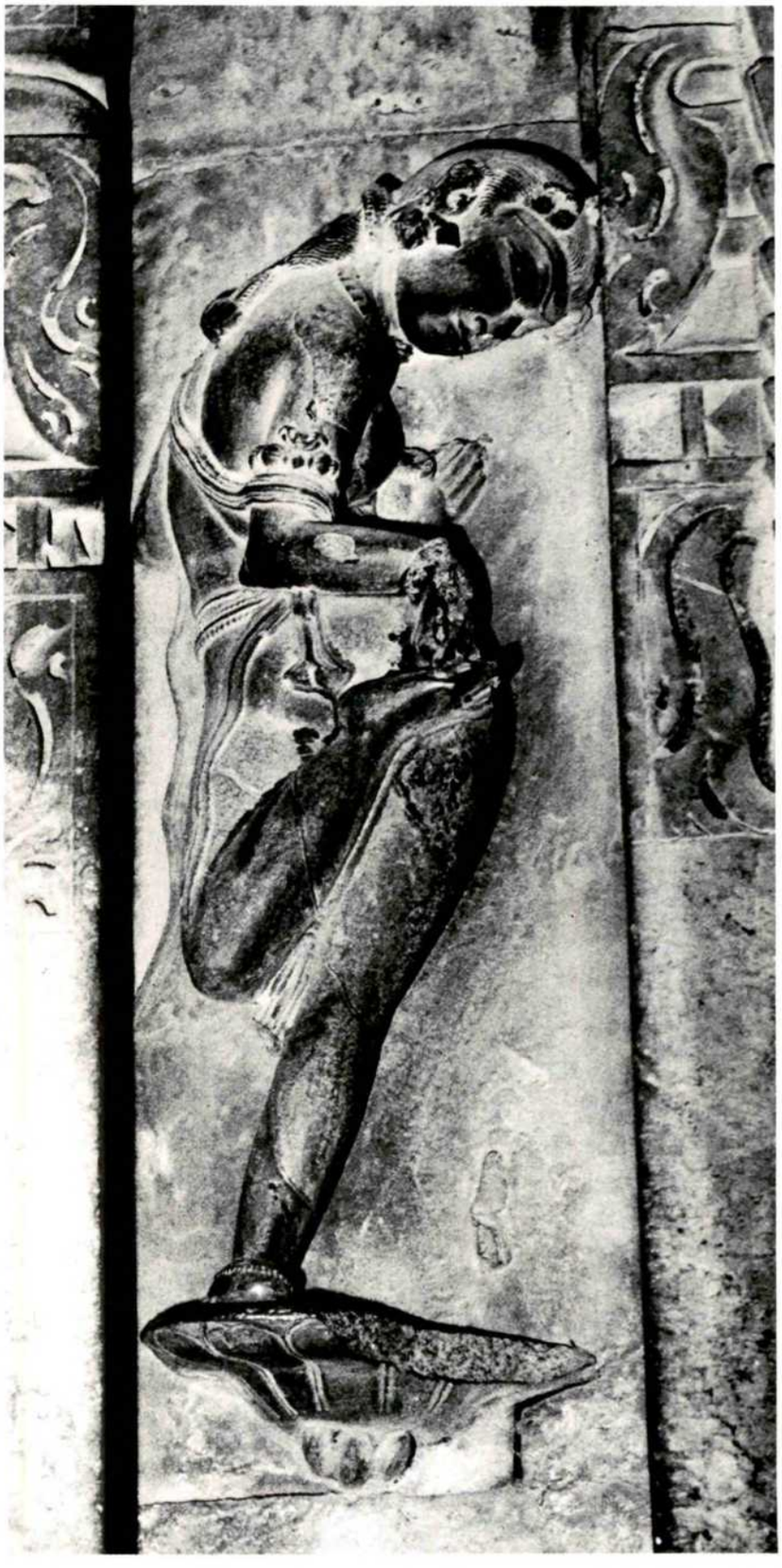
56

11 *Surasundaris* (heavenly damsels) and *vyalas* (griffins) on the wall of the sanctum, Vishvanatha temple.

12 Close-up of *surasundari* with scorpion, Vishvanatha temple.

13 *Surasundari* removing a thorn, interior, Vishvanatha temple.

12



13

14 Gurus and disciples, socle, Vishvanatha temple.

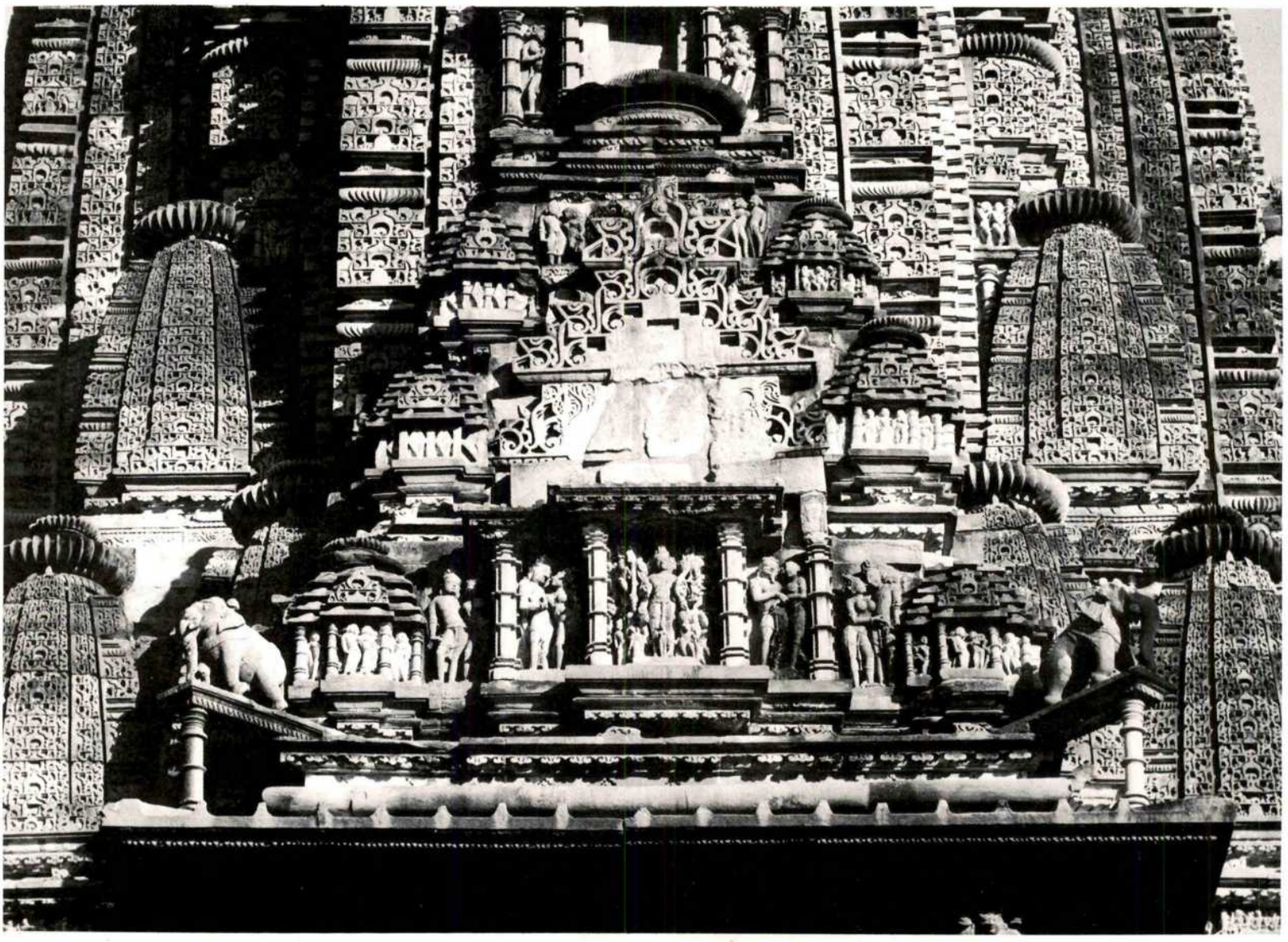
15 Matangeshvara temple, *c.* 1025, Khajuraho.

16 Surya combining Siva, Vishnu and Brahma in the western niche of the *sikhara* (tower), Vishvanatha temple.

17 South juncture wall between shrine and hall, Vishvanatha temple.

14

15



16

Scholar-emperor and a Funerary Temple

Eleventh Century Bhojpur

Kirit Mankodi

He treated the earth [jagat] as a platform [jagati] for erecting shrines, and covered it with temples of Kedaresvara, Rameśvara, Somanatha, Kala, Rudra and other gods, and thus Bhoja made the world worthy of its name.

The Udaipur prasasti of the Paramara kings.[1]

A gigantic Siva temple stands in forlorn grandeur at the site of Bhojpur some eighteen miles southeast of Bhopal. Unprepossessing except for its staggering size, the temple has the added misfortune that it was never completely built. Although the construction is somewhat awkward, the temple yet attracts for many reasons, prime being the fact that it is ascribed to the Paramara emperor Bhoja who also founded the town of Bhojpur. Bhoja is famous for his lavish patronage of art and literature; while many of his literary works have survived, the temples and sculptures which he patronized during his long reign of fifty years, as indicated by the inscription quoted above, have not come down to us. Tradition attributes to him also a temple of Sarasvati, presumably a college, in his capital city of Dhara, while the Jain historian Merutunga, in his *Prabandhacintamani,* has credited him with building as many as one hundred and four temples in that city.[2] However the Siva temple of Bhojpur is today the only shrine that can definitely be attributed to Bhoja.

Although the monument of Bhojpur is the only known temple built by Bhoja, it is not his only creation in the village, for the king who "founded" Bhojpur also constructed there a large artificial lake by building dams on two rivers. The temple, the lake which formed its setting, and the dams which formed the lake, are the results of the drive of a single patron, the emperor Bhoja, and they offer an absorbing subject of study.

The unfinished condition of the Bhojpur temple is intriguing. Since the temple was abandoned before it was completed, much evidence remains at the site which enables us to understand the mechanics of temple construction. Fragments in varying stages of carving lie scattered at numerous quarry sites in a large area of some three hundred yards to the east and north of the monument; evidence of the planning involved in a work of this size is found in draftsman's diagrams engraved in the rock at all these sites; while a large sloping ramp, erected between the quarries and the temple for conveying the carved slabs of the roof up to

their position, is still intact. An estimate of the vast labor force employed on the gigantic monument can be formed from the one thousand three hundred masons' marks and names engraved all over the building and at the quarries. And one final reason why the Bhojpur temple holds our attention is the possibility that the temple was not a temple in the usual sense of that word, but rather a funerary monument.

1 The Siva temple, Bhojpur, district Raisen, Madhya Pradesh. About A. D. 1050. View from the west.

Royal Patron Bhoja

Paramara King Bhoja ascended the throne in or shortly after the year 1000, in a lineage of famous kings that included his uncle Vakpati Munja II and father Sindhuraja. He ruled over a large empire in central India that extended up to Vidisa in the east, the Konkan in the south, the Sabarmati river in the west and Chitor in the north. Bhoja was a truly extraordinary monarch, a patron of the arts, and himself a scholar and writer, being credited with a love of knowledge not attributed to any other king. As Vikramaditya is synonymous with valor, so Bhoja is famous for his poetic ability, his scholarship in several fields and his patronage of the arts. Other kings may have built temples and palaces, but Bhoja actually compiled an authoritative architectural treatise called the *Samaranganasutradhara.*[3] This remarkable work on the science of architecture and sculpture *(Vastusastra* and *Silpasastra)* consists of eighty-three chapters each ending with the statement that this is a chapter from the *Samaranganasutradhara*, a work on architecture composed by Bhoja, King of Kings. Twenty chapters are devoted to temples and their classification, fourteen to images and iconography, six to the canons of painting, while town-planning and domestic architecture form an important part of this treatise. In an interesting chapter that deals with the qualifications of an architect, the scholar-emperor describes a perfect architect as one who possesses both a knowledge of the precepts of architecture laid down in the treatises, and practical experience as a builder. An architect who has book knowledge but has neglected to apply that knowledge to any construction will faint when called upon to demonstrate his knowledge, "like a cowardly warrior on a battlefield." On the other hand, one who is proficient as a builder but has not studied the *Sastras* "will prove to be a blind guide who leads his followers into a whirlpool." Bhoja also composed works on grammar, prosody and poems, such as the *Srngaraprakasa,* the *Sarasvatikanthabharana,* the *Srngaramanjarikatha* and the *Kurmasataka,* and it seems probable that his numerous court poets collaborated with him in these many works. Bhoja is believed to have founded, in his capital city of Dhara, the Sarasvatisadana, or Bharatibhavana, the mansion or temple of Bharati or Sarasvati, the goddess of learning—in other words, a college over which he personally presided.

Bhoja's personality is revealed in Merutunga's historical narrative *Prabandhacintamani.*[4] In many respects he was the typical potentate. He was ready to cross swords with his rivals at the slightest provocation; he loved to display his opulence; he was lavish with his favors. He was so pleased with a verse on the vagaries of Fate that he awarded 100,000 coins to the poet who composed it—and declared that the gift was for only one word, "alas!", occurring in the verse, the whole poem being worth more than the world itself! Like the typical king, again, he was vain too: "O Bhoja, night is falling," sang his bard, "and your rivals have started to quarrel for a place on the prison floor. The king of Konkan sleeps in this corner, that of Gujarat near the door, Kalinga in the courtyard. And Tailapa, the king of Karnataka, shouts at some other king who has just come in, 'this place belongs to *me*, because my father too used to sleep here! Why should I vacate my ancestral possession for you?' "

The Bhojpur Temple

The temple which faces west, consists of only a great sanctum, 65 feet square, housing a linga; it is fronted by an extensive *jagati* (platform) 115 feet long, 82 feet wide and 13 feet high. The usual components of developed temples, such as *mandapas* and porches, are absent here. The temple walls are constructed of plain large blocks of dressed sandstone without any cementing material, and are divided into three registers by two plain bands which run along three sides of the temple with the exception of the front or west. Three narrow balconies are built high up on the northern, eastern and southern walls; they rest on massive brackets, and have four free-standing and four engaged pillars. These balconies are among the many unusual features of this monument. They are "false" or "blind" balconies, there being no openings in the walls and, as they are located high up on the walls, they are approachable from neither inside nor outside the temple. They serve only as an ornament to relieve the monotony of the walls. A *makara* spout in the northern wall provides an outlet for the water used to bathe the linga. Like everything else here, the doorway is gigantic and measures 33 feet high—almost six times the height of an average

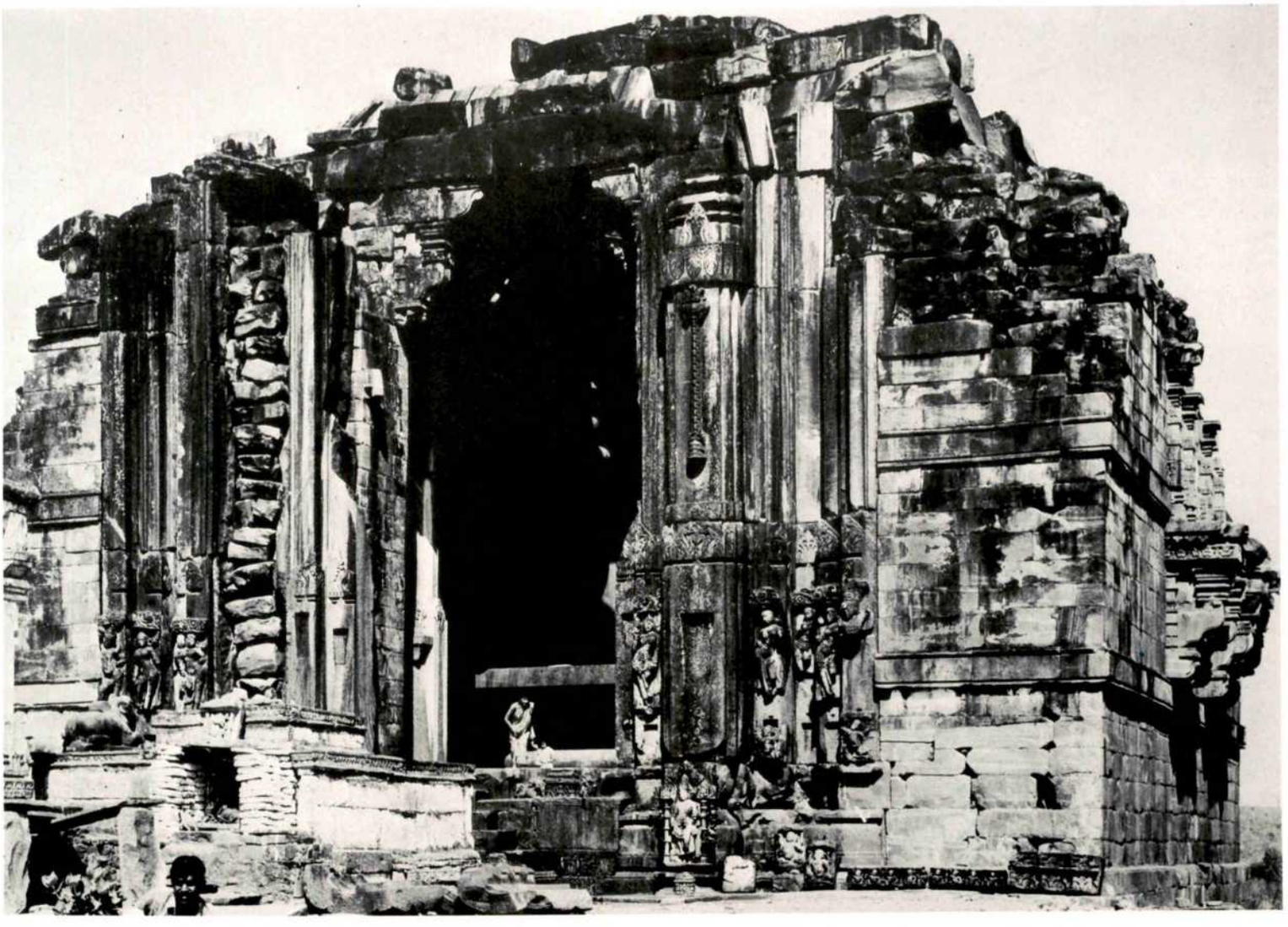
Indian. The doorframes carry sculptures of *apsaras,* river goddesses and attendants. While the superstructure is incomplete and ruined, it is clear that there was no typical curvilinear *sikhara;* rather a low *samvarana* roof of pyramidical shape, normally proper to *mandapas,* was intended. The presence of such a roof on the sanctum is another unusual feature.

Internally, the sanctum measures just over 42.5 feet square. Yet even this large interior space seems overcrowded by the gigantic linga in the center and the massive pillars in the four corners. The linga has a molded base, each side measuring over 20 feet, while its total height is over 26 feet. The octagonal pillars are close to 40 feet tall and support the ends of the four roof beams. The pillars are aligned with three pilasters in each corner of the wall making twelve in all. (The four pillars and twelve pilasters are reminiscent of the *navarangamandapas* of medieval temples in which sixteen pillars are so arranged that they make up nine equal compartments). High up on the walls were placed images of eight goddesses, two on each side; today only one remains.

As the sanctum is unusually large, the construction of its ceiling seems to have presented its own problems. As noted above, four beams were laid on top of the four pillars. The space between the top of the temple's walls and these beams (that is, the space over the aisles) is covered by large slabs which slope down towards the walls. The smaller square created by the four beams is further reduced by placing four triangular pieces at the corners, and above this follow concentric rings placed flat one above the other and corbelling inward; the narrow circular opening at the top is closed by placing a series of long beams across it.

While the face of the inner and outer walls and of the pillars is severely plain, the ceiling by contrast is richly carved. The cornerstones and the undersides of the rings have arabesques and other patterns, while the eight brackets of the ring courses have figures of *kumaras* or atlantes in various attitudes. The brackets supporting the cornerstones are carved with divine couples, Siva-Parvati, Vishnu-Lakshmi, Rama-Sita and Brahma with his Sakti, the same pair being repeated on the three faces of each bracket. Two more supporting brackets along each wall are also relieved with atlantes.

Some peculiarities of the structure must be stressed. In size it easily towers over most other temples, though it has none of their additional structures like *mandapas.* If however we ignore its



1

scale and consider only its form, we realize that it is no different from the thousands of simple village shrines which too consist only of a sanctum housing a cult object and dispense with all additional structures. The architecture as well as the functions of the two distinct component parts of a full-fledged temple, namely the sanctum and the hall, are combined here. Thus, viewed in the role of a sanctum, it houses the linga as the cult object, its interior is dark and windowless, it has a single entrance, and is provided with a *pranala* or spout. But, on the other hand, as a *mandapa,* it was to have a *samvarana* roof, it possesses a sunken ceiling with the usual courses, and pillars (as well as several pilasters) to support it.

The temple's unusual form and its incomplete construction make it difficult to understand the proposed arrangement of its statuary. Only the front wall has sculptures, some in situ, and some in a disturbed state, having fallen down from their shallow trapezoid sockets on the walls. It is even probable that the stoppage of work was abrupt; the carvings which had been brought to the temple could not be fitted to their places and were left at the site itself where they lay till recently (they have since been stored in a godown by the Archaeological Survey of India). Except for the facade, the other three walls were not intended to have any sculptures; they have no projections or niches, they are unrelieved except for the ornamental balconies described above, and the only other carving is the *makara* spout on the northern wall.

The sculptures, though few, are clearly of the middle of the eleventh century. Two figures of Saiva door-guardians standing in their separate niches flank the doorway. The doorframes have figures of river goddesses, *apsaras* or divine maidens and of dwarf-like *ganas.* The ceiling alone shows the sculptural variety lacking elsewhere on the building.

2 The Bhojpur temple, from th southeast.

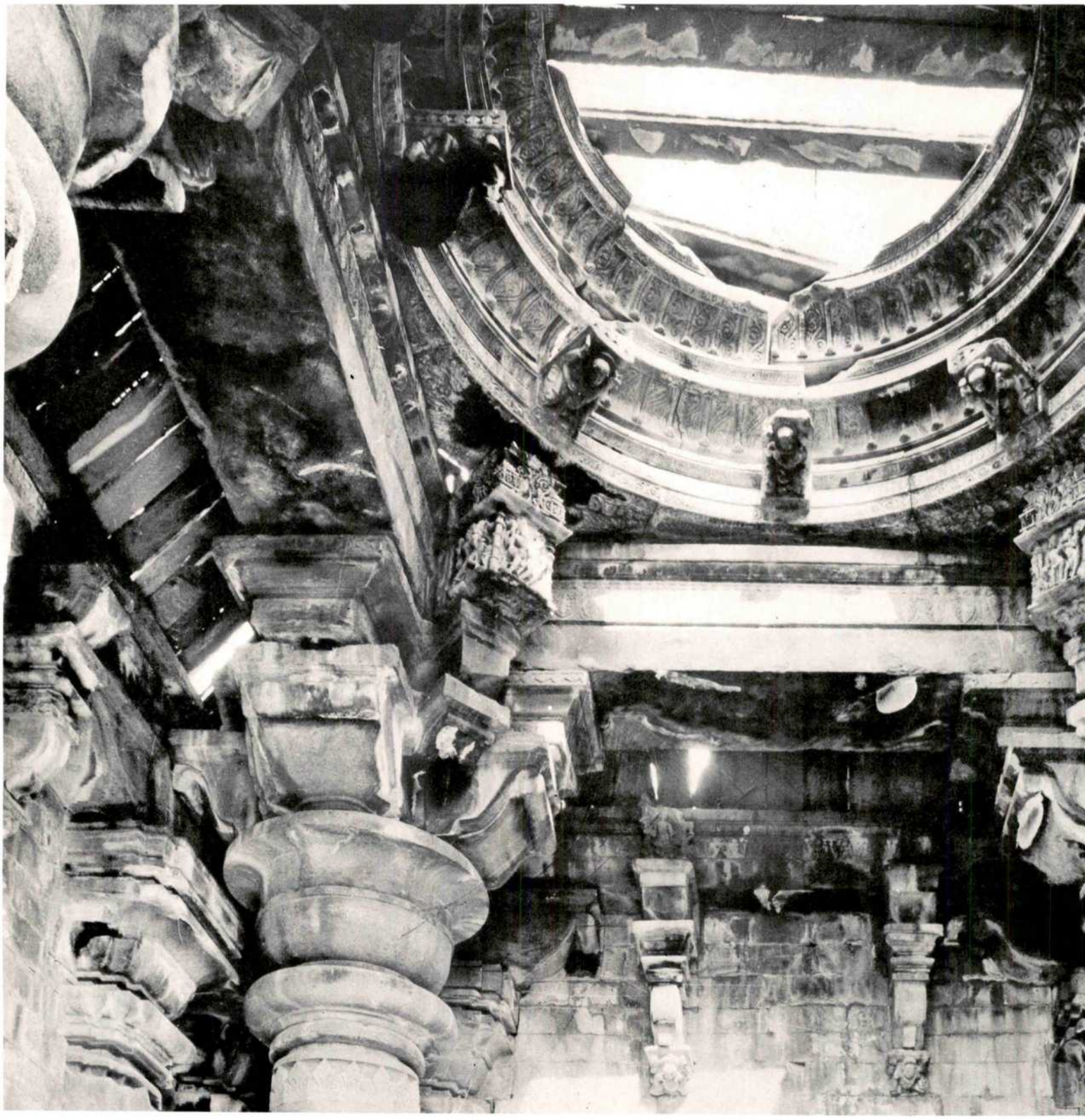
3 The doorframes, to the viewer's left, at the Bhojpur temple.

2

The Surroundings of the Bhojpur Temple

Certain other remains at the site, integral to the temple, which have survived precisely because the temple was never completed, are of considerable interest, and include the ramp, the work sites where the temple's parts were being carved, architectural sketches on stone, and the marks of the masons employed on the temple. These adjuncts throw light on matters related to the mechanics and the organisation of the temple's construction; as all these remains would certainly have been removed once the temple was completed as planned, we may regard their existence as some compensation for the loss of a grand monument.

Temporary ramps such as the one that remains at Bhojpur must have been erected at the sites of all large temples to facilitate the transportation of the huge stone blocks from the work sites to their place on the monument. The ramp at Bhojpur is a long sloping structure, raised behind the temple in the northeast corner. It is built of semi-dressed slabs of the local sandstone, about 39 inches by 20 inches by 16 inches, topped by compact earth and sand. It rises from the natural

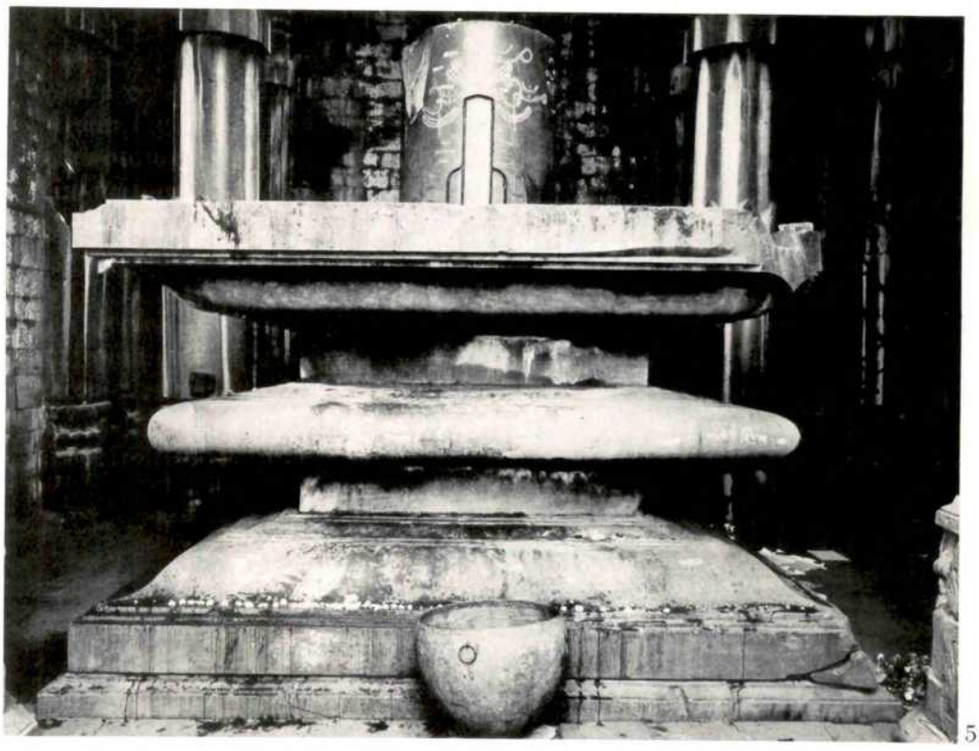


4

4 The ceiling, Bhojpur.

5 The linga in the sanctum.

6 The Saiva guardian on the viewer's right side of the doorway, at Bhojpur.



5

6

ground, over three hundred feet away in the immediate vicinity of some of the workshops, and slopes gently upwards to attain a total height of 40 feet; at present there is a short gap between the end of the ramp and the temple wall, but the ramp originally led all the way up to the point where the sloping courses of the superstructure began, thus providing an easy gradient.

The work sites which yielded the raw material, and where the architects and sculptors carved the various blocks that made up the temple, are scattered in the wide rocky plain to the east and north of the temple. Many unfinished items may still be seen, while associated with these are careful stone engravings of pillars, walls, cornices, and the like, to serve as models. Occasionally there are long rows of teeth-like depressions in the rock where the stones would be weakened by alternate heating and cooling to allow them to be broken off.

Some idea of the vast manpower employed at Bhojpur can be gained from the more than one thousand three hundred masons' marks including about fifty masons' names on various portions of the main temple, at the quarries and on two other Jain and Saiva shrines in the village. These marks which are in the form of the plain or crossed circle, the wheel, the trident, the *svastika*, the conch shell, some Nagari characters, and other signs, identify the work of the numerous individual craftsmen or guilds who must have worked on the monument.[5]

The ramp and the work sites would certainly have been dismantled after the completion of the temple. Perhaps the explanation for the presence of so many drawings and the masons' marks is also to be sought in the incomplete state of the monument. The marks doubtless served an important practical purpose: they indicated the amount of work done by any particular individual or family. Once the task was done and the masons paid, their identifying marks would no longer be necessary, and would have been erased when giving the finishing touches. That is the reason they are so superficially engraved in the first place. Indeed, if the masons' marks were to be left intact, the presence of such large numbers of them would certainly have marred the look of the temple. One may assume that a similar practice was followed on all monuments where large numbers of craftsmen were employed; masons' marks were incised and later erased, which is why we do not normally see such marks on ancient monuments.

No account of Bhojpur can be complete without a description of Bhoja's lake and dams. The ingenious reservoir that he created extended over an area approximately 18.5 miles by 7.5 miles, and was designed in such a way that the low hills situated along its peripheries

7 A loose sculpture of a *gana* of the *udaremukha* type, with a face on the stomach.

8 A *kumara* bracket figure on the ceiling.

9 Remains of the ramp leading up to the Siva temple at Bhojpur.

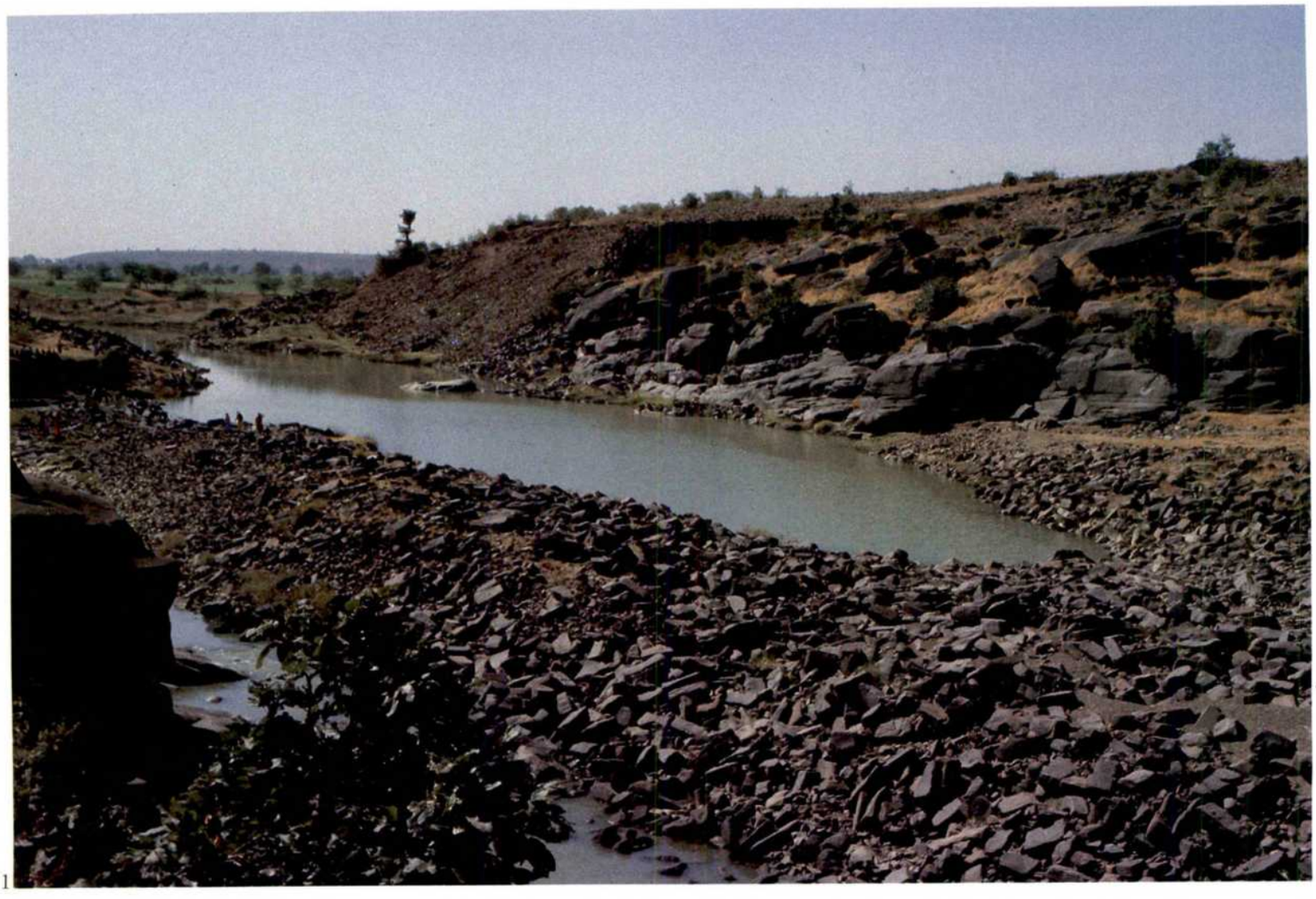
10 A workshop with half-carved temple moldings.

7

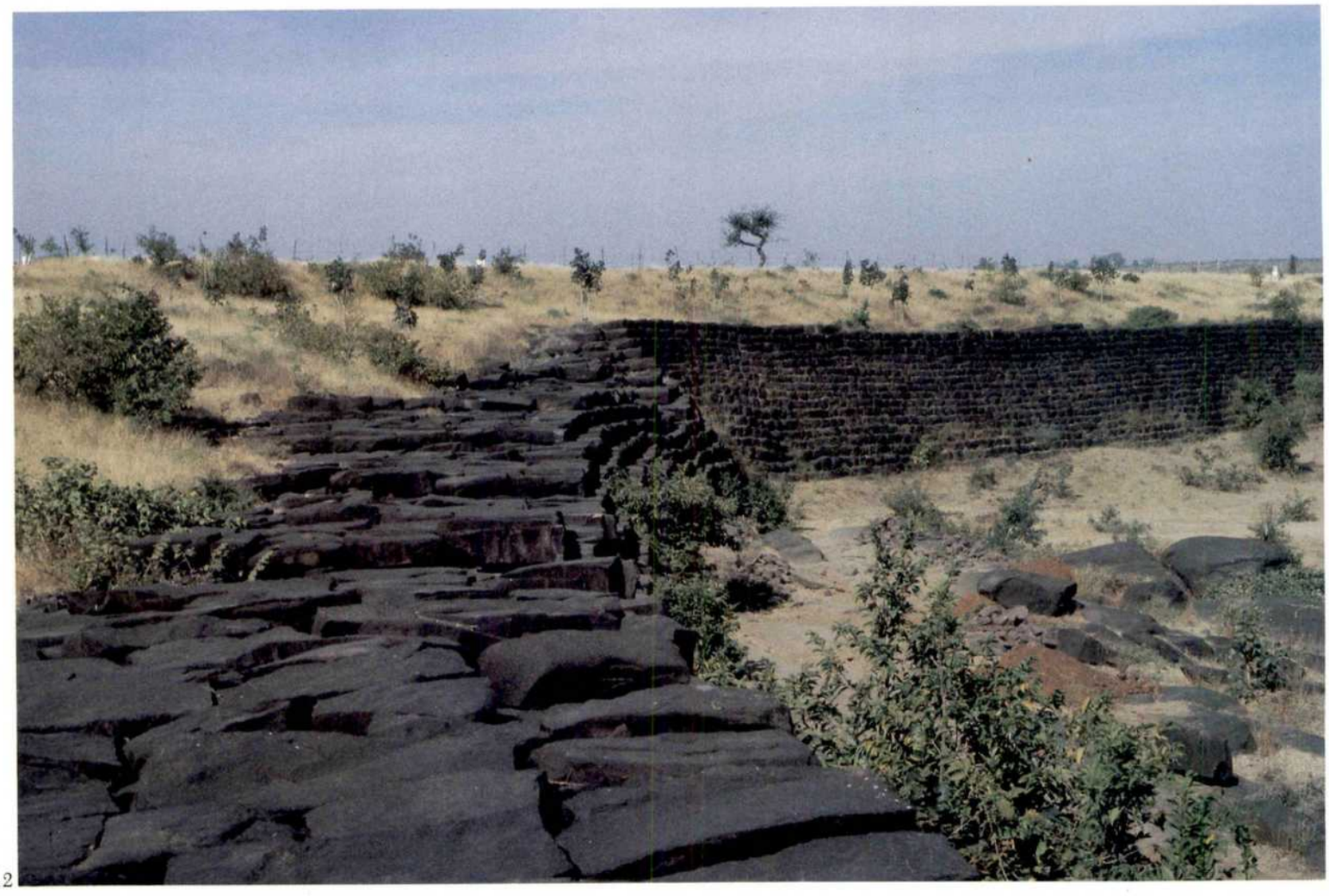
8

9

10



11



12

11 The ruined dam over the Betwa, Bhojpur. When the dam was breached in the fifteenth century, thousands of stone slabs were hurtled across a few hundred yards with the escaping water, and finally came to rest in a neat arch.

12 A closer view of the dam between Mendua and Bhojpur.

13 Inscribed sculpture of the Jain Yaksi Ambika carved in A.D. 1035, during the period of Bhoja. The British Museum. Registration No. 1880-19.

14 Inscribed sculpture of a Tirthankara, carved during the reign of Bhoja, Bhojpur.

served as the lake's natural walls. The lake was formed by first building a dam across the river Betwa so as to collect its water in the depression surrounded by the hills, by then creating a second dam in a gap between two hills, and finally by diverting a smaller river, the Kaliasot, into the lake through the construction of a third dam or embankment.

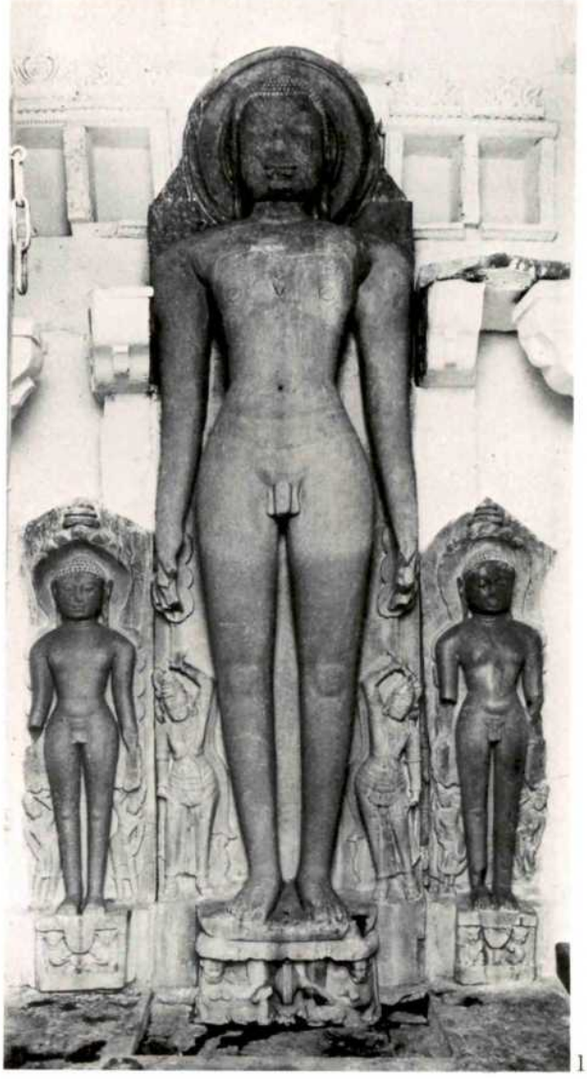
The Siva temple stood on the bank of this man-made lake which existed for four hundred years, until Sultan Hoshang Shah of Malwa breached two of the dams and emptied the lake. The breached dams can still be seen at various places. The 98 feet high dam over the Betwa lies immediately to the north of the temple; its total thickness is over 300 feet at the base, gradually reducing to a thickness of about 164 feet at the top. The core of this immense dam was of earth, faced on either side with stone slabs to an average thickness of 30 feet. The semi-dressed stone is from the same local quarries as the temple itself, and the measurements of the slabs are about the same as those of the ramp. Water must have escaped with great force when the dam was ruptured, and the large stone slabs of the dam came to rest a considerable distance away.[6]

Two and a half miles north of Bhojpur near the village Mendua where there is a natural gap between two hills, the second wall, over half a mile long, was raised. The third bund, which changed the course of the Kaliasot river, can still be seen between the two lakes in the old part of Bhopal, some eighteen miles away from Bhojpur.

Tradition credits Bhoja with the founding of the town, and with building the large lake and the temple upon its banks. Concrete evidence of this ascription is provided by the sculptures, which may be placed squarely in the eleventh century. Malwa's eleventh century style is familiar to us from the Jain Yaksi Ambika[7] ("Vagdevi") of A.D. 1035 of the reign of Bhoja, from a large inscribed Tirthankara of Bhoja's reign in the Jain temple in Bhojpur itself, and from the sculptures in the Udayesvara temple at Udaypur near Vidisa built by Bhoja's successor Udayaditya.

In the eleventh century the styles of Malwa and Gujarat followed a parallel course. The Ambika of 1035 comes close to the goddesses on the main temple of Modhera of about 1025, in her stance and restrained decoration. The carvings on the ceiling, the atlantes and the *ganas* of Bhojpur conform by and large to those on the *rangamandapa* hall of Modhera of about A.D. 1050. While in general the carving of Bhojpur is well-proportioned and pleasing, and corresponds to the

13



14

work of the earlier half of that century, the sculptures on Bhojpur's doorways present a contrast. These gods and goddesses sway their flattened bodies in an unimaginative way, and seem far removed from the Ambika and especially from Modhera's goddesses. The Bhojpur figures are forerunners of the dry, banal style of Malwa of the twelfth century.

We have seen that the temple proper, the dams and the reservoir at Bhojpur have a homogeneous character. The ambitious temple and the public works could only have been undertaken by a ruler of exceptional drive and resources and one who also enjoyed a long reign. The combined evidence does seem to confirm the tradition that Bhoja "founded" Bhojpur. We have seen that the stone slabs of the dam walls and the temple's ramp are of the same dimensions and workmanship, while the same sets of masons' marks seen at Bhojpur occur also on the Siva and Jain temples in the village, of which the latter has an inscription of Bhoja's reign.

Certainly Bhoja ruled for a sufficiently long time; his earliest recorded date is the year 1010 (the Modasa copperplates), while his latest is 1055 as evidenced by the *Cintamanisarnika* composed by his court poet Dasabala. Two other literary works, Merutunga's *Prabandhacintamani* and Ballala's *Bhojaprabandha* record that Bhoja ruled for fifty-five years, from 1000 to 1055.

The evidence suggests then that the construction of the dams, lake and the Siva temple of Bhojpur may be attributed to King Bhoja. On the available architectural and sculptural evidence, we suggest that the temple was built in the later part of his reign, around the middle of the century.

A Memorial Shrine?

The peculiar form of the Bhojpur temple—the omission of a *mandapa* or its integration with the *garbha-griha,* the planning of a *samvarana* roof in the place of a proper *sikhara,* and plain walls—sets it apart. Shri Krishna Deva, who has made a deep study of temples and texts, believes that the monument was a memorial shrine like the Brahma and Matangeshvara temples at Khajuraho. His view received corroboration when Professor M. A. Dhaky discovered an architectural text which described precisely such memorial temples erected over the remains of the dead and called *svargarohanaprasada,* "temple commemorating the ascent to heaven." The fragmentary text enjoins that in a *svargarohanaprasada,* a regular *sikhara* should be avoided and in its place a *samvarana* roof of receding tiers with decorations of bells at the corners, should be raised;[8] Bhojpur's superstructure, we have seen, would have been in just this form.

Literary evidence indicates that funerary temples were by no means rare, and provides instances of commemorative shrines which no longer exist. Thus, according to Merutunga's *Prabandhacintamani,*[9] the Solanki King Durlabha built a shrine for his brother Vallabha in the early eleventh century, while Jinaharsa's *Vastupalacarita* records that Tejahpala built a memorial temple for his brother Vastupala who was prime minister of Viradhavala of Gujarat in the thirteenth century. Emperor Bhoja may have built this *svargarohana* shrine for the peace of the soul of his father Sindhuraja, or for his uncle Munja, who had met a cruel and humiliating death at the hands of the Chalukya Tailapa in enemy country. Conceived towards the end of Bhoja's reign, the Bhojpur shrine, creation of this warrior, poet, builder, scholar—by far the most articulate among all medieval rulers—itself remained inarticulate.

NOTES

1. H. V. Trivedi ed., "Inscriptions of the Paramaras, Chandellas, Kachchapaghatas and Two Minor Dynasties", *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. VII, Part 2 (New Delhi, *n.d.*): 81, verse 20.
2. C. H. Tawney tr., "The Prabandhacintamani or Wishing-stone of Narratives Composed by Merutunga Acarya", *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1899): 73. The text was composed in A.D. 1304.
3. The *Samaranganasutradhara* is of inestimable value to the student of architecture and sculpture; it also exerted its influence on later texts such as the *Aparajitaprccha.* It was edited in two volumes by T. Ganapati Sastri in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Baroda, in 1924-25.
4. C. H. Tawney *op. cit.,* chapter II, "History of Bhoja and Bhima": 36-37.
5. B. M. Pande, "The Date and the Builders of the Siva Temple at Bhojpur", in M. D. Khare ed., *Malwa Through the Ages* (Bhopal, 1981): 170-175.
6. One and a quarter miles away towards the east, a wasteweir was also erected for the dam, as reported by W. Kincaid in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1888.
7. This sculpture was for long mistaken to be a representation of Vagdevi or Sarasvati—indeed as the central image in Bhoja's temple of learning. Recently, however, its correct identification with the Jain Yaksi Ambika has been conclusively proved: K. Mankodi, "A Paramara Sculpture in the British Museum: Vagdevi or Yakshi Ambika?", *Sambodhi,* Vol. 9 (1980-81): 97-104.
8. P. O. Sompura and M. A. Dhaky, "Svargarohanaprasada", *Svadhyay,* Vol. 5: 191-195. (This article is in Gujarati.)
9. C. H. Tawney *op. cit.*: 29.

□

Marg

The World of Indian Art and Culture
Every Quarter—within your reach

MARG, as its name implies, is a 'pathway' which leads the reader through forgotten vistas of the 5000-year-old culture of India and of its neighbouring countries. In each successive publication, MARG reveals facets of these rich and vibrant civilisations.

Now published every quarter in two formats:

The Marg Art Book:
A de luxe library edition of over 150 pages, handsomely cloth-bound and dust-jacketed, profusely illustrated with more than 40 colour plates and 130 black and white photographs.

The Marg Art Magazine:
An abridged edition, it provides a glimpse of Indian culture for all those interested but with a slender budget. On the same theme as the book, the soft-cover magazine edition contains 60 per cent of the articles of its hard-cover counterpart; plus regular features: a notes and book reviews section and advertisements that are specially designed to match the theme of the volume.

Publications
Books •
Magazines •
Portfolios •

LATEST BOOK
Royal Patrons and Great Temple Art
pp. 144 + iv

This volume includes a series of essays on major royal temples focusing on the character of the patrons and their diverse reasons for building shrines and commissioning images.

Edited by Vidya Dehejia

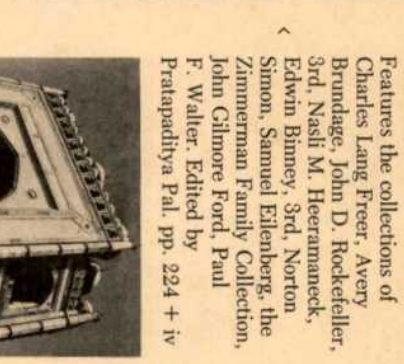
Available Marg Art Books

A Mirror Of Princes The Mughals And The Medici

The reader will explore the affinities between two great dynasties—the Mughals and the Medici—who, different by birth and culture, showed impeccable taste in the choice of art objects in their collections illustrated in this volume. Edited by Dalu Jones. pp. 156 + iv

Artists Today

A cross-section of contemporary Western and Indian art is represented in this culturally significant and generously illustrated publication. The provocative texts include the credos of the artists. From these the reader is likely to get new insights into the aesthetics and the total ethos of our global village today. Edited by Ursula Bickelmann and Nissim Ezekiel. pp. 142+vi

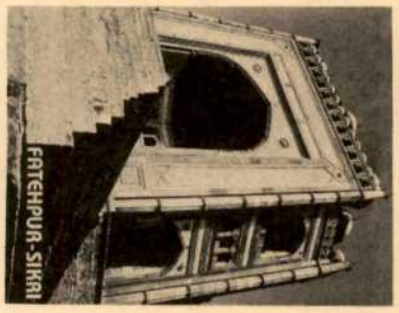


Islamic Heritage of the Deccan

Brings alive in print—for the very first time—the fortresses, mosques and tombs at the Moslem Deccan capitals of Daulatabad, Gulbarga, Bidar, Bijapur and Golconda-Hyderabad. Also focuses on the intricate miniature paintings, metalwork and carpets produced at these centres. Edited by George Michell. pp. 130 + viii

American Collectors of Asian Art

Features the collections of Charles Lang Freer, Avery Brundage, John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, Nasli M. Heeramaneck, Edwin Binney, 3rd, Norton Simon, Samuel Eilenberg, the Zimmerman Family Collection, John Gilmore Ford, Paul F. Walter. Edited by Pratapaditya Pal. pp. 224 + iv



Fatehpur-Sikri

Devoted to the architecture and history of Akbar's city of victory, it features articles by an international group of scholars who attended a conference on this subject at Harvard University. Edited by Michael Brand and Glenn D. Lowry. pp. 204 + xii

Detach this portion. You may enclose your cheque in the order envelope below, which should be sealed and sent to the address overleaf.

TEAR HERE

Paste on markings to secure flap to envelope

MARG ORDER FORM FOR SINGLE TITLES

I wish to obtain the following Marg Publications:
Please send ☐ Proforma Invoice ☐ By V.P.P.
Enclosed is payment by ☐ Cheque ☐ Demand Draft
☐ Postal Order ☐ International Money Order

Name.....
Address.....
.....
Signature.....
Remittances to be made in favour of **Marg Publications.**

AVAILABLE MAGAZINES	Rs.	U.S. $
☐ (Vol. 39 No. 2) — Monarchs and Temples	85.00	12.00
☐ (Vol. 39 No. 1) — Patrons of Art The Mughals and The Medici	85.00	12.00
☐ (Vol. 38 No. 4) — Contemporary Art Syntheses & Polarities	65.00	10.00
☐ (Vol. 38 No. 3) — Treasures of Indian Art	65.00	10.00
☐ (Vol. 38 No. 2) — Akbar and Fatehpur-Sikri	65.00	10.00
☐ (Vol. 38 No. 1) — Three American Collections of Asian Art—Heeramaneck, Binney, 3rd and Simon	65.00	10.00
☐ (Vol. 37 No. 4) — Three American Collections of Asian Art—Freer, Brundage and Rockefeller, 3rd	65.00	10.00
☐ (Vol. 37 No. 3) — Masterpieces of the Deccan Sultanates	65.00	10.00
☐ (Vol. 37 No. 2) — Hind and Hellas	65.00	10.00
☐ (Vol. 37 No. 1) — Maharashtra—Religious and Secular Architecture	65.00	10.00
☐ (Vol. 36 No. 4) — Maharashtra—Traditions in Art	65.00	10.00
Postage extra per copy (in India)	7.50	
Overseas (sea mail)		3.50

AVAILABLE BOOKS	Rs.	U.S. $
☐ Royal Patrons and Great Temple Art	475.00	40.00
☐ A Mirror of Princes	485.00	55.00
☐ Artists Today	375.00	42.00
☐ Fatehpur-Sikri	300.00	40.00
☐ American Collectors of Asian Art	500.00	50.00
☐ Islamic Heritage of the Deccan	250.00	33.00
☐ India and Greece	270.00	36.00
☐ Splendours of Kerala	225.00	30.00
Postage extra per copy (in India)	11.00	
Overseas (sea mail)		5.00

ALSO AVAILABLE PORTFOLIO	Rs.	U.S. $
☐ Images from the Wonder House—Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum	20.00	2.50
Postage extra per copy (in India)	8.00	
Overseas (sea mail)		1.00

BOOKLET	Rs.	U.S. $
☐ A Bountiful Palimpsest—Food for Thought (A selection of Goan recipes)	20.00	2.50
Postage extra per copy (in India)	2.50	
Overseas (sea mail)		1.00

Detach this order form and send it with your remittance in the special post-paid (for Indian residents only) envelope provided.

Alternatively, you may send your remittance to our overseas offices mentioned under:

U.K.: Tata Limited,
18, Grosvenor Place,
London SWIX 7HS.
U.K.

Remittance to be made in favour of Tata Limited

U.S.A.: Tata Incorporated,
101, Park Avenue,
New York, N.Y. 10178.
U.S.A.

Remittance to be made in favour of Tata Incorporated

Paste on markings to secure flap to envelope

Dancing Siva, Kailasanatha temple, Kanchipuram.
Courtesy, Dr. R. Nagaswamy

Subscribe to **Marg** and share the splendour of Indian art and culture—every quarter. Get (and gift) an annual subscription:—

Marg magazines and books are available on an annual subscription basis. The saving is considerable as against the single copy prices—approximately 15 per cent on the magazine and over 35 per cent on the de luxe hard cover edition.

For your convenience, use the attached envelope to confirm your order. The subscription rates for the magazines and books are given below.

MARG SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	Magazine	Book
INDIA	Rs. 295.00	Rs. 650.00
OVERSEAS		
Sea mail	U.S. $ 40.00	U.S. $ 85.00
Airmail	U.S. $ 73.00	U.S. $ 135.00

For more information, contact or write direct to:

MARG Publications
Army & Navy Building,
148, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 400 023, INDIA.
Tel.: 242520.

or to:

1. Regional Offices

c/o Tata Services Limited,
"Jeevan Bharati"
Tower No. 1, (10th Floor)
124, Connaught Circus,
New Delhi 110 001.

c/o The Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited,
Tata Centre, (12th Floor),
43, Chowringhee Road,
Calcutta 700 071.
Tel.: 291981 (Ext. 321).

2. Overseas Offices

U.K.: Tata Limited,
18, Grosvenor Place,
London SW1X 7HS.
Tel.: 01-235 8281-8

U.S.A.: Tata Incorporated,
101, Park Avenue,
New York, N.Y. 10178.

Notes

A Rare Icon of Padmavati dated A.D. 1636

Lalit Kumar

The Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Museum, Ahmedabad, has recently acquired an iconographically important brass image of Padmavati (Acc. No. 85.1), carved in a somewhat crude, folk style. The goddess is seated in *padmasana* on an engraved lotus seat, and a large hooded cobra with his hood raised is seen in front of the image. The four main arms of the goddess are seen in front and she holds in them a lotus, a garland in her *varada* hand (proper right side), a fruit and a goad (proper left). The upper right hand that holds a lotus also supports an infant who is seated on her lap. The rest of the arms (numbering twenty in all) form an aureole around the image and hold the following symbols: a sword, *cakra,* crescent, mace, blue lotus, bow, *svastika,* noose, stalk and conch in her right hands; and a shield, trident, axe, *vajra,* club, leaf, pot, *kusa* grass, spear, and arrow in her left hands. The goddess has a three-hooded snake canopy above which is an image of her sire Parshvanatha protected by a seven-hooded snake canopy. The image is flanked on either side by chowri-bearers wearing *jamas.* Her body is bare except for the necklaces and *kundalas* in her ears. Besides, the figure is also adorned with snakes as ornaments—two snakes are seen along her shoulders, one on either side, another is seen around her waistband holding her patterned skirt. All the arms are adorned with armlets.

The image has two inscriptions in Devanagari—one on the rear of the aureole, and the other underneath the pedestal—stating that the image of Padmavati was installed in A.D. 1636. The name of the place, which appears in the inscription underneath the pedestal, is however difficult to decipher accurately since a part of the inscription has been deliberately erased for reasons unknown. Whatever remains reads . . . *madavade* which perhaps refers to Ahmedabad.

The Goddess Padmavati first appears in Jain religion as Sasandevi of the Tirthankara Parshvanatha. Later, she was elevated to an independent deity of great importance in Jain mythology. Her popularity is not only manifested in numerous hymns composed in her honor, but also by elaborate rituals which developed around her. In the hierarchy of the Jain pantheon she has been conceived as the primordial *sakti* and the presiding deity among the goddesses. In both the Digambara and Shvetambara sects, she is known by the name of Padmavati only. She has been compared with the snake goddess Manasa of the Hindus, who however differs iconographically from the Jain Goddess Padmavati.[1] Janguli, the Buddhist snake goddess is the closest parallel. There are numerous references to Janguli in Jain literature.[2] Both are goddesses believed to cure snakebites.

Independent images of Padmavati reported so far have either two, four or twenty arms.[3] The discovery of this

1

2

1 Image of Padmavati, Ahmedabad (?) Brass, dated A.D. 1636.

2 Inscription behind the *parikara* of the image.

image of Padmavati is interesting since Padmavati with twenty-four arms is referred to in some texts. Curiously enough, to date, the Digambaras from Rajasthan and Gujarat have not provided any independent image of Padmavati.[4] The present image which is Digambara probably hails from the Ahmedabad region. Thus, iconographically it is an important image. However, independent images are known from various Shvetambara centers.

In *Pratisthasarasamgraha*, an iconographic text, the goddess is described as having four, six or twenty-four arms.[5] In her twenty-four armed form she is said to hold a conch, sword, *cakra*, crescent, lotus, blue lotus, bow, spear, noose, *kusa* grass, bell, arrow, staff, shield, trident, axe, *vajra*, garland, fruit, club, stalk, and one hand is in the *varada* mudra.[6] In *Pratisthasaroddhara*, yet another iconographic text, the goddess is said to possess a snake or *kukkuta* as her vehicle and a three-hooded snake canopy.[7] In addition, there is mention of a lotus seat for the goddess.[8] Reference has also been made to *kukkuta* as her vehicle in *Aprajitapriccha*.[9] There is a brief mention of a twenty-four armed Goddess Padmavati in *Pratisthatilkam*.[10]

By and large, it appears that the present image of Padmavati has to a large extent followed the iconography described in *Pratisthasarasamgraha*. However, there are some noticeable differences. For instance, one of the hands is seen holding a *svastika*, which is not mentioned in any text for this goddess or seen to date in any icons of either Jain sect. Contrary to the texts, the present deity is not seen holding a bell or a staff in her hands. We find instead a pot and a garland in *varada*. One of the known icons, carved on a *manastambha* near temple No. 1 at Deogarh shows a four-armed goddess holding a pot in one of her hands.[11] The representation of both the lotus and the snake as her vehicles is in conformity with the Digambara tradition as observed in some forms of Padmavati images in Deogarh temples.[12]

The tentative reading of the inscription behind the *parikara* and underneath the pedestal is as under:
"Samvat 1693 caitrastamya Sri Mulasamghe Kandakundanvaye Khandelavala Vamse Kasali [gotre Sri Ha] rsa Kirtisuribhi rupadesam pratima svarupam pratisthitam ll

3

Sri ll *Tau namah* ll *Sri Padmava* ll *Sri Harsakirtayah."*
"Samvat 1693 caitrastamya Sri Mulasamghe Sri Suraja [Kirtayah] Sri Harsa Kirtayah Sri Bhuvan Kirtaya Sri Jainama . . . madavade samghavi Latakarna
putra samghavi Ratan-si-Ramji putra . . . pranamati."
There are certain incongruities in the inscriptions. For instance, *Vamsa* and *gotra* are concerns of the mundane world, but are used here with the name of Harsakirtisuri, and this makes the inscription less intelligible. The date is also not complete except the year A.D. 1636 which is a likely date for the image. The second inscription is also not very clear except for the names of some monks and a place which perhaps refers to Ahmedabad.

Incidentally the image belonged to a local resident who sold it to the museum.

3 Inscription underneath the pedestal of the image.

NOTES

1. A. K. Bhattacharya, "An Introduction to the Iconography of the Jaina Goddess Padmavati", *Bhartiya Puratattva, (Puratattvacarya Muni Jinavijayaji Abhinandan Grantha)* (Jaipur, 1971): 221.
2. *Ibid.*: 223.
3. Such images are recovered from Deogarh temples. But a two or twenty-armed form of Padmavati is not in conformity with the iconographic prescriptions.
4. Marutinandan Prasad Tiwari, *Jaina Pratimavijnana* (Varanasi, 1981): 237-38.
5. *Ibid.*: 235.
6. B. C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography* (Delhi, 1974): 105. But Marutinandan Prasad Tiwari quotes yet another mss. in the collection of the Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, in which spear and *vajra* are not included in the list of her attributes. (Marutinandan Prasad Tiwari, *op. cit.*: 235).
7. Marutinandan Prasad Tiwari, *op. cit.*: 236.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*: 239.
12. *Ibid.*

Acknowledgements:
The author is thankful to Dr. S.K. Andhare, Director, the L.D. Museum, Ahmedabad, for his permission to publish this image.

□

Woodcarving in Bassein

Teresa Albuquerque

Squatting on the cowdung smeared floor of his work shed, nestling under shady boughs, with his head inclined, eyes intent, he deftly handles his chisel, breathing life into the crude log of shaven *Gmelina arborea* secure under one foot. Roque Sequeira of Giriz has had no formal training, no guru other than his own father—Michael Dominic Sequeira, a simple unlettered carpenter by hereditary profession.

It was when Michael was a young man that his latent talents for carving quite suddenly surfaced and he was inspired to take up the challenge to carve wooden statues for the very colorful Paschal service which is such a popular annual event in churches all over Bassein. So splendid was this maiden effort that soon there was a demand for him to create replicas for several churches and private homes. It was not difficult for the son to follow in his father's footsteps and today he is renowned as the kingpin of statue makers. His statues have traveled abroad and his larger than life sized figures of the crucified Savior adorn a number of churches all over the country. In 1970 he was awarded the Sarvajanik Ganesh Utsav medal for a most striking, mammoth replica of Durga *mata* astride a lion.

To fathom this marvel of a gift among such humble folk in a remote village one has to go back in time; for, excellence in woodcarving has long been a tradition in Bassein.

Early Craftsmen and Techniques

When the Portuguese first set eyes on Bassein they called it "one delicious garden" because, cradled in the estuaries of the Vaitarna and Ulhas, with low lying backwaters flooded by spring tides and rich deposits of silt, its densely wooded hill slopes yielded rich fruit and the finest variety of timber.

Already this region of plenty had attracted many. Besides merchants and adventurers from across the Arabian Sea, the short sea passage straight before the prevailing wind repeatedly made the Thana coast an ideal resort for refugees and settlers from Gujarat, Kathiawar and the Deccan. At the dawn of the eleventh century came Raja Bhimb, scion of the Devagiri rulers of the south, with a retinue of carvers, sculptors and carpenters adept in ornamental carving of stone and wood, credited even with having erected the fabulous temples of Pushkar, Somnath and Jag Swami. Under the great patron of the arts, Sultan Mohamed Begada II, Ahmedabad had come to be the Mecca for craftsmen, many of whom later drifted to these shores.

For the Jains, in particular, this was a means to express their innate sense of beauty and love for all forms of life. Specially diverted to the adornment of temples their endeavor achieved a classical excellence. Yet, simultaneously, by finding vent in the artistic creation of human dwellings, their endeavor evolved into a spontaneous form of folk art. Combining beauty with utility, attention was also directed to the preservation of wood. So ingeniously did techniques develop that despite the passage of centuries and the ravage by exposure to adverse climatic conditions, some pieces of loveliness which they created have endured, untouched by destructive termites.

Moreover, interaction between the dictates of the rulers and the genius of indigenous labor necessarily brought about a blending of professional expertise that is reflected in the synthesis of Hindu and Muslim art forms, and later of Portuguese. For in 1597 when they were erecting their fort at Bassein, the Portuguese specially brought in carpenters from Munghi Paithan in the Deccan; and for their services they made over to them in perpetual grant twelve large *vadis* or gardens. Hence at Papdy there still survive tell-tale names like Sutar Ali, Moti Karkhana and Dacti Karkhana.

Religious Art

Under the Portuguese much of this skill was expended on the fort and churches of Bassein. Jose Pereira called Bassein "Pienza Portuguesa—a city built almost in a spurt, where sculpture is finer and whose constructions more sober and delicate than that of Golden Goa itself." The Italian architect Cairati set up the fort and the Renaissance touch is apparent in the splendor of baroque churches: the gleaming gold leaf paintings of the church altars, doors and

1 Roque Sequeira—the craftsman at work.

pulpits, as well as in the form of numerous statues. In the hands of local craftsmen this style of European art acquired a peculiar stamp.

During the Portuguese regime Bassein was subject to repeated attacks by the Moghuls, Muscat Arabs and the Marathas resulting in much destruction. In the fort itself where the splendid early churches were built, much of the woodwork was burnt. What was moveable was later pilfered. A few choice pieces fortunately found their way to adorn some of the later churches of Bassein itself, neighboring Salsette, and Bombay, particularly, Bandra. The main door of the church of Our Lady of Remedy—which can be seen today painted in the most garish colors—was once a lateral door of the Jesuit church of the Holy Name in the old city. It depicts in woodcuts St. Martin sharing his cloak with a wayside beggar. The church of Our Lady of Grace at Papdy also holds some antiques apart from its gorgeous altar. Stacked against the wall in one corridor is a huge woodcut of St. Michael, the Archangel, trampling on the dragon, Satan. High up on the altar on either side of the nave are horizontally projecting carved wooden figures of angels suspending heavy chandeliers. A blackwood carved chair for the celebrant in the sanctuary is a thing of beauty. The sacristy of the church of the Holy Cross, Nirmal, holds a charming old frieze of cherubs. Almost every Christian household in Bassein gives pride of place to its ancestral family altar, invariably containing statues that are products of local manufacture—creations in wood or clay. The Khumbar (potter) community of Manickpur attempted the latter very successfully. All these statues, as their counterparts in churches, are worked on the Italian model.

Due to political policy, temples in the area probably were decorated only during the Peshwa rule and later. Carved doors with trellis work quite often were the handiwork of Christian carvers. Some old Hindu families proudly display their *devaras* of exquisite workmanship executed by skilled carvers of Boling, who originally hailed from Gujarat.

Houses

The artistry of the carver found popular expression in house adornment, specially of the facade. And there yet exist, scattered in various parts of the district, some few rather dilapidated

2 Front door of the church of Our Lady of Remedy at Holi, Bassein.
Wood, late 16th century.

3 Statues of Our Lady and the Infant Jesus by Roque Sequeira.
Wood, contemporary.

4 Wooden plaque depicting St. Michael at the church of Our Lady of Grace, Papdy, Bassein.

2

3

4

architectural structures which are a legacy of the eighteenth century. Though together they lived in harmony, each religious community displayed in its house a stamp of its own. The Navait or early Konkani Muslim homes retain Saracenic elements in the purely geometrical designs in the carving of their frontage. One can tell the Maratha *wada* or manor house of sardars under the Peshwa rulers by certain distinctive features. The older ones are solid blocks with priority given for safety, the later ones reflect an age of tranquility and leisure with greater embellishments and finer carving revealing a cultural exposure beyond the confines of Maharashtra. The Gujarati *haveli* is known by its delicate filigree carvings of animals and birds. The Kunbi home although primarily designed for utility, sports on its bright hued wooden facade quaint baroque style carved panels, and an engraved legend in Portuguese giving the date of construction.

Generally speaking, before the European style of living was adopted, the Indian home was almost devoid of furniture. Quite often the *jhula* or swing was the most prominent article but it was not decorative. However, artistry was expended on small objects like trinket boxes or treasure chests, specially those which formed part of a girl's trousseau. These chests often had religious symbols carved on them—the Christian cross, the Islamic crescent, etc. Indoor games for women like the *gaichol* were also embellished with carvings. In time, as European influence took hold, the houses of the more affluent included pieces of furniture, some of which had exquisite carvings. Some old "East Indian" families of Bassein who moved to Bombay carried their furniture with them and these treasures like chiffoniers, carved tables, etc., are proudly preserved. The designs are said to have been inspired by the Dutch presence in western India, which in turn was supposed to have been influenced by stone carvings of Hindu temples in India.

Each house had its distinctive elements. Yet they all shared one characteristic in common and that is the main door: a solid barrier of cross planks set in a *dwarashaka* (doorpost) that is elaborately carved, specially its lintel or *utaranga*. Here again, the distinguishing mark is the religious symbol, lovingly carved at the center to invoke protection of the Almighty on the household. The Christian flaunts the cross or the flaming heart, the Muslim a *navis* or verse from the Koran, the Hindu the Ganesapatti or *casao* (turtle) or *kalash* (pot).

Today with the stark denudation of her forests, Bassein is depleted of her timber wealth. As decades passed, the profession of carpentry suffered a sharp decline and the once-thriving ship-building industry was hit. Yet happily the age-old tradition of woodcarving on the doors of homes has not died out; and one sees that even the most modern house being constructed at Bassein today is graced with this adornment. Although the framework of the door is of modern design, the carving keeps alive a rich heritage of a glorious past.

□

Book Review

Title: **Life in Ancient India**
Author: M.P. Singh
Publisher: Vishwavidyalaya Prakashan, Varanasi 1981
Format: 22 x 14 cm. (No plates)
Price: Rs. 100.00.

The history of early medieval India is one of the major concerns of historians today notwithstanding the debatable question as to what constitutes 'medieval' or where precisely it begins chronologically. A part of the history of this period has to depend upon Arab sources. Al Biruni's *Tarikh-ul-Hind* of A.D. 1030 is one of the most well-known and authentic works of the type. But there were many other Arab travelers or scholars like Sulayman, Abu Zaid, Khurradadhbih, Al Baladhuri, Al Masudi, Shahriyar, Mutahhar, Istakhri, Marvazi and Gardizi, among others, whose accounts based either on their own travels or on what they gathered from others, about India, afford significant details about life and institutions in India.

That these accounts are not always totally reliable or that they sometimes record perceptions *sui-generis* may not be in doubt. As examples of befuddled perceptions one may refer to their stock description of seven Indian castes or forty-two Indian religions. It is also not in doubt that sometimes particular descriptions are derived from a single source so that the inaccuracies that crept into the original source continued wherever they were reproduced. Even so, the Arab accounts of India cannot be dismissed lightly. Their significance lies in their simple narratives as also in their attempt to estimate and reconstruct the logic of life and institutions of a different people—different in many respects from their own—about whom their curiosity was boundless. Secondly, these Arab works seem to simultaneously juxtapose the authors' own perceptions and comments with what they had gathered or witnessed. This mutation is apparent almost everywhere in different Arab accounts. It is clear from their details of the *varna-jati* system which they tried to understand and explain in terms of *ajana* (races), or *guruh* (classes) or *jatakas* (births) or *tabaquat* which in any case do not entirely explain the system, less so its intricacies or even the problems of continuities and changes, both in its structure and ideology. But, the exercise is important for a reason: it predicts the observers' orientation and psyche and their effort to see things in that light. Similarly, the details about social order, marriage, law, punishment and other institutions including *pratiloma* marriages as contained in Indrisi and Marvazi, also seem somewhat exaggerated or generalized. However, some accounts are more reliable than others. In sum, it may be conceded that the relative merit of the different Arab accounts needs to be closely examined before one could accept statements which may be vague or laconic, considering the fact that these works of great historical value were retrieved long after they first came into existence.

The data which flows from the records of the Arab travelers or scholars like Sulayman (A.D. 851) and afterwards from a series of works by others who were lured to India, affords an opportunity to understand Indian institutions from a different angle. These records are of much value. Things missed by one are recorded by others. Sometimes details correspond though works or perceptions differ. As time passed and the power structure in India changed, the tones in the accounts changed too. All these points need elaboration.

Even as these accounts were being written by the Arabs, the volume of Indian works was also growing considerably in the form of commentaries, *Puranas, prabandhas,* etc. In addition, there are valuable epigraphs including copperplates which supplement such data. Altogether, these sources have been generally utilized by historians in projecting a more or less unified, ubiquitous picture of Indian life and institutions centered around the *varna* system and all other activities working around it. This is a stereotype which gets repeated over and over again in most of the books written on ancient India. Dr. M. P. Singh's book is no exception. It adds to the stereotype but with a remarkable difference that it fills in the details utilizing primarily the Arab sources. The canvas of Dr. Singh's book is fairly large. It collects and collates information on varied subjects relating to social organization, castes, institution of marriage, women, people at large and their beliefs and practices, the different prevailing sects, rites, festivals, codes of law, punishment and many other matters. The information available from the Arab accounts (from *c.* A.D. 800 to 1200) has been sifted and organized in the different sections of the book and has been placed together with the data available on relevant points from Indian sources, including epigraphs and other critical works, with comments and conclusions from the author. The book is an important contribution to studies on ancient India or, to be more precise, on life in early medieval India (A.D. 800-1200). Its merit lies in its utilization of Arab sources of which there is an impressive list in the book, and it includes some of the provincial publications about which the information provided in the book is valuable.

—R. N. Misra

FORM IV

The following particulars regarding the ownership of the Quarterly Magazine "Marg", are published as called for by Rule 8 of the Registration of Newspapers (Central) Rules, 1956.

1. Place of Publication	:	Bombay
2. Periodicity of its Publication	:	Quarterly
3. Editorial Panel	:	Mr. Karl Khandalavala Mr. Sadashiv Gorakshkar Mrs. Roshan Sabavala
Nationality	:	Indians
Address	:	Army and Navy Building, 148, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay-400 023.
4. Name of Publisher	:	Mr. J. J. Bhabha
Nationality	:	Indian
Address	:	Bombay House, 24, Homi Mody Street, Bombay-400 023.
5. Name of Printer	:	Mr. K. Sanjiva Rao
Nationality	:	Indian
Address	:	Tata Press Limited 414, Veer Savarkar Marg, Bombay-400 025.
6. Name and address of the individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one-per-cent of the total capital.	:	National Centre for the Performing Arts Bombay House, 24, Homi Mody Street, Bombay-400 023. The National Centre for the Performing Arts is a Public Charitable Trust.

I, J. J. Bhabha, hereby solemnly declare that the above particulars are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dated: March 30, 1988.

J. J. BHABHA
Publisher

Figure Acknowledgements

Cover
Copyright Dr. Devangana Desai

Patron, Artist and Temple
An Introduction
Courtesy American Council for South Asian Art: Fig. 1
Courtesy Dr. Vidya Dehejia: Fig. 2

Munificent Monarch and a Superior Sculptor
Eighth Century Chamba
Courtesy Dr. Pratapaditya Pal: Figs. 1-5
Courtesy Dr. K. Mankodi & Franco-Indian Pharmaceuticals, Bombay; Copyright Archaeological Survey of India: Fig. 6
Courtesy Dr. P. V. Katrecha: Figs. 7, 12, 14
Courtesy Dr. K. Mankodi & Franco-Indian Pharmaceuticals, Bombay: Fig. 8
Courtesy Dr. Pratapaditya Pal; Copyright Archaeological Survey of India: Figs. 9, 11, 16
Courtesy Dr. Pratapaditya Pal; Copyright Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Christian Humann Memorial Fund): Fig. 10
Courtesy A. E. Dolinski Photographic: Fig. 13
Courtesy Dr. Vidya Dehejia: Fig. 15

Inspired Patron of Himalayan Art
Eighth Century Kashmir
Courtesy Dr. Robert E. Fisher: Figs. 1-3, 5-8, 10, 12, 13
Courtesy The Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of Katherine Holden Thayer: Fig. 4
Courtesy and Copyright American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi: Fig. 9
Courtesy and Copyright Los Angeles County Museum of Art, from the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Associates Purchase: Fig. 11

Kalachuri Monarch and his Circular Shrine of the Yoginis
Tenth Century Bheraghat
Courtesy Dr. Vidya Dehejia: Figs. 1-3, 5, 7, 8
Courtesy and Copyright American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi: Figs. 4, 6, 9

Lord of Kalanjara and his Shrine of the Emerald Linga
Eleventh Century Khajuraho
Copyright Dr. Devangana Desai: Figs. 1, 2, 5, 6, 14, 17
Courtesy and Copyright American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi: Figs. 3, 4, 7-10, 15, 16
Copyright Carmel Berkson: Figs. 11-13

Scholar-emperor and a Funerary Temple
Eleventh Century Bhojpur
Courtesy and Copyright American Institute of Indian Studies, Varanasi: Figs. 1, 3-8, 14
Courtesy Dr. K. Mankodi & Franco-Indian Pharmaceuticals, Bombay: Figs. 2, 9-12
By courtesy of the Trustees of The British Museum: Fig. 13

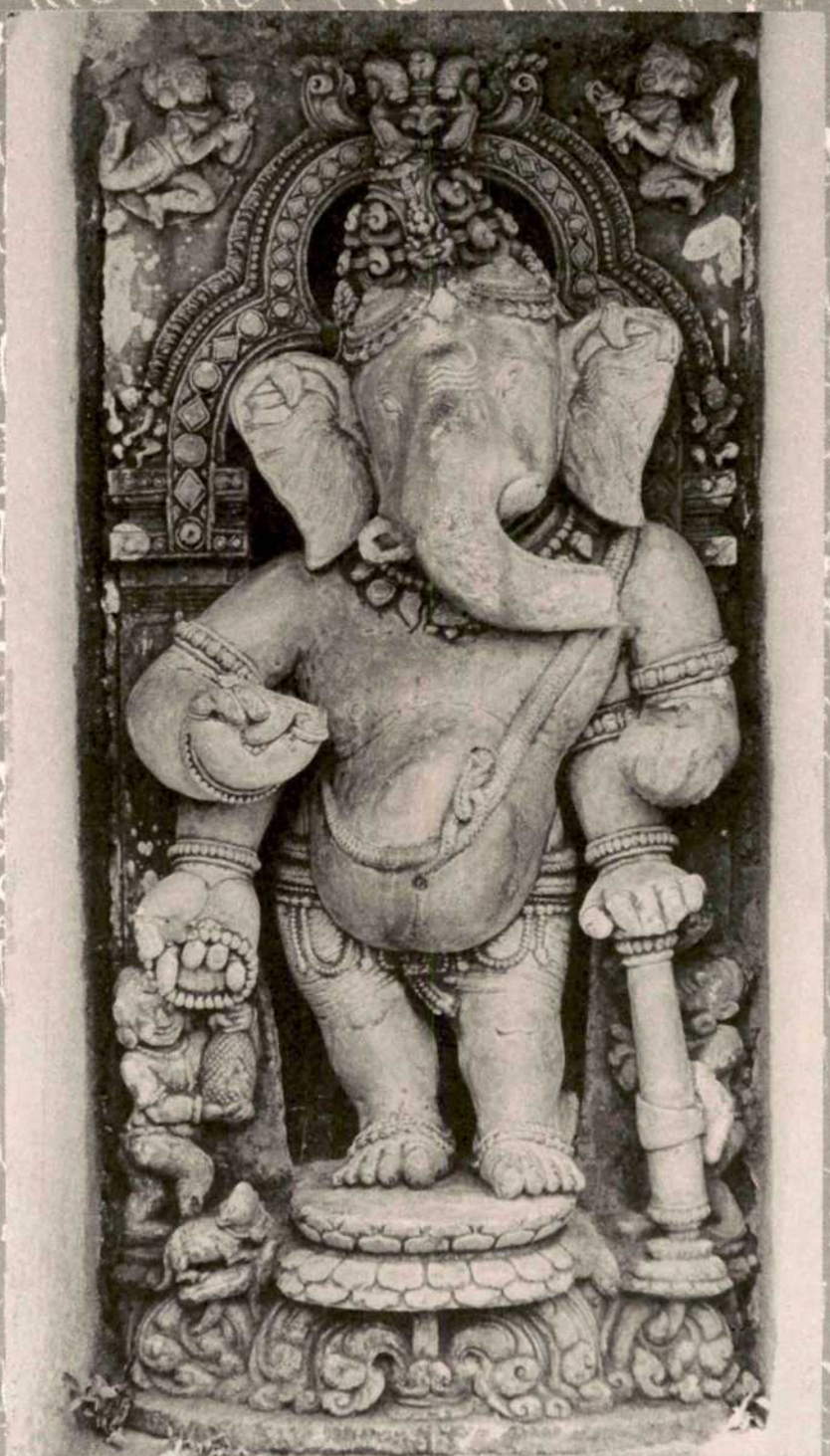
Notes
A Rare Icon of Padmavati dated A.D. 1636
Courtesy Director, L.D. Museum, Ahmedabad: Figs. 1-3
Woodcarving in Bassein
Courtesy M. J. Albuquerque: Figs. 1-4

Advertisements
Courtesy Dr. Devangana Desai: Inside Front Cover, Pages 85-89, Inside Back Cover, Back Cover
Courtesy Thomas E. Donaldson: Pages 80, 82, 83
Courtesy Dr. Vidya Dehejia: Pages 81, 84, 86
Courtesy Carol Radcliffe Bolon: Page 90 (left)
Courtesy Dr. Robert E. Fisher: Page 90 (right)

THE TINPLATE COMPANY OF INDIA LIMITED

Head Office: 4, Bankshall Street, Calcutta-700 001, West Bengal.
Works: Golmuri Works, Jamshedpur-831 003, Bihar.

Raghapur: Visvesvara temple; Ganesa; 32.5 x 15.5 inches; 13th century.



THE Raymond WOOLLEN MILLS LIMITED

Orissa: Hirapur temple; Yogini; 9th century.

It's a better life with RALLIS
Multi-Technology Group

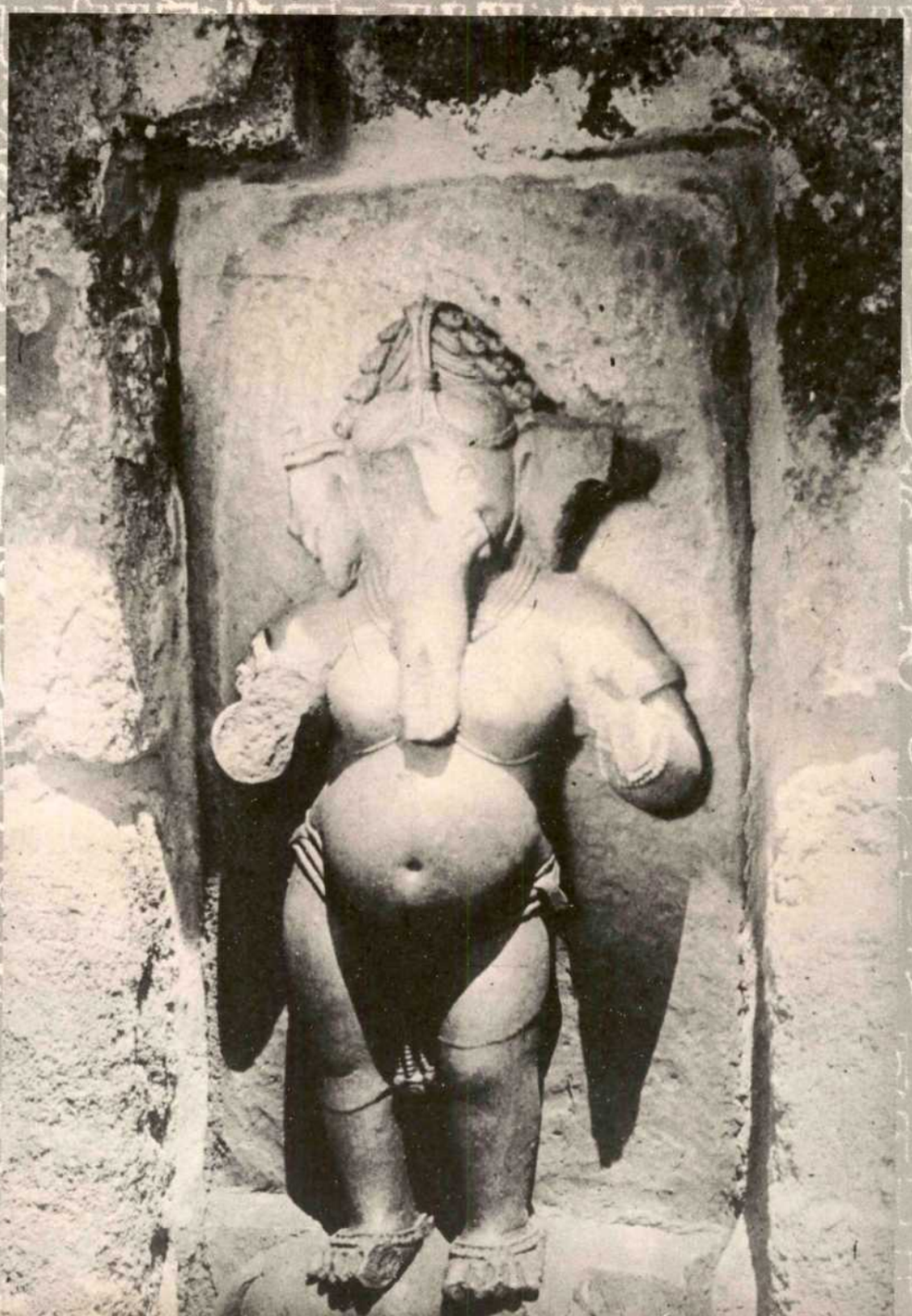
Varahanath: Varaha temple; Varaha in sanctum: 52 x 24.25 inches; 13th century.

SSL
SPECIAL STEELS LIMITED
Dattapara Road, Borivli (East), Bombay-400 066.

Kanheivindha: Durga temple; Mahishamardini in sanctum; 39.5 x 26 inches; 12th century. Inscription on base in proto-Oriya characters engraved in negative and dating to the 13th-14th century.

BRIGHT BROTHERS LIMITED
35-C, Pt. M. M. Malviya Road (Tardeo Road), Bombay-400 034.
Tel: 4945342-46 (5 Lines), Telex: 011-75066 BBL IN
GRAMS: 'BRIBOS' BOMBAY.

Orissa : Hirapur temple; Yogini Ganesani; 9th century.



THE TATA IRON AND STEEL COMPANY LIMITED

Khajuraho: Kandariya Mahadeva temple; Sculptural friezes on the basement; *c.* A. D. 1050.

MAHINDRA AND MAHINDRA LIMITED

Khajuraho: subsidiary shrine, Lakshmana temple; King in attendance (upper niche) and Surya (lower niche); *c.* A. D. 954.

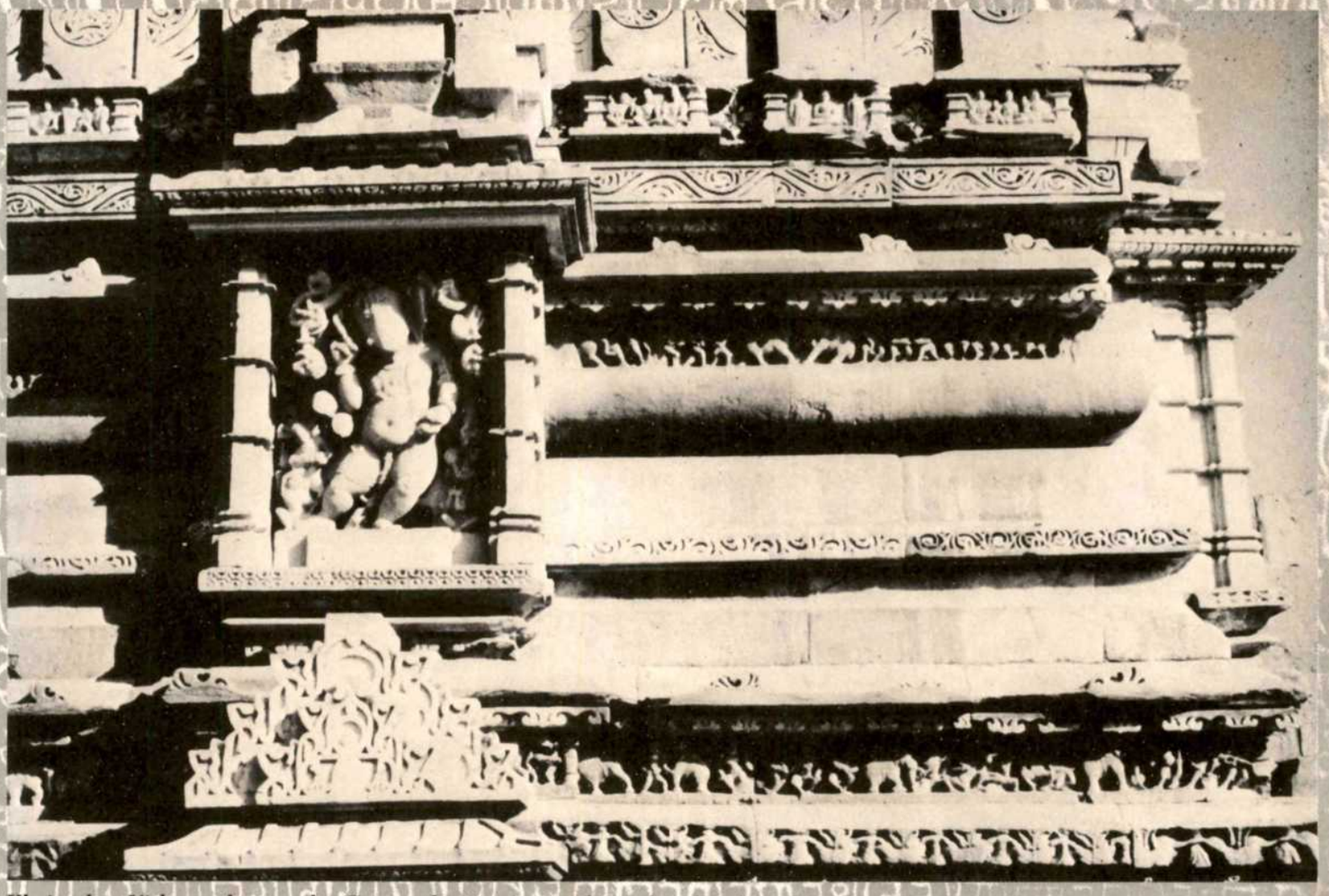
A. H. BILIMORIA & COMPANY
(Auctioneers & Contractors)
71, Park Street, (4th Floor), Calcutta-700 016
Phone No. 29-4833.

Khajuraho: Lakshmana temple; Dance teacher and disciples; *c.* A. D. 954.

ULKA ADVERTISING PVT. LTD.

Khajuraho: Kandariya Mahadeva temple; Dancers; *c.* A.D. 1050.

BUSH INDIA LIMITED
Registered Office: P.O. Box 4127, Sukh Sagar, N. S. Patkar Marg, Bombay-400 007
Phone: 8282942 . Grams: Mulrain, Bombay . Telex: 011/75042, 011/71996, 011/71920



Khajuraho: Vishvanatha temple: Ganesa dancing in a niche and sculpted rows showing human activities; A. D. 1002.

FERRO ALLOYS CORPORATION LIMITED

Shreeram Bhawan, Tumsar.
Gram: FACOR, TELEX: 0715-288, Phone: 205-305.

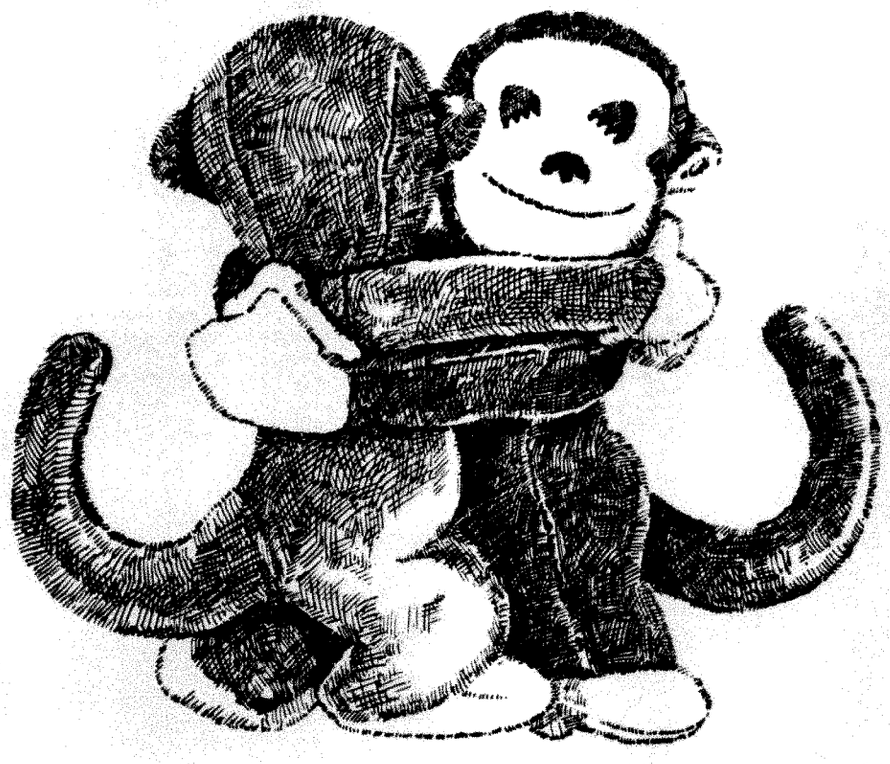
Manufacturers of:
High Carbon Ferro Manganese
Ferro Silicon, High Carbon Ferro Chrome
Low Carbon Ferro Chrome
Silicon Chrome, Magnesium Ferro Silicon
Sales Office: Calcutta, Delhi, Bombay, Madras.

Pattadakal: Mallikarjuna temple; Siva.

AIRFREIGHT
PRIVATE LIMITED

Pandrethan: Indrani; 8th century. Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar, Kashmir.

AND THEREBY HANGS A TALE



Tonight when you tuck your little one in with his favourite twins, think.

There is a tale behind that cuddly pair. A tale of hardship, of creativity and love.

The tale goes back when the Central Cottage Industries Emporium New Delhi exactly thirty years ago in 1957, revamped its setup. It used the latest techniques in merchandising and promotion, to convert the Emporium from a dim, dismal shop into a smart, dazzling, departmentalised store, for easy shopping, for the best in handicrafts and handlooms from all over India. A place where one could roam freely, examine carefully and choose contentedly.

The crafts were hand-picked by trained buyers and with the help of designers, adapted for modern usage. Wares were bought outright from the craftsmen, thereby ending their anxiety and ensuring them security and prosperity.

The Cottage helped restore the craftsmen's pride in their work, recognised their genius and gave them a viable and honoured future. More, it helped to give India and the world access to the finest crafts with a guarantee of authenticity and value. It helped to set standards in aesthetics across the globe.

Today Indian Crafts are a rage around the world, built through dedication, devotion and imagination. Each piece unique, superb, gracious.

Machines admirably conform, human hands admirably don't!

Central Cottage Industries Emporium

A Govt of India Undertaking

Delhi. Bombay. Calcutta. Bangalore.

Changing people's lives. Dramatically.

ASP/CCIE/87/B

ARE YOU SURE?

SUBSCRIBE TO

Oriental Art

THE LEADING QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO ALL FORMS OF ORIENTAL ART

THE MOST authoritative and lavishly illustrated articles by contributors of international repute on the arts of the Near, Middle and Far East appear in ORIENTAL ART—the most widely read periodical in its field.

Other informative features are the illustrated Sales Reports from Britain and the U.S.A. that reflect the tone of the Dealer's market, and the scholarly Book Reviews.

To be well-informed on Oriental Art a subscription to this unique Quarterly is essential: £14.00, USA $26.00 (air-speeded) as remittance.

Dept A **THE ORIENTAL ART MAGAZINE LTD**

12 ENNERDALE ROAD RICHMOND SURREY ENGLAND

TATA CHEMICALS LIMITED

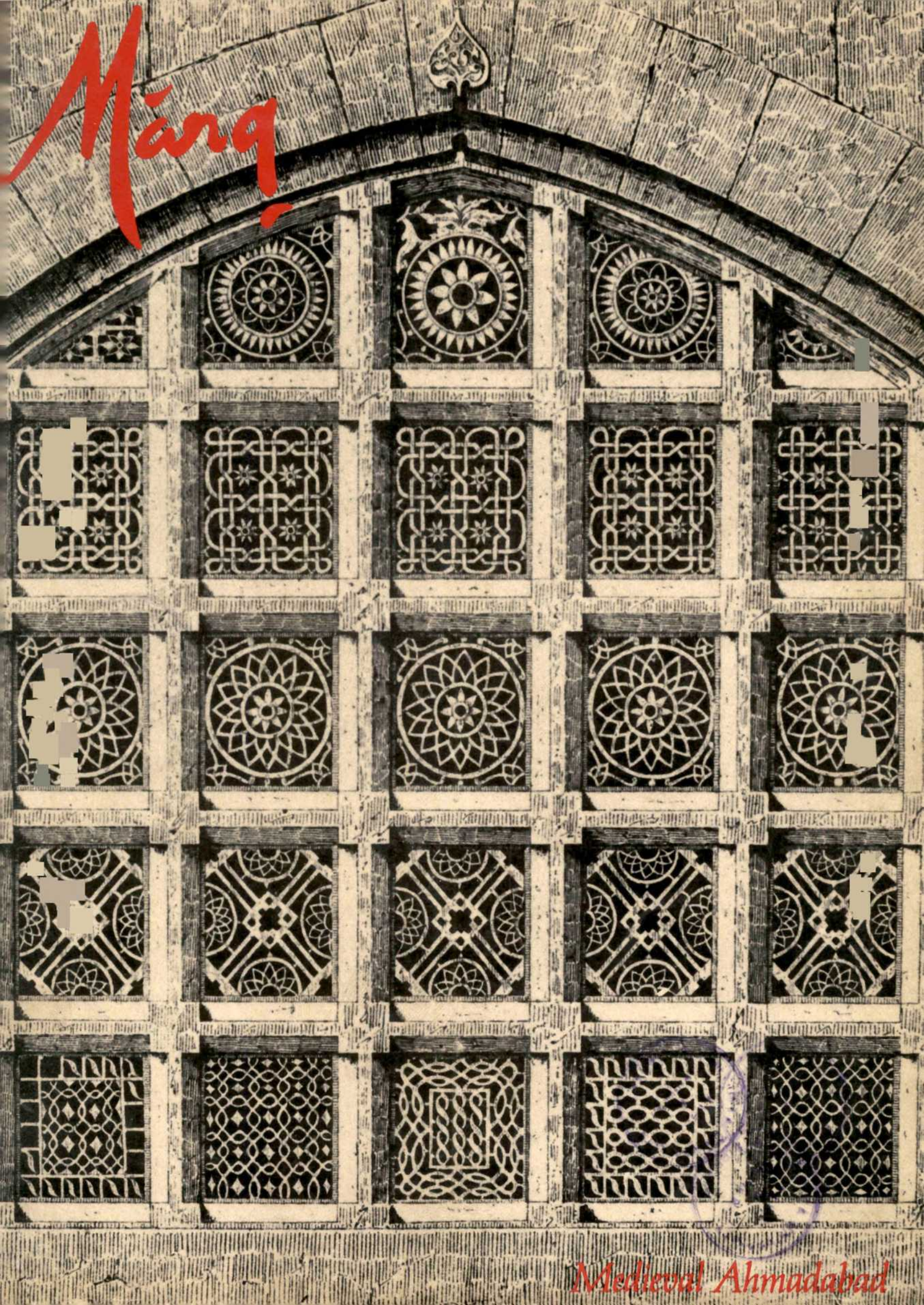
Khajuraho: Lakshmana temple; Dancing girl conversing with a religious guru—disciples are seated on the left; *c.* A. D. 954.

Registered with the Registrar of Newspapers
for India under No. 14157/57

CYRUS INVESTMENTS PVT. LTD
Esplanade House, Waudby Road, Bombay.

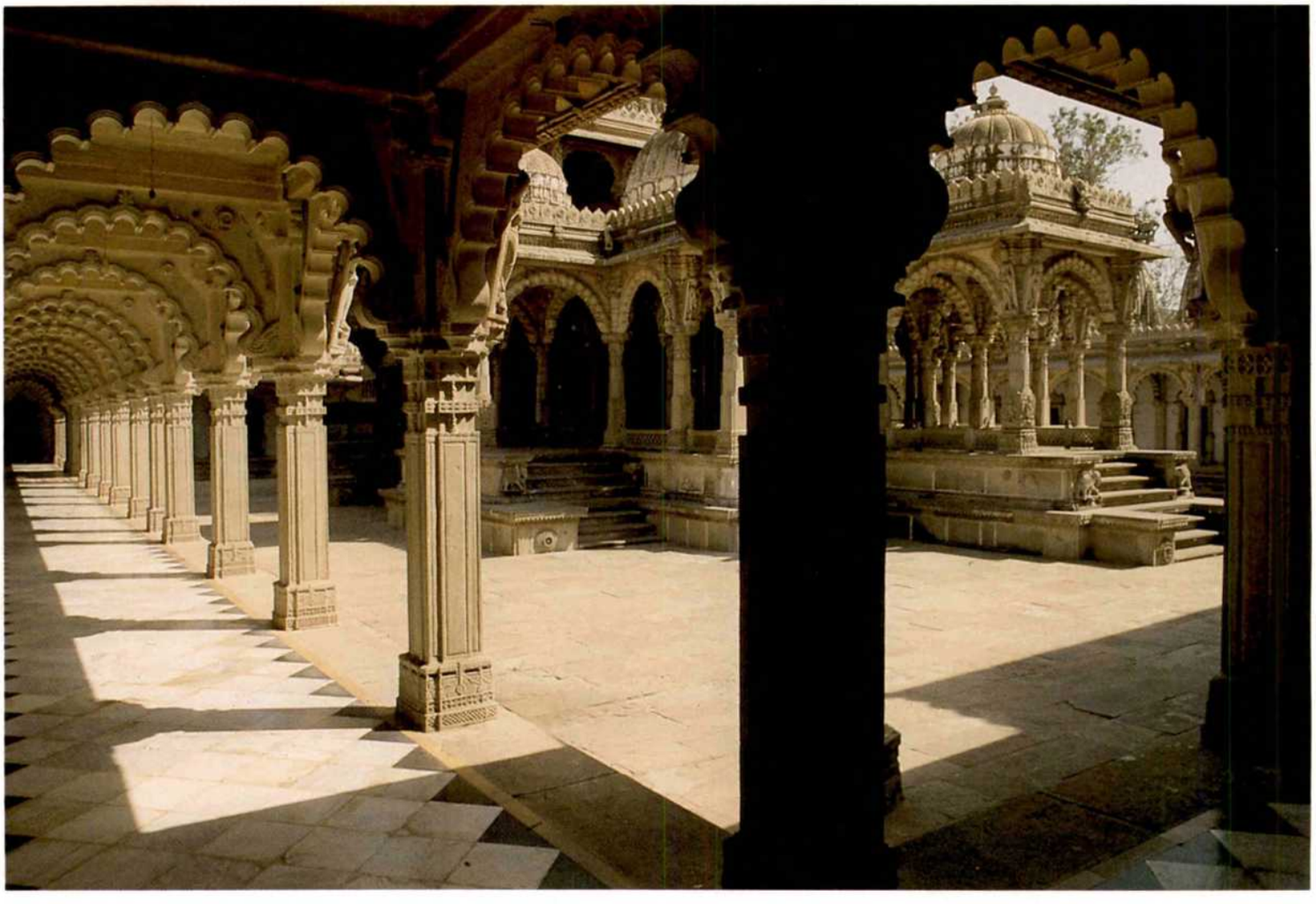
Khajuraho : Lakshmana temple; Chandella army on the march; *c.* A. D. 954.

Marg



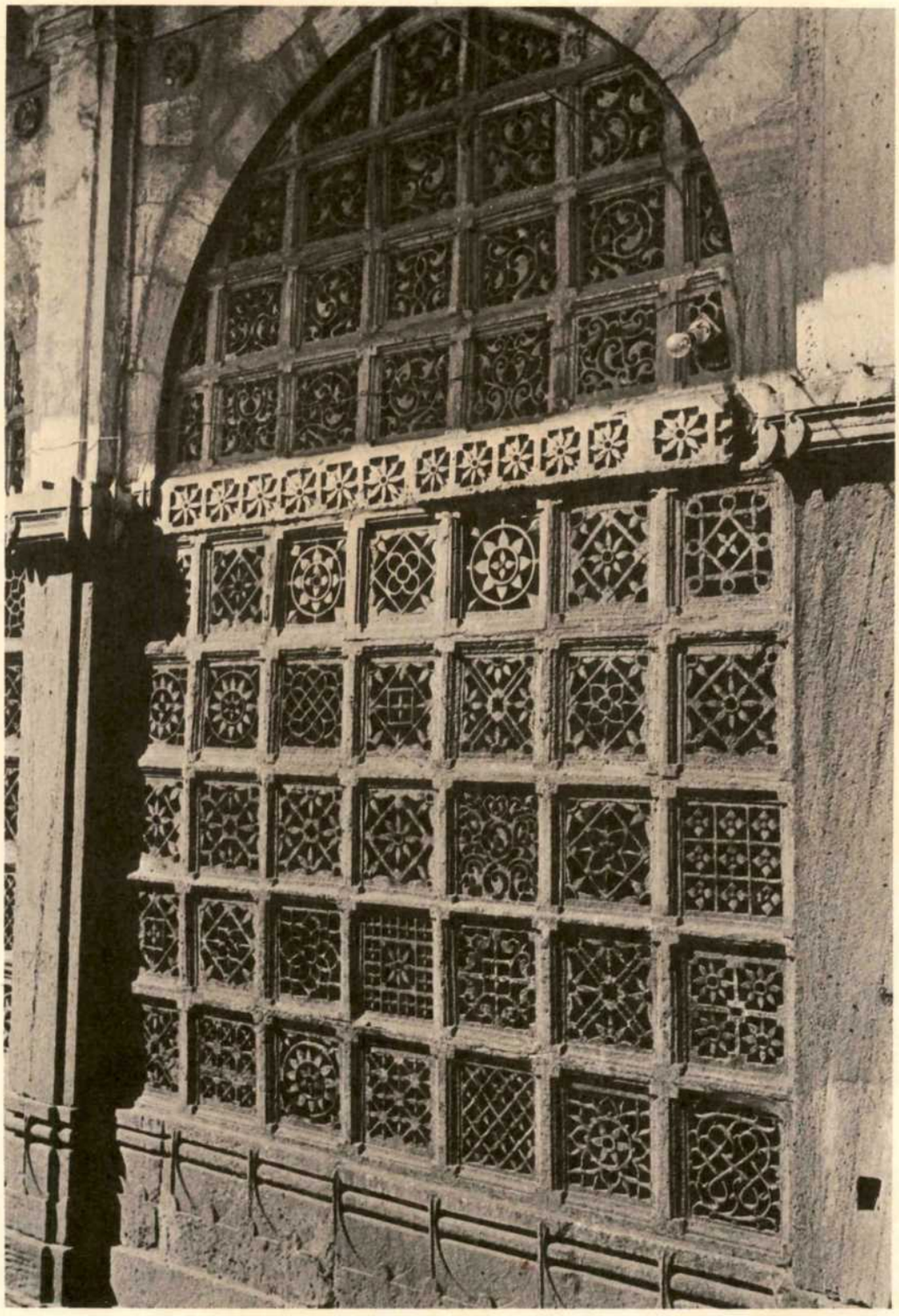
Medieval Ahmadabad

Sheth Hathisingh's temple, Shahpur, 1848.



It's a better life with RALLIS
Multi-Technology Group

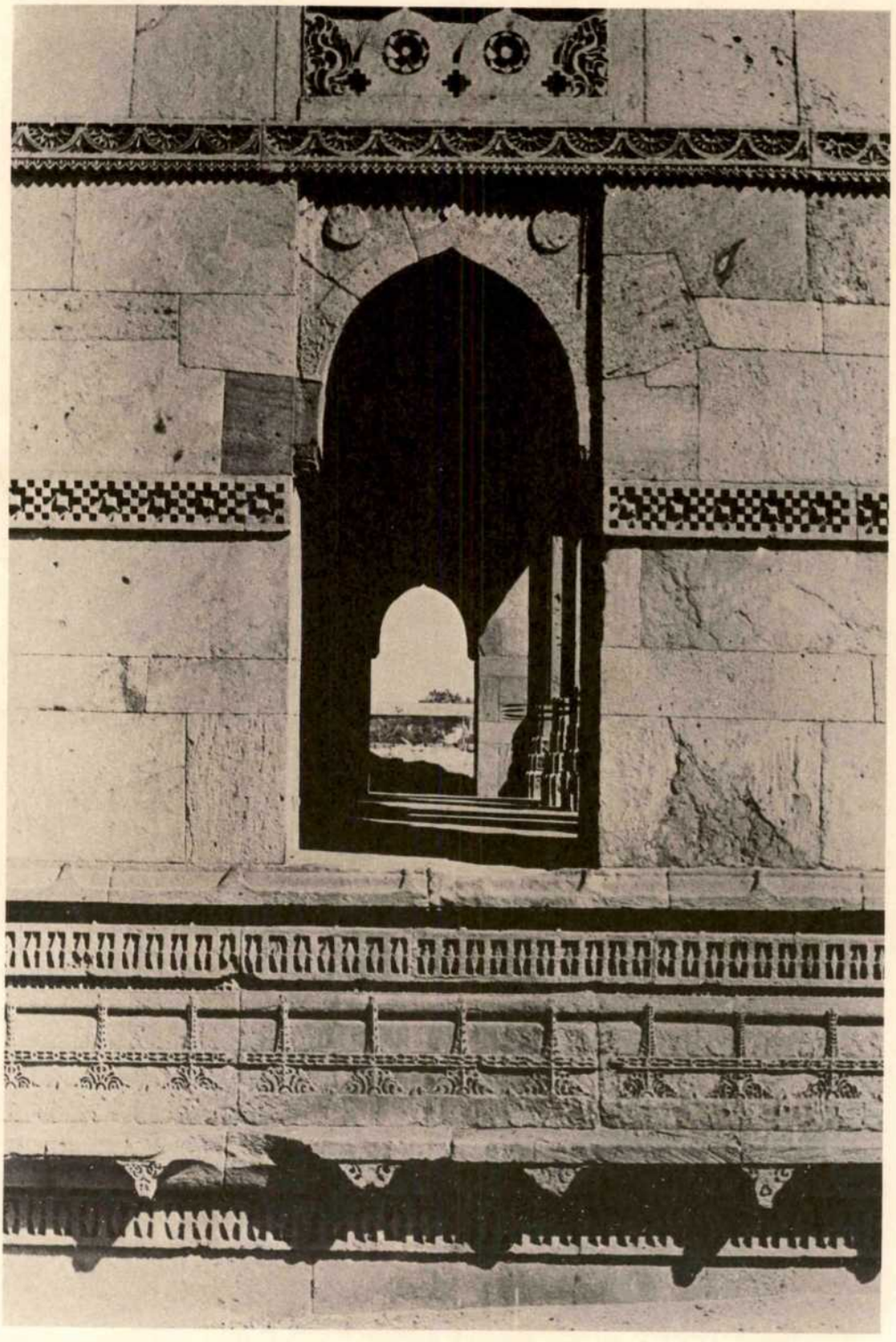
Maninagar, Shah Alam complex, jali.



CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
A.H.C.

LARSEN & TOUBRO LIMITED

Isanpur, Gumti mosque, detail of south facade.



THE TINPLATE COMPANY OF INDIA LIMITED
Head Office: 4, Bankshall Street, Calcutta-700 001, West Bengal.
Works: Golmuri Works, Jamshedpur-831 003, Bihar.

Sarkhej, tank.

SSL

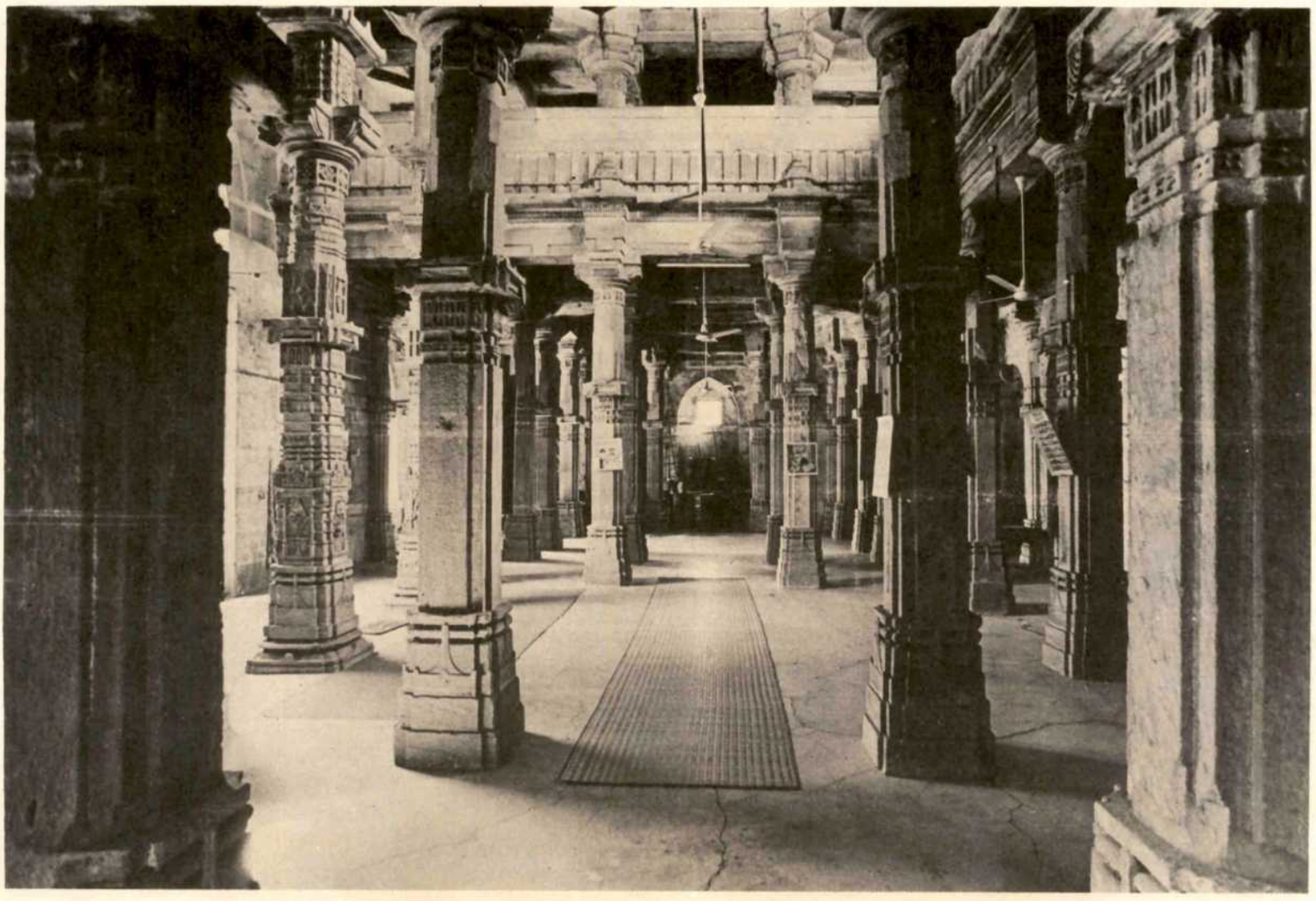
SPECIAL STEELS LIMITED

Dattapara Road, Borivli (East), Bombay-400 066.

Rani Sabrai's mosque, Astodia, balconies, 1514.

Leading Coal Consultants and Co-ordinators in India
NARESH KUMAR AND COMPANY
Tata Centre, 43, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta-700 071.
Telephone: 29-8177, 29-8178, 298183-84-85.
Telex: 021-2020 A/B — KCOL.

Shahi Bagh, Miyan Khan Chishti's mosque, interior, *c.* 1465.

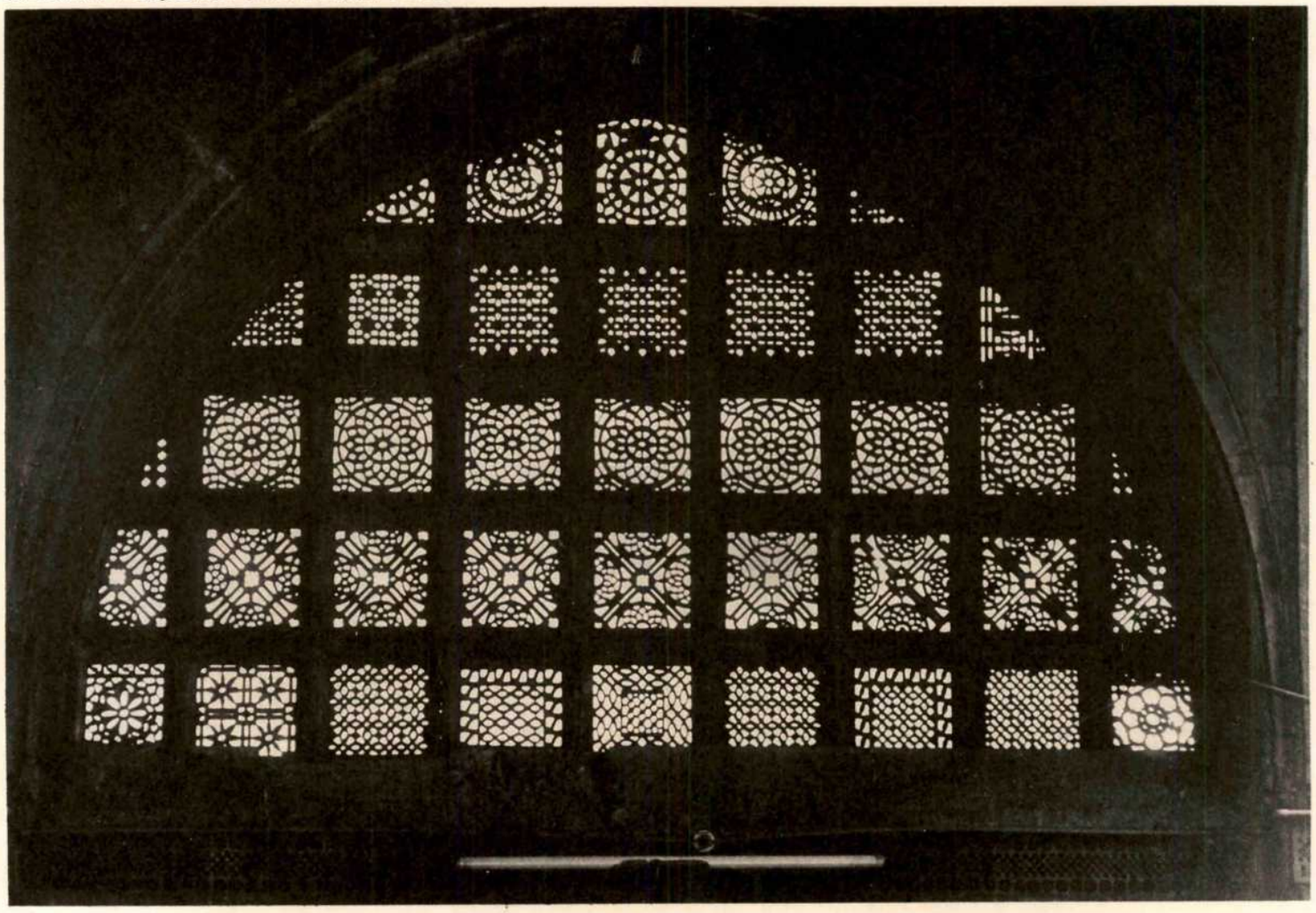


Goodricke Group Limited

Goodrickes Mean Commitment To Quality Teas
From Seventeen Group Gardens In Dooars, Assam And Darjeeling.

REGISTERED OFFICE: "CAMELLIA HOUSE", 14, GURUSADAY ROAD, CALCUTTA-700 019.
Telephones: 44-3067, 44-8737, 44-7395, 44-7269, 44-1816, 44-7185.
Telex Nos.: 2150 (GGL) and 5260 (GGL).
Telegram: GOODRICAL, CALCUTTA.

Sidi Said's mosque, Lal Darwaza, jali, 1572.



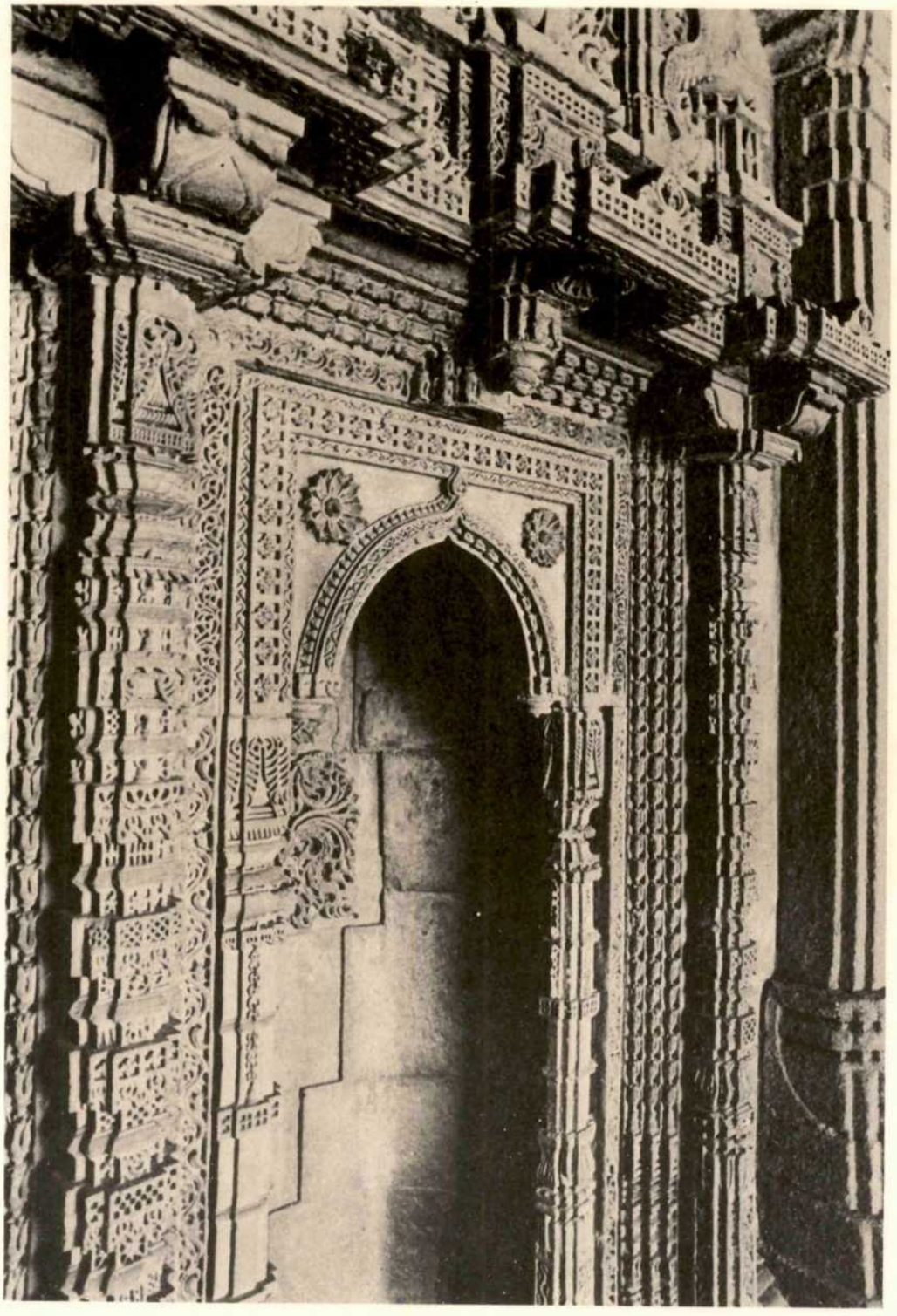
TATA REFRACTORIES LIMITED

(Formerly, Belpahar Refractories Limited)

MANUFACTURERS OF QUALITY REFRACTORIES

HEAD OFFICE: XLRI Campus, Circuit House Area (East), Jamshedpur-831 001.
REGISTERED OFFICE: P.O. Belpahar-768 218, Dist.: Sambalpur, Orissa.
MARKETING DIVISION: Tata Centre — 11th Floor, 43, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta-700 071.

Isanpur, Gumti mosque, detail of mihrab.



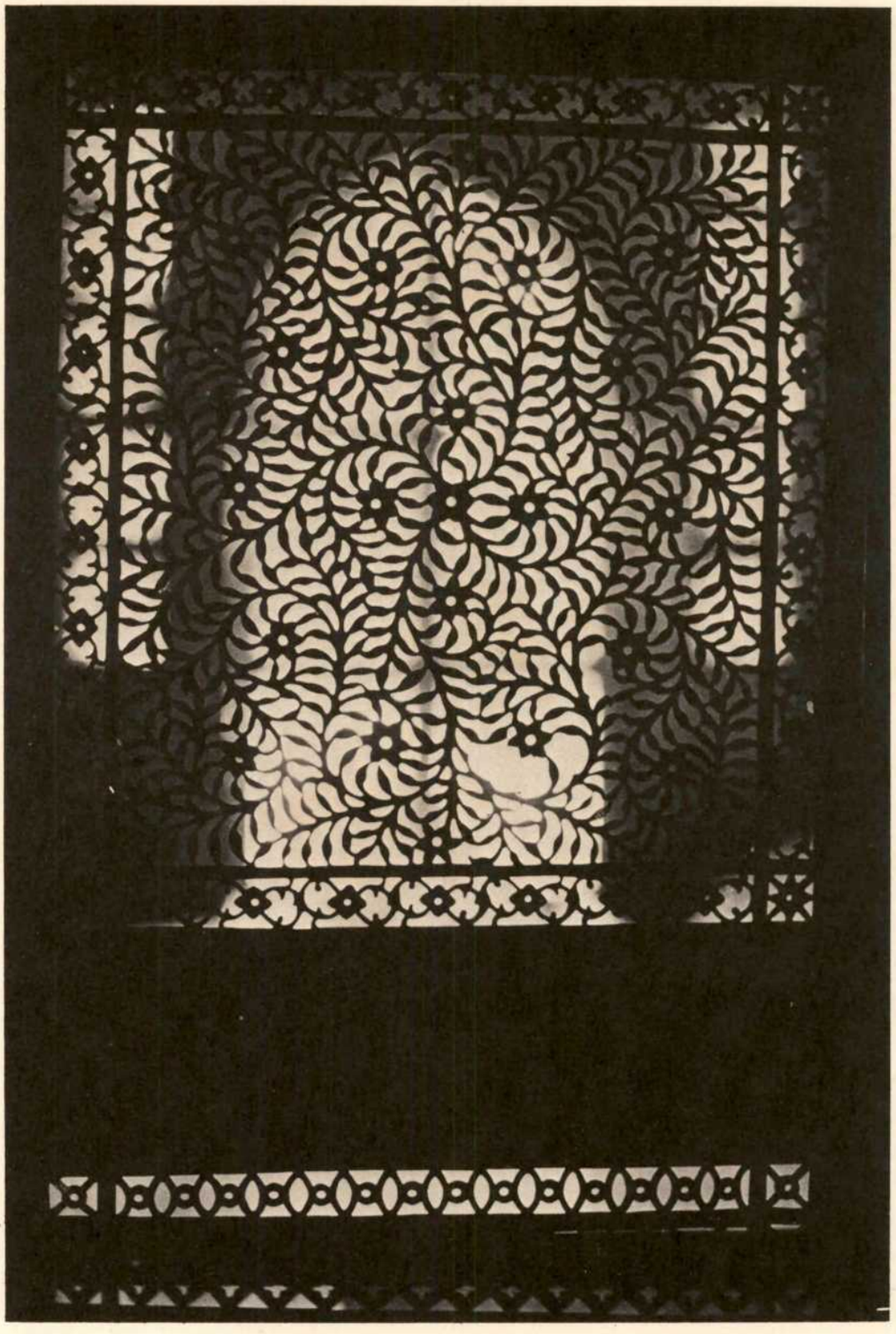
THE GUJARAT STATE HANDICRAFTS & HANDLOOM DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION LTD.

OUR EMPORIA:-

Ahmedabad Opp. Old Reserve Bank, Ashram Road, Ahmedabad-380 009. Phone: 409506.
Bangalore Opp. East-West Hotel, 31, Residency Road, Bangalore-25.
Delhi A/6, State Emporia Complex, Baba Kharak Singh Marg, New Delhi-110 001. Phone: 343802.
Bombay 27, Khetan Bhavan, Opp. Ritz Hotel, 8, J. Tata Road, Churchgate, Bombay-400 020. Phone: 221334.
Calcutta G-7, C/T. Complex, Near Dhakuria Bridge, 2 Garihat Road, (South), Calcutta-700 068.

Think Indian, Think Gurjari, — a treasure chest of folk heritage.

Maninagar, Shah Alam complex, jali.



GUJARAT TOURISM

For Further Information Contact
Tourism Corporation of Gujarat Limited

• **Amdavad :**
H. K. House,
Off Ashram Road,
Amdavad-380 009.
Phone: 449683, 449172.
Telex: 0121-6549 TCGL IN.

• **Bombay :**
Dhanraj Mahal,
Apollo Bunder,
Bombay-400 039.
Phone: 2024925.
Telex: 011-2434 GUJI IN.

• **Delhi :**
A/6, State Emporia Bldg.,
Baba Kharaksing Marg,
New Delhi-110 001.
Phone: 352107.

• **Junagadh :**
Hotel Girnar,
Majewadi Gate,
Junagadh-362 001.
Phone: 21201, 21203.

• **Surat :**
1/847, Athugar Street,
Nanpura, Surat-395 001.
Phone: 26586.

• **Vadodara :**
Narmada Bhavan,
C-Block, Indira Avenue,
Vadodara-390 001.
Phone: 540797.

• **Rajkot :**
Near Collector Office,
Rajkot-360 001.
Phone: 49800.

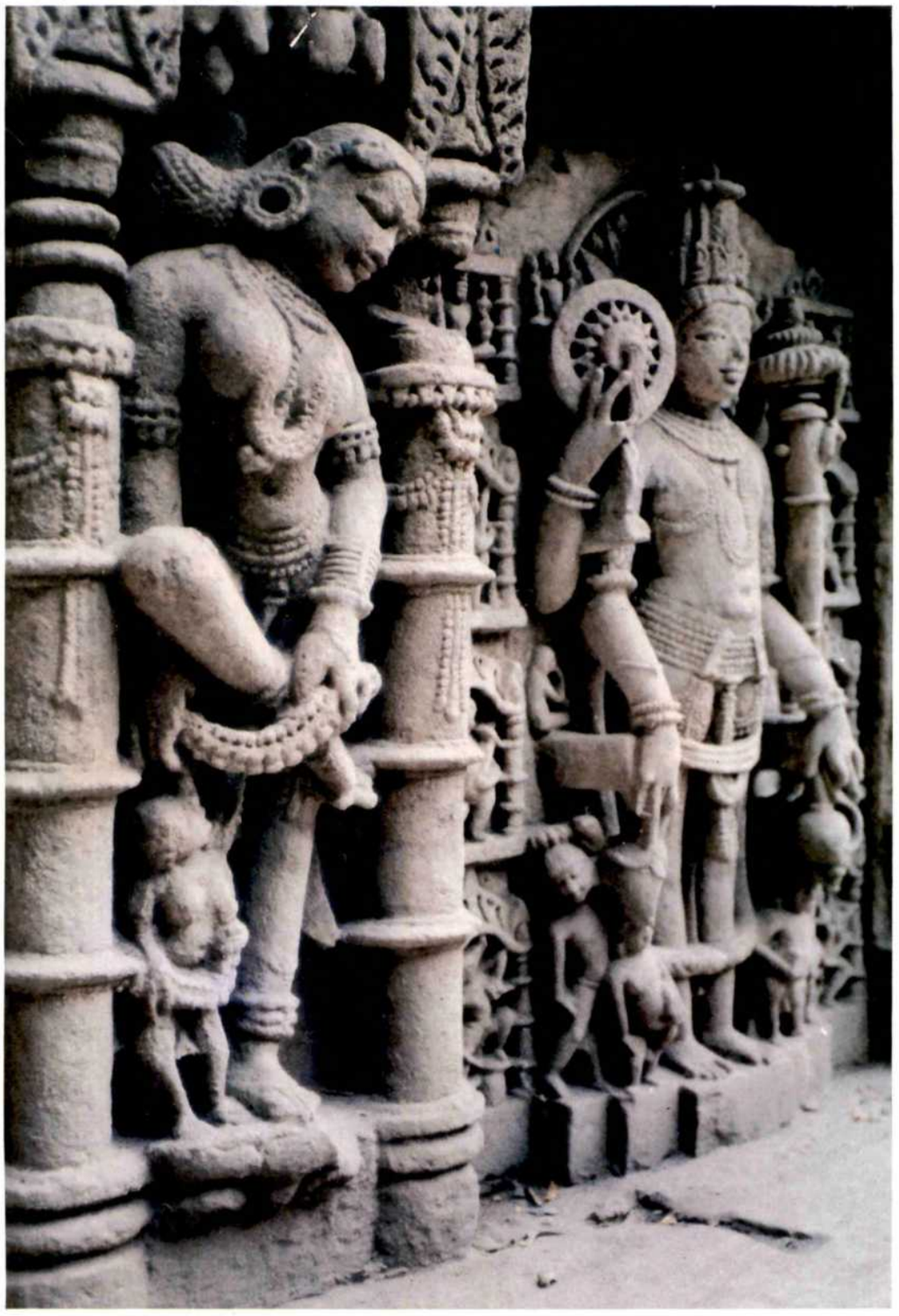
Travel Agents

• **Jamnagar :**
Royal Travels,
Phone: 78208.

• **Bhavnagar :**
Parag Travels,
Phone: 26333
23752.

• **Rajkot :**
International Travels,
Phone: 22689.

Patan, Rani ni Vav (Step-well of the Queen).



Asarva, Dada Harir's step-well, general view, 1499. (Courtesy Snehal Shah).

Marg

NATIONAL CENTRE FOR THE PERFORMING ARTS

Medieval Ahmadabad

Volume XXXIX No. 3

A MAGAZINE OF THE ARTS

Editorial Panel
Karl Khandalavala
Roshan Sabavala
Sadashiv Gorakshkar

Senior Editorial Executive
Radhika Sabavala

Editorial Executives
Sudha Seshadri
L. K. Mehta

Executive-in-Charge
(Design and Production)
Behroze J. Bilimoria

Executive Manager
Secretary, Managing Committee
A. D. Katrak

Chief Accountant
K. P. S. Nambiar

Articles, photographs and drawings sent with a view to publication will be carefully considered, but the editors will not undertake responsibility for loss or damage. All articles and illustrations should bear the name and address of the sender, and postage should be sent to cover their return.

Marg Publications publish with each of their quarterly journals, a book on the same theme. Designed as a de luxe edition of the journal, the book is bound in hard cover and contains additional information on the subject in the form of erudite articles as well as excellent reproductions in black and white and colour.

Annual subscription for 4 books:
Inland: Rs. 650.00 inclusive of packing and registered A.D. postage.
Foreign: U.S. $ 85.00 inclusive of packing and registered sea mail postage.

Annual subscription for 4 magazines:
Inland: Rs. 295.00 inclusive of packing and registered A.D. postage.
Foreign: U.S. $ 40.00 inclusive of packing and registered sea mail postage.
Single copy: Rs. 85.00, U.S. $ 12.00 plus postage.

All cheques should be crossed and payable to MARG PUBLICATIONS

MARG PUBLICATIONS, ARMY AND NAVY BUILDING, M. G. ROAD, BOMBAY 400 023.

Published by J. J. Bhabha for Marg Publications at Army and Navy Building, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay 400 023. Printed by V. Varadarajan at the Tata Press Limited, Bombay 400 025. MARG is a quarterly, printed and published from Bombay, India.

CONTENTS

Preface and Acknowledgements iv

Maps 1

Historical Context 6
John Burton-Page

Urban Context 16
R. N. Mehta and Rasesh Jamindar

Mosques and Tombs 30
John Burton-Page

Glossary of Terms 120

Cover:
North window of the mosque of Sidi Said. (Courtesy James Burgess, 1900).

Credits:
Guest Editors: George Michell and Snehal Shah
Guest Author: John Burton-Page
Chief Photographer: Dinesh Mehta

The screen designs on the title pages for each chapter are taken from the pierced stone windows in Rani ka Hazira (tombs of the queens). (Courtesy James Burgess, 1900).

Editorial Note
In the different chapters the discerning reader may come across the occasional lack of consistency in the spellings of certain words and in the dates assigned to individual monuments. The guest editors wish to point out that these slight variations express the opinions of the different contributors.

Preface and Acknowledgements

With its sprawling suburbs and ever-worsening pollution, its mill compounds and belching chimneys, Ahmadabad is a typical industrial city of late-twentieth-century India. Yet how few of its inhabitants, let alone those who have never visited the city, are aware that in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this was western India's most important royal capital, furnished with splendid palaces and imposing mosques and tombs. Nor is this a vanished heritage, though it is certainly a threatened one as the expanding and increasingly prosperous modern city takes its toll of the medieval fortification walls and gateways, and of other less conspicuous structures. This issue of Marg is dedicated to the memory of Ahmadabad as the capital of the Gujarat Sultanate, and it is also a reminder of the great number of monuments that still survives as a testament to the city's past glory.

For some reason the Islamic monuments of Gujarat, and in particular those of Ahmadabad, have been overlooked for many years. Since the pioneering work of James Burgess, in his two-volume *Muhammedan Architecture of Ahmedabad* (Archaeological Survey of Western India, vols. VII and VIII, London 1900 and 1905), little notice has been taken of the city's buildings. M. S. Commissariat included a brief description of the main mosques and tombs in his *History of Gujarat* (Bombay 1938 and 1957), and Percy Brown devoted part of one chapter to Ahmadabad in his *Indian Architecture: Islamic Period* (Bombay 1942?), yet no illustrated book in English has appeared since those of Burgess which does justice to the architectural heritage of the city. We may also mention here the comprehensive work in Gujarati by Ratnamanirao Bhimrao Jote, *Gujarat-nun-Patnagar Amdavad* (Ahmedabad 1928). A recent guidebook by K. V. Soundara Rajan (Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi 1980) is a handy reference to be sure, but it does not attempt to pay visual tribute to the monuments.

The volume is laid out with the intention of providing basic information about the historical buildings of the city and its environs. We have included all of the important mosques and tombs within Ahmadabad and its suburbs, such as Isanpur and Vatva, as well as those at Sarkhej and Mehmedabad. John Burton-Page offers a broad historical background for Ahmadabad, with an account of the rise and fall of the Gujarat Sultanate. R. N. Mehta and Rasesh Jamindar look at the city from the perspective of historical archaeology, exploring the pre-Sultanate remains and the subsequent urban growth. A comprehensive survey of the principal mosques and tombs is given by John Burton-Page in six successive sections, each with its own set of illustrations, which span the period from the foundation of the city in 1411 by Ahmad Shah to the last days of Mughal rule in the eighteenth century.

While we are aware that the city is usually spelt as Ahmedabad, and recently even as Amdavad, we have retained here the original Ahmadabad, literally the "City of Ahmad (Shah)". The term Sultanate when used on its own always refers to the independent kingdom of Gujarat.

In the preparation of this volume the guest editors have benefitted from the encouragement and advice from all of the contributors. John Burton-Page, our guest author, has been of invaluable help in the planning of the project. Together with Z. A. Desai, who has been a constant source of information, and Burton-Page, we have been able to visit many of the monuments in and around Ahmadabad. R. N. Mehta has also shared his extensive knowledge of the city with us, and together we have seen many of the temples. A number of other experts, notably B. V. Doshi, H. P. Gaudani, R. J. Vasavada and Arthur Duff, have given advice and materials for the volume. To each of these individuals the guest editors offer their grateful thanks.

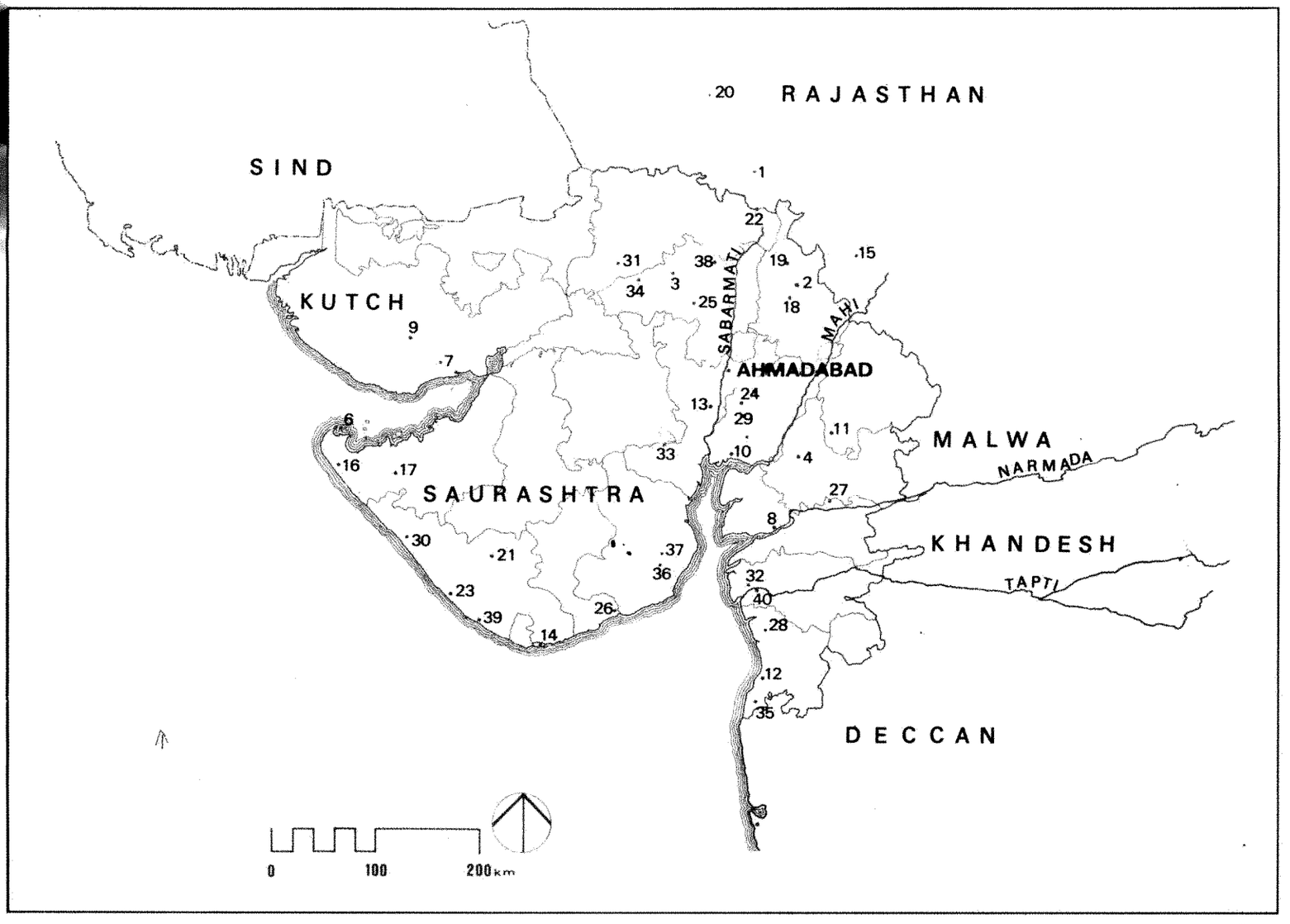
Almost all of the drawings are based on those of Burgess, but we have taken the trouble to check them against the monuments, with the permission of the Archaeological Survey of India. The drawings have been prepared for publication by the following students: Balaji Bal (School of Architecture, Ahmedabad), Shital Khandwala (D. C. Patel School of Architecture, Vallabh Vidhyanagar), and Prashant Budhiya and Brijesh Nagaria (Government College of Engineering and Technology, Raipur). The staff of Snehal Shah's office has also worked on the drawings, especially Sanjay Mistri, Ratilal Patel and Shailesh Patel.

Photographs have been taken especially for the volume by Dinesh Mehta with the assistance of Samir Pathak and Bharat Kansara, often under less than perfect conditions due to overcrowded streets and encroachments on the buildings. We trust that Mehta's splendid images will convey to the reader the original conception and finely worked details of the monuments. Other photographs which have been supplied by the contributors are appropriately credited.

Without the constant encouragement and patient attention of Radhika Sabavala at Marg, we would not have been able to complete our work. We are indebted to her, as well as to the rest of the Marg design and editorial staff, for helping us to realize this splendid publication.

George Michell and Snehal Shah

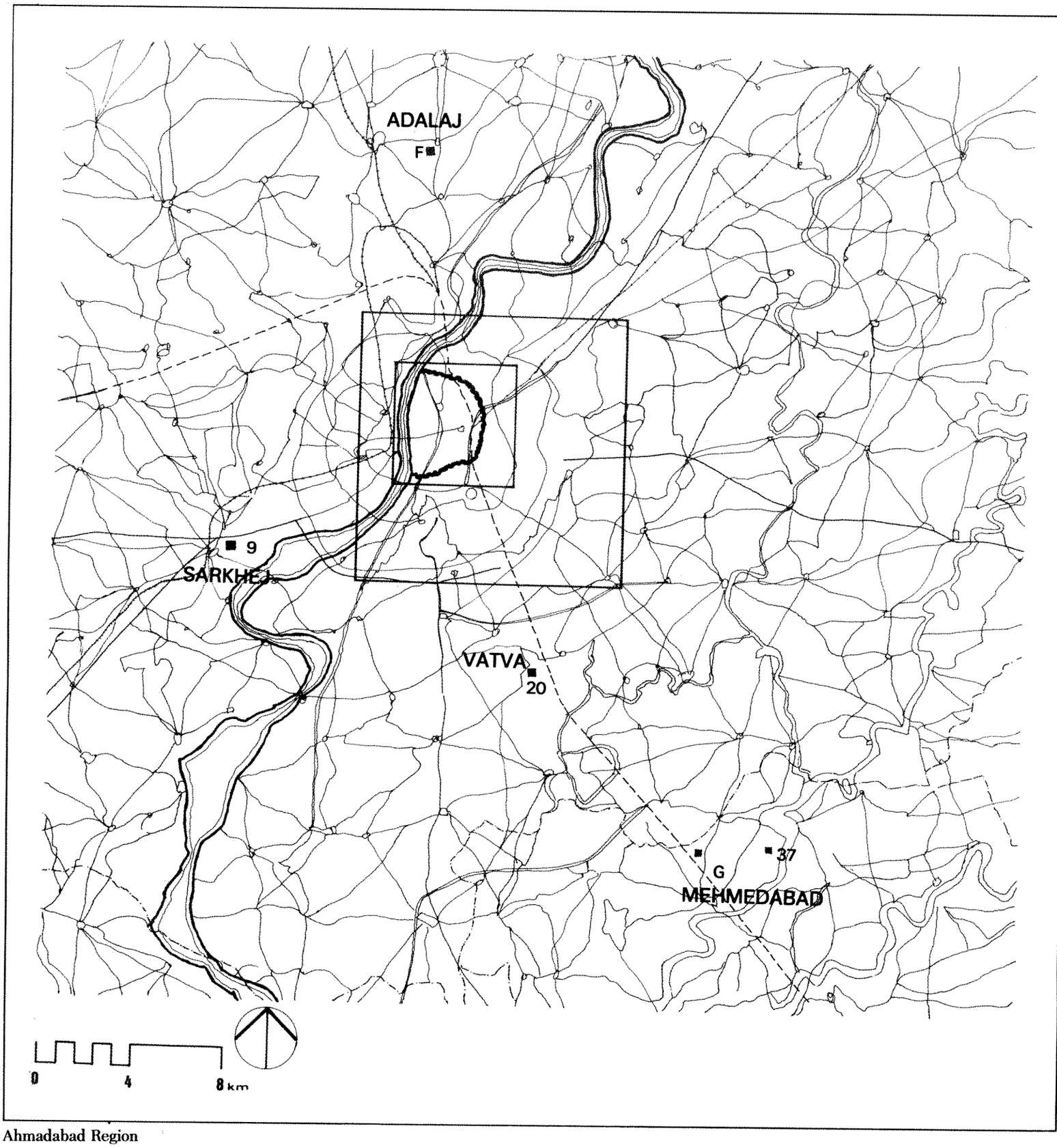
Maps



Gujarat State

KEY

1. Abu
2. Ahmadnagar
3. Anahilvada-Patan
4. Baroda (Vadodara)
5. Bassein
6. Bet
7. Bhadreshwar
8. Bharoch
9. Bhuj
10. Cambay (Khambat)
11. Champaner-Pavagadh
12. Daman
13. Dholka
14. Diu
15. Dungarpur
16. Dwarka
17. Ghumli
18. Himatnagar
19. Idar
20. Jalor
21. Junagadh-Girnar
22. Kumbharia
23. Mangrol
24. Mehmedabad
25. Modhera
26. Muzaffarabad
27. Nandod
28. Navsari
29. Petlad
30. Porbandar
31. Radhanpur
32. Rander
33. Ranpur
34. Roda
35. Sanjan
36. Shatrunjaya
37. Palitana
38. Siddhapur
39. Somnath
40. Surat



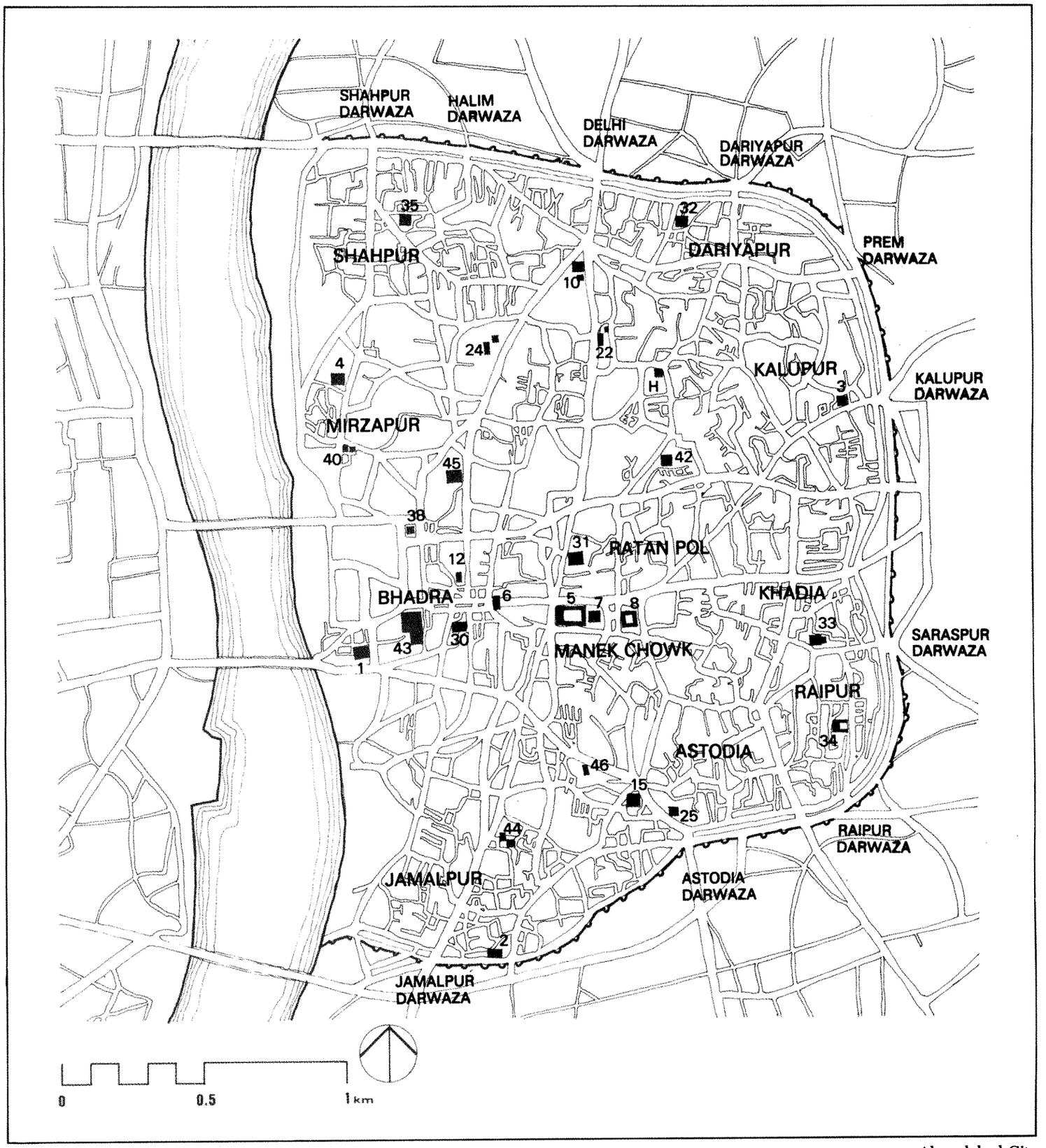
Ahmadabad Region

KEY TO MONUMENTS IN THE THREE MAPS

The numbers in square brackets follow those in John Burton-Page's article on mosques and tombs (pp. 30-116).

[1] Mosque of Ahmad Shah
[2] Mosque of Haibat Khan
[3] Mosque of Shakar Khan
[4] Mosque of Sayyid 'Alam
[5] Jami' Masjid
[6] Tin Darwaza
[7] Tomb of Ahmad Shah
[8] Rani ka Hazira (tombs of the queens)
[9] Sarkhej
[10] Mosque of Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah
[11] Bibi ki Masjid, Rajpur
[12] Mosque of Malik Sha'ban
[13] Kankariya tank
[14] Mosque and tomb of Sayyid 'Usman
[15] Mosque of Dastur Khan
[16] Mosque of Miyan Khan Chishti
[17] Mosque and tomb of Bibi Achyut Kuki
[18] Tomb of Darya Khan

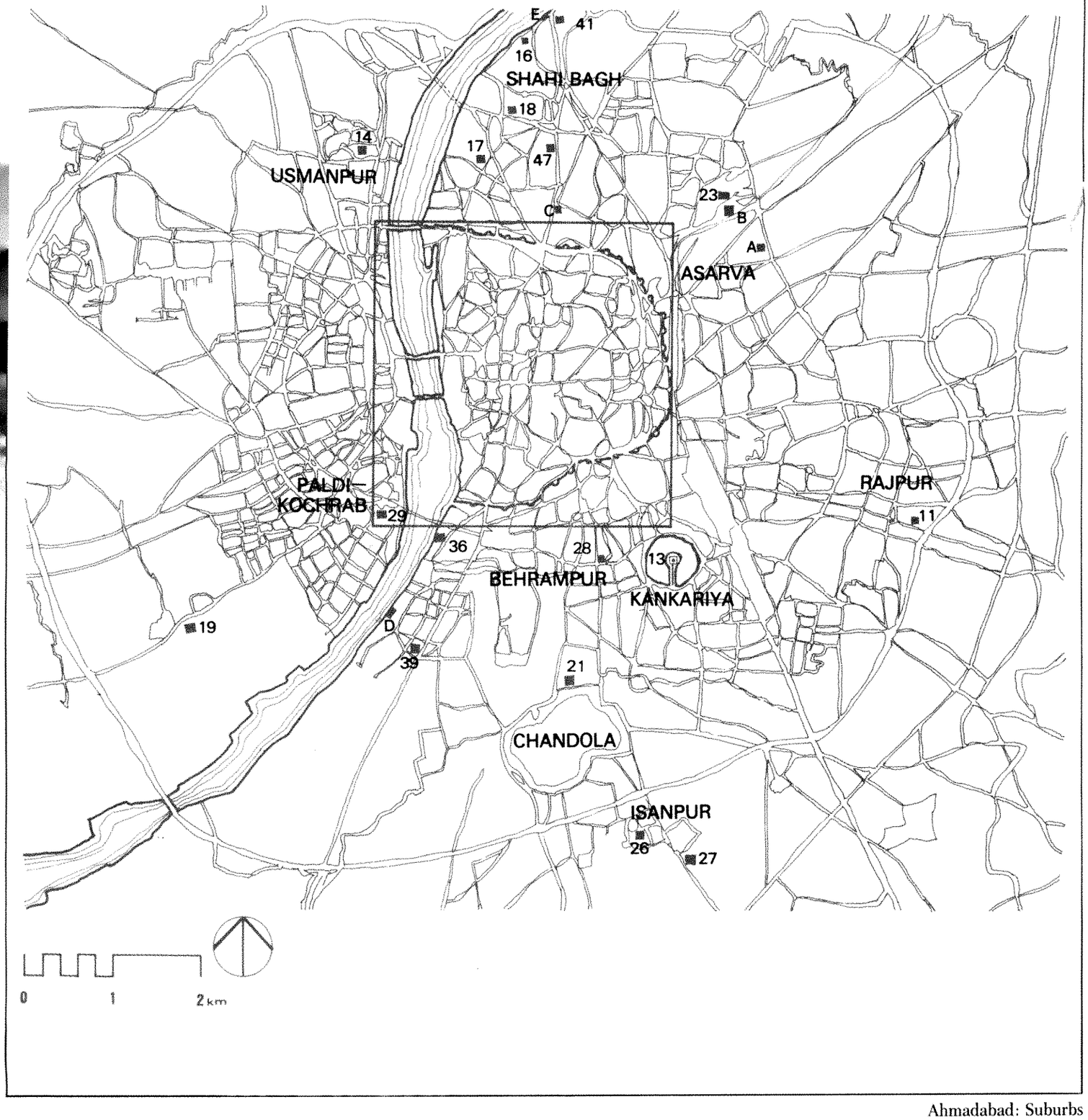
Cambay, Jami' Masjid, west wall facing the courtyard. (Courtesy John Burton-Page).



Ahmadabad City

[41] Shahi Bagh
[42] Tomb of Shaikh al-Aidrus
[43] Caravanserai of Azam Khan
[44] Mosque and tomb of Nawwab Sardar Khan
[45] Mosque and tomb of Shuja'at Khan
[46] Mosque of Hidayat Bakhsh
[47] Anonymous Bengali-style tombs

A. Mata Bhavani step-well
B. Dada Harir step-well
C. Sheth Hathisingh temple
D. Temples at Saptarshi Ara
E. Bhimnath Ghat
F. Step-well at Adalaj
G. Bhamariya well, Mehmedabad
H. Swaminarayan temple

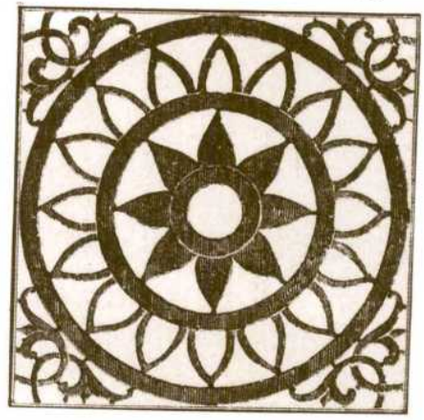


Ahmadabad: Suburbs

[19] Tomb of A'zam-Mu'azzam
[20] Tomb of Qutb-i Alam (Vatva)
[21] Tomb of Shah Alam
[22] Mosque of Muhafiz Khan
[23] Mosque, tomb and vav of Bai Harir
[24] Mosque of Rani Rupavati
[25] Mosque and tomb of Rani Sabrai
[26] Gumti mosque, Isanpur
[27] Tomb and mosque of 'Imadul-Mulk Malik 'Isan, Isanpur
[28] Mosque of Ibrahim Sayyid
[29] Mosque at Paldi-Kochrab
[30] Mosque of Shah Khub Sayyid
[31] Mosque of Darvesh 'Ali
[32] Fateh Masjid
[33] Mosque of Malik Sarang, Sarangpur
[34] Mosque of Muhammad Ghaus
[35] Mosque of Shaikh Hasan Muhammad Chishti
[36] Mosque of Baba Lulu'i
[37] Tomb of Sayyid Mubarak Bukhari, Mehmedabad
[38] Mosque of Sidi Said
[39] Tomb of Abu Turab
[40] Tomb of Wajihuddin

Historical Context

John Burton-Page



Ahmadabad, founded in 1411 as the residence of Ahmad Shah, became thereby the capital city of the region of Gujarat. Since its artistic and cultural traditions drew their inspiration from, and were continually nourished by, the surrounding region, it is appropriate to consider Gujarat as a whole in order to set Ahmadabad in its full historical context.

The Region and its Name

Gujarat is a state of India on the northwest of its coastline, lying east of the Rann of Kutch (Kacch) which separates it from Sind in Pakistan, and south Rajasthan; with both these regions it has some important political, ethnic, and cultural common features. It is broadly divided into Mainland and Peninsular Gujarat. Peninsular Gujarat is Saurashtra, also called Kathiawad, famous for its "Kattywar" horses, formerly also for the pirates who operated in the Gulf of Kutch from their stronghold of Bet, near Dwarka, and for the lions of the Gir forest, the last Indian home of the lion which was once much more widespread. Kathiawad's chief town is Junagadh. Mainland Gujarat, with which we shall be principally concerned, is approximately the area of the plains in the lower reaches of the great rivers Sabarmati, Mahi, Narmada and Tapti (Tapi), bounded to the north by the Marwar desert, and east by the line of hills running southeast from Mount Abu to the Satpuras and Vindhyas; to the south it merges into Maharashtra. The coastal area of Mainland Gujarat is low, flat and fertile, and broken up by many small rivers as well as by the great Narmada and Tapti; here there are many natural ports and harbours, and the fertility of the coastal districts encouraged settlements which grew into sizeable towns through which a considerable trade passed between the West and India.

Gujarat takes its name (Sanskrit: Gurjaratra) from the widespread Gujar tribe (Sanskrit: Gurjara). The name Gujarat was even applied to the country north of Ajmer in the ninth century, but by the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, just before the coming of Islam, Gujarat referred especially to the domains of the Solanki kings of Anahilvada, whose boundaries were much as described above.

And finally, we might define Gujarat as the land where the Gujarati language is spoken. This itself defines the present-day linguistic state, and is of interest to us here especially because it has always been the first language of the Gujarati Muslims, in preference to the Urdu which is the preferred Muslim language over most of the rest of north and west India; but Gujarati is written in a cursive form of the Devanagari script, and the Perso-Arabic script has never been in regular use; there has been some introduction of Muslim literary forms, notably that of the ghazal, into Gujarati literature.

Pre-Islamic History

The Islamic heritage of Gujarat owes much of its legacy to the preceding fifteen centuries of rule by mostly Hindu kings, although other religions flourished in different times, Buddhism, Jainism, and Zoroastrianism. (The Indian Zoroastrians, known in India as the Parsis, were never a ruling power, but their influence has been considerable). It is therefore appropriate to consider pre-Muslim Gujarat in outline.

Already by the fourth century B.C. the Maurya dynasty had extended to Peninsular Gujarat, as shown by the presence in Junagadh of an inscription of Ashoka, and the traces of many small monastic settlements. The region next passed under the rule of the Shaka satraps (Kshatrapas), notably the great Rudradaman who constructed a great artificial lake at the foot of Girnar in Saurashtra and left an important Sanskrit inscription, of about A.D. 150, detailing his military exploits, until the late fourth century A.D.; these Shakas were an incursive tribe of Scythian horsemen, traces of whom have persisted in much of western India, in art and in popular religion, until the present day. Their rivals were the Satavahanas in the north of the Deccan; but as long as they were not in conflict with them Gujarat remained essentially prosperous and peaceful, for there was a lucrative trade, with Rome and with the Arab merchants of the Gulf and the African coast, which passed through Gujarat—mostly through Bharoch, the Barygaza of the Greek geographers—to the Shaka capital at Ujjayini, the modern Ujjain. But the Shaka lands fell in A.D. 388 to Chandra Gupta II, whose reign, as the paramount sovereign of most of north India, has been considered as the Golden Age of Indian art and letters. For Gujarat it was perhaps the influence of the imperial Guptas that was more important than their power.

The Gupta dream came to an abrupt end with the invasions from central Asia by a tribe known as the White Huns or Hunas. A few minor dynasties held power in Gujarat in the old Gupta lands until they were swept aside by the Gurjaras (nowadays called Gujars), nomads who in some ways

resemble the Jats of southern Panjab, who had probably entered India alongside the Hunas; they rapidly assimilated Indian culture, and in their various branches (some scholars assert that most of the modern Rajput clans are in fact of Gujar origin) were an energetic race who were to provide some of the strongest dynasties of northern India. But they did not have things all their own way, for Muslim invaders started to appear on the Indian scene in the early eighth century with the invasion and permanent conquest of Sind under the 'Abbasid caliphate. Gujarat was not then conquered, but was certainly thrown into confusion by several plundering raids. After one minor kingdom had been overthrown, probably by Arab invaders from Mansura in Sind, a Rajput-Gujar kingdom was established in Anahilvada in the mid-eighth century, to become the ruling seat of Gujarat until the early Muslim period (its name sometimes distorted as Nahlwar, Nahrwar, but later called Anhilwar-Pattana, or simply Pattana, or just Patan, "*the* city"). Its rulers encouraged literature and patronized the Jains; and a later branch, the Solankis or Chaulukyas (not to be confused with the Chalukyas of the Deccan), worshippers especially of Shiva, instituted a superbly competent architectural style in fine stone, a genre which was to become very significant for the derivative architecture of the Gujarat Sultanate. Their great temple at Somnath became justly famous, and its riches attracted a viciously plundering raid from the great Mahmud of Ghazni in 1026: gold and jewels worth two million dinars, the sandalwood gates of the temple and the great linga were all carried off to Ghazni, and the temple destroyed. The sixth Solanki king, Siddharaja, extended the Gujarat dominions and built a great temple at Siddhapur which was later converted into a mosque by Ahmad I. The Jain religion became firmly established in Gujarat under his patronage. Under the ninth king, Mularaja II, a large Gujarat army in 1178 overcame an invading force sent by Muhammad bin Sam, the ruler of Ghazni, which had been exhausted by its long march through Multan, Uchch and the Marwar desert; but that defeat was avenged nine years later under Muhammad's general Qutbuddin Aybak, the conqueror of Delhi, who plundered Anahilvada, forced the young king to take refuge in a remote part of Gujarat, and returned to Delhi laden with booty. The Solanki authority dwindled, and the kingdom was virtually divided among the nobles and provincial chiefs; the most powerful of these, the Vaghelas of Dholka, usurped the royal power, transferred their capital to Anahilvada, and were the ruling dynasty at the time of the Muslim conquest.

We should first, however, consider the relations of Gujarat with the Muslim world in general. The region seems to have been well known to the Muslim, especially the Arab, geographers and travellers from the eighth century onwards: for example, Al-Balazuri in the ninth century notices the pirates of the Sorath coast, and mentions the great ports of Bharoch and "Sindan"; Mas'udi describes the strength of the kingdom and the power of its ruler, and mentions the gold and silver mines; Istakhri and Ibn Hauqal, in the tenth century, give itineraries and describe the topography; the great Al-Biruni a century later, and Idrisi a little after him, give more details and are more accurate, and describe the rivers of Gujarat. Most of these writers are especially interested in the ports, particularly Bharoch, Cambay (Khambat), Rander and Sanjan (the "Sindan" of the texts), in the capital Anahilvada, and in the trade and natural resources of the country in gold, silver, pearls, cornelian; horses and camels; teak, bamboo, aloe-wood, areca-nut; and they describe local Hindu and Jain practices in some detail, and are impressed by the religious toleration shown in the region. Furthermore, Islam had taken root in small pockets in Gujarat long before there was any conquest, in the form of settlements of Muslim merchants and traders on the one hand (their descendants, the Navaits, are still a minor element of the population), and religious recluses and teachers on the other.

A significant event for Gujarat before the Muslim conquest was the arrival of the Zoroastrian fugitives from Persia, fleeing from persecution from Muslim zealots after Persia had fallen under Islam. The old traditional date of A.D. 716, although still popularly claimed, has been shown to be based on a misreading (772 for 992 in the Vikram Samvat), and the correct date should be A.D. 936. There were in fact several waves of immigration of this community, who from the Persian province of Pars were known in India as Parsis. Their first settlement, Sanjan, was named after their home town in Khurasan; but the centre of Parsi religious life later became Navsari. They spread all over India, but their greatest concentration has always been in Gujarat and on the Konkan coast, and they adopted Gujarati as their language. They became important as a mercantile—and charitable—community, never wielding temporal power, although on more than one occasion they fought beside their Hindu neighbours in struggles with the ruling Muslim power.

Gujarat under the Delhi Sultanate

Gujarat came under Muslim rule as the result of a decisive battle in March 1298: the armies of the Delhi sultan 'Alauddin Khalji, setting out for the further plunder of the rebuilt Somnath temple,

defeated Karna, the last Vaghela ruler, sacked Anahilvada, despoiled Somnath, and set up local garrisons. Part of the army moved on to the sack of Cambay, securing, besides enormous booty, the Negro slave Kafur, nicknamed Hazardinari, "sold for a thousand dinars", who as Malik Kafur was to become the greatest general in the Khalji armies. Dholka, Rander, Diu, Junagadh and other towns were also overrun. Karna's queen Kamaladevi was sent to 'Alauddin, but Karna escaped with his daughter Devaldevi to Devagiri and Ellura, where her fortuitous capture (by troops who had been given leave to visit the famous caves) and subsequent marriage to the heir apparent Khizr Khan have given rise to a romantic legend.

In 1300 'Alauddin appointed his brother-in-law Alp Khan as provincial governor; he administered the province capably from the old capital Anahilvada, from then on more usually called Patan, for sixteen years until his recall and murder. On his departure disturbances arose, escalating into rebellion during the troubled years of the breakdown of the Khalji Sultanate, and peace was restored only under a new strong governor about 1320. But after some twenty years, in the discontent which arose during Muhammad bin Tughluq's reign, bands of New Muslims and Afghans, under disaffected commanders (Amir-i Sada), became a menace, and there was a general rising of the Gujarat commanders in 1344 who seized the state revenues as they were being taken to Delhi. The sultan set out personally to bring the province to order, which he did with characteristic severity; he made his headquarters in Bharoch and appointed agents and revenue collectors, whose draconian measures led many commanders to flee to Daulatabad in the Deccan, the former Devagiri. Muhammad recalled them to Bharoch, but they, suspecting his intentions, killed the Daulatabad officials, proclaimed a king of their own, and took control of much of the northern Maratha country. When the sultan left Bharoch to suppress the rebellion, Gujarat again broke into revolt, this time under the leadership of a former slave called Taghi, with the support of many commanders, some Hindu chieftains, and much of the populace. Muhammad thereupon returned to Gujarat, spending much time and effort in pursuit of the brilliant Taghi; in his absence from Daulatabad another commander was elected leader there, who shortly afterwards was proclaimed sultan as 'Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, the founder of the dynastic line of the Bahmani Sultanate of the Deccan. Taghi withdrew to Saurashtra and thence to Thattha in Sind, where he took refuge with the Jam; Muhammad's pursuit of Taghi left Gujarat subdued as never before, but he eventually died in camp in Thattha and was succeeded by his nephew Feroz. The latter made a difficult retreat to Delhi, and Gujarat was left undisturbed for the next fifteen years.

In 1366 Feroz marched against the Jam of Sind, with disastrous results, and eventually reached Gujarat having lost most of his army; he recruited a new one in Gujarat, and appointed a new provincial governor who ruled efficiently until he was replaced by another who had promised greatly increased revenues. There followed a time of harsh extortion and consequent rebellion until the appointment of one Farhat al-Mulk, who remained while Delhi's control over Gujarat grew gradually weaker during the declining years of the Tughluq dynasty. But Farhat was ambitious, and was reported to be supporting Hindu practices in order to gain the confidence of the Rajputs before asserting his own independence. The Delhi sultan sent Zafar Khan to replace him; Farhat defied the order, and met Zafar Khan in battle at Kamboi, thirty kilometres west of Patan, in 1392, where he was killed. Zafar Khan went on to Patan, restored order in the state and secured its prosperity, and quashed all tendencies towards the toleration of idolatry. He several times besieged the fortress of the raja of Idar for withholding tribute, ravaged the Somnath temple on a couple of occasions, and chased the Somnath Hindus to Diu, where he established Islam.

Zafar Khan's son Tatar Khan had been the wazir in Delhi to Muhammad II Tughluq, and on that sultan's death was prominent in the intrigues for power. He therefore came to Gujarat in 1398 to raise an army to march on Delhi; but any such idea had to be put aside because of Timur's invasion and sack of Delhi. Five years later Tatar Khan tried to persuade his father to attack the weakened and much reduced Delhi Sultanate. Zafar, now sixty, refused and attempted to dissuade his son, whereupon Tatar Khan imprisoned his father, proclaimed himself sultan of Gujarat in 1403, and marched on Delhi himself. Zafar Khan's brother caused Tatar Khan to be poisoned, and released his brother who returned to Patan and carried on the administration before finally assuming the royal title.

In Gujarat under the Delhi Sultanate there was, naturally, a great increase in the settled Muslim population, and many saints and scholars made their way to the prosperous province. The beginnings of a Muslim architecture appear, first of all a few substantial tombs of traders, later tombs of saints and nobles; the tomb of Shaikh Farid at Patan, formerly claimed as the oldest Muslim building in Gujarat, is merely a converted temple, and the great Adina mosque there, of 1300, showed little more organization: a thousand or so richly ornamented pillars, pillaged from temples, were merely arranged in a mosque plan. But only a little later in Bharoch, and in 1325 in Cambay, the Jami' mosques are planned constructions rather than mere improvisations, showing

the increasing affluence of the Muslim community; there, and in Dholka and Mangrol also, the Muslim buildings are already showing the germs of what was to become the Gujarat style of Indo-Islamic building.

The Sultanate of Gujarat

Zafar Khan was persuaded by his nobles to assume the insignia and titles of royalty in 1407, since the Tughluq dynasty had been extinguished by Timur and no Delhi sultans had struck coin for six years. Accordingly he caused the khutba to be read and coin struck in his own name as Muzaffar Shah. Apart from an intervention into the affairs of the neighbouring Malwa, his reign was uneventful. He died in 1410 and was succeeded by his grandson Ahmad, the son of Tatar Khan, not without the suspicion of having been poisoned by him.

The reign of Ahmad I, which did much to consolidate the new Sultanate, lasted thirty-three years, much of which was occupied in warfare against neighbouring Rajput princes and his Muslim neighbours of Malwa, Khandesh, and the northern Deccan. In the year of his accession he had founded the capital city which still bears his name, Ahmadabad, on the left bank of the Sabarmati, with a citadel and spacious streets. He soon moved against Junagadh, compelling the payment of tribute, and from this time extended the power of the Sultanate into the central region of Saurashtra as well as the coastal lands already in Sultanate control; he also exacted tribute from the Hindu raja of Champaner. The Hindu state of Idar was a source of perpetual trouble, and Ahmad built the city of Ahmadnagar (renamed Himatnagar in the twentieth century) some thirty kilometres south of Idar as a base of operations. Idar submitted on the death of the raja, although intermittent warfare with Gujarat continued for several generations thereafter. The Bahmani sultan sent a force to capture the then island of Mahim (now a part of Bombay) which was under Gujarat suzerainty in 1431, but Ahmad's generals forced the capitulation of Thana, the Bahmanis' most important town of the northern Konkan coast, and then recovered Mahim from the invader. In his last major campaign against his Hindu neighbours, in 1432-33, he overcame the ruler of Pavagadh and Champaner, sacked Nandod, and even forced tribute from the rulers of the distant Dungarpur, Kota and Bundi. He died in 1442 after a reign devoted to consolidating Islam in his dominions by relentless iconoclasm and oppression of the Hindus. His justice was strict but impartial, and he was known for his piety and as a disciple of two great religious teachers, Shaikh Ahmad Khattu of Sarkhej and Burhanuddin Qutb-i Alam of Vatva.

There followed two short reigns, those of Muhammad I and Qutbuddin Ahmad II. The latter was engaged against Malwa, and later in an alliance with Malwa against Chitaur, but otherwise his reign was occupied in building and in trying to secure the person of his young half-brother Fath Khan who was under the protection of the Vatva shaikh. On his sudden death (poison again?) in 1458, after a seven-day reign by an incompetent moron, Fath Khan was raised to the throne as Mahmud I. He was to reign for fifty-four years, during which the Gujarat Sultanate probably reached its highest peak.

He was early concerned to strengthen his domains through the propagation of Islam; to this end he supported one Usman Khan in his struggle for the succession in Jalor and secured the extension of that prince's domains—it was important for Gujarat for Islam to be securely established in south Rajasthan. In 1465 he sent an army to take the port of Daman, and a couple of hill forts, from their Hindu rajas, and at the same time the old Parsi settlement at Sanjan was destroyed. The next few years, up to 1470, saw Mahmud gradually overcoming the strong Rajput power at Junagadh and its citadel—the fort of Uparkot. Mahmud remained for some time there, improving its beauty and its defences, so that it might be a centre from which Islam could be propagated throughout Saurashtra; he settled sayyids and theologians there, raised it to the status of a mint town, and renamed it Mustafabad. From there he made forays into Sind and Kutch and against the pirates of Dwarka. To maintain efficient order during his absence from Ahmadabad he appointed the able Muhafiz Khan as his faujdar there, who graced the capital with an imposing mosque. Mahmud returned to Ahmadabad in 1473 and undertook no major military operations for the next nine years; in this time he built the new city of Mahmudabad (now called Mehmedabad) some thirty kilometres southeast of Ahmadabad.

He continued to make yearly visits to Mustafabad-Junagadh. During one such absence an attempt was made to place his eldest son Ahmad on the throne; the conspiracy was foiled by the wazir and Muhafiz Khan, Ahmad was removed from the succession, and Mahmud's youngest son Khalil was named heir apparent. In late 1482 Mahmud renewed his campaign against the Rajput princes, this time against the powerful raja of Champaner and his stronghold of Pavagadh, which fell after a siege of twenty months. Mahmud was captivated with the beauty and climate of Champaner, which he fortified and laid out as a new capital with the name Muhammadabad.

Thereafter Champaner remained the political capital of Gujarat, and the favourite residence of Mahmud, until the end of his reign.

Early in the sixteenth century an important event for Gujarat, both then and for the future, was Mahmud's intervention in the dynastic rivalries in the neighbouring Khandesh; this was resolved in 1509 by the acceptance of the Gujarat candidate, a kinsman of Mahmud's, as 'Adil Khan III. Relations between Khandesh and Gujarat thereafter continued to be cordial as long as the Sultanate endured.

The sixteenth century brought Gujarat a less tractable problem to deal with in the growing power of the Portuguese on the west coast of India. Since the arrival of Vasco da Gama in Calicut in 1498 the Portuguese had extended their maritime influence over much of the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea, to the great detriment of the lucrative trade which passed through the Gujarat ports, especially Cambay, and depriving Egypt of the revenues of much of her eastern trade. The first opposition to the Portuguese in these regions came from the combined forces of a fleet sent by the Egyptian sultan and the Gujarat fleet. The first successes went to the Muslim navies, but these were defeated by the Portuguese in a battle off Diu early in 1509. Mahmud attempted to establish diplomatic relations with the Portuguese, but after Albuquerque's capture of Sindabur (Goa), the port of the 'Adil Shahi Sultanate of Bijapur, and the orgiastic sack and massacre which followed, Mahmud realized the futility of any dealings with such an implacable enemy of Islam and, to avoid provocation, broke off the Egyptian alliance.

Mahmud died at Ahmadabad in 1511 and was buried at Sarkhej. The Gujarat Sultanate in his reign achieved its greatest internal security in the towns and ports, and its greatest prosperity; the army was efficient, well equipped, and well provided for; he was a great builder, and laid out many gardens and orchards (he is credited with the introduction of many kinds of fruit-trees). It could well be said that the state's prosperity depended largely on his charismatic personality: he was a tall man, with a prodigious appetite, and with a moustache which he could tie behind his head, and was said to have been immunized against poison by consuming it in gradually increasing doses so that "if a fly settled on his hand it fell dead." This part of his reputation extended to Europe, and lies behind Samuel Butler's lines in *Hudibras* (published 1663-78):

> The Prince of Cambay's daily food
> Is asp, and basilisk, and toad.

His common sobriquet of "Begra" is variously explained: from the two forts (gadh) of Junagadh and Pavagadh he conquered, from the Gujarati vegado, a bullock with sweeping horns, in allusion to his moustaches (this is probably the correct reason), and in other ways; a connection with the Mughal title Bayqara is now discredited. Entertaining and valuable accounts of Mahmud and the Gujarat of his times are given by European travellers, especially the Portuguese Duarte Barbosa and the Italian Ludovigo de Varthema.

He was succeeded by Khalil Khan, who assumed the regnal title of Muzaffar Shah II, a mild and cultured ruler whose clemency bordered on weakness; but the power of the name of the Gujarat state remained, and he was called upon to intervene in the troubled succession in Malwa, where the sultan, Mahmud II, had become no more than a puppet in the hands of the able minister Medini Rai and his Rajput army. Muzaffar accordingly marched on Mandu with a strong force which had been joined by the Khandesh army; hearing of this, Medini Rai appealed for help from Sangram, the powerful maharana of Chitaur. But the Muslim armies took the fort by escalade in 1518, massacred the Rajput garrison, and restored Mahmud to the full enjoyment of his throne. Muzaffar had been delayed in his actions in Malwa by several skirmishes around Idar, where Maharana Sangram had set up a usurper on the throne of this feudatory Hindu state. This interference was resented by Gujarat, armies were sent to restore the rightful heir, and the usurper harried the northern districts of Gujarat until Muzaffar could deal with him after his return from Mandu. Meanwhile Sangram had considered himself insulted by the Gujarati commander at Idar, and raided Idar, Ahmadnagar and other towns; Muzaffar retaliated with a large force early in 1521, and compelled Sangram not only to pay tribute but also to send a son to the Gujarat court as hostage.

In Muzaffar II's reign there was considerable diplomatic intercourse with the Portuguese at Goa, friendly at first. A mission sent to Gujarat in 1512-13 sought permission to build a fort at Diu; the sultan refused, and thereupon caused the defences of Diu to be strengthened. Later the Portuguese made two attempts to take Diu by force, and when these were thwarted tried to take Muzaffarabad, thirty kilometres east of Diu, and establish a fort there. This last attempt was foiled when some Muslim captives blew up a munitions ship in which they were travelling.

Muzaffar died in 1526; after a plot by ambitious nobles to instal an infant as a puppet sultan, the loyal nobles sent for his second son Bahadur, who was to be the last of the great sultans. His eleven-year reign was crammed with incident: he attacked the Nizam Shahi sultan of Ahmadnagar (Deccan) in 1528 to settle a territorial dispute with Gujarat's ally Khandesh; he

conquered Malwa and occupied Mandu in 1531; he captured the Rajput strongholds of Ujjain, Bhilsa and Raisen in 1532-33, and Chitaur two years later. Meanwhile he had been involved in conflict with the Portuguese: a further Portuguese attack on Diu in 1531 was repulsed, but Bassein was ceded to them in 1534 in return for a promise to aid Gujarat against the Mughals, and the next year they were granted permission to build a fort at Diu where Bahadur had taken refuge from the Mughal incursion. The long war with the Mughal ruler Humayun, starting in 1534, had been provoked by Bahadur's protection of some of the Lodi Afghans, the last ruling dynasty of northern India before the Mughals, and of Muhammad Zaman Mirza, Babur's son-in-law. Bahadur lost Mandasor and Mandu to the Mughals, and much of his treasure was lost at the fall of Champaner in 1535; most of his dominions were occupied as the Mughals pursued him, until Humayun was compelled to return to Delhi in 1536 to face the greater threat to the central authority from Sher Khan; after this, Bahadur was able to regain much of his lost territory from the dispersed and disunited Mughals who remained. The promised Portuguese assistance had been no more than lukewarm, and he moved to try to recover diplomatically the rights surrendered to the Portuguese at Diu; but he met with treachery to the promises he had been given, and was slain by the Portuguese forces on the Diu shore in 1537. With his death the greatness of the Gujarat Sultanate ended.

The Portuguese seized Diu with the palace and treasury, and thenceforth it passed out of Muslim hands. Bahadur left no obvious heir, and Muhammad Zaman Mirza, aspiring after supreme power in the state, offered to grant the Portuguese Daman and Mangrol, and a strip of coastal land, to buy their support. Bahadur's loyal nobles sent an army which overpowered him, and he fled to Delhi; the nobles then invited Miran Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Khandesh since 1520, to assume the Sultanate. He was Bahadur's sister's son and a constant and loyal friend to his uncle; but he died of grief for Bahadur within weeks, and an eleven-year-old nephew of Bahadur was installed as Mahmud Shah III. Mahmud and his two successors were all minors, and the history of the Sultanate after 1537 is mostly one of puppet monarchies, factious and suspicious nobles plotting for power against one another and against the best interests of the state, with an endemic state of civil war.

The Ottoman Turks appeared briefly on the Gujarat scene at this stage, for their sultan sent a navy to attack the growing Portuguese threat; but Gujarat, fearing that a Turkish presence would be no more comfortable than a Portuguese one, did not cooperate with them, caused them to return by delivering them a fabricated letter, and negotiated a fragile peace treaty with the Portuguese; a wall was built separating the Portuguese fort at Diu from the (Muslim) town. Mahmud managed to break away from the constraint of two successive regents, and assumed personal rule in 1545. He turned his attention first to the Portuguese, establishing a fort at Surat and later attacking Diu with a large force; after initial Gujarat successes the Portuguese received reinforcements from Goa, and the Portuguese governor João de Castro "conquered like a Christian and triumphed like a heathen": all Muslim prisoners and inhabitants of the city were mercilessly butchered; a year later the Portuguese sacked and burned Bharoch and massacred the inhabitants.

Mahmud III was murdered in his palace in 1554, and a great-great-grandson of Ahmad I was installed as Ahmad III. A converted Hindu, I'timad Khan, was prominent as regent, probably the most able of the nobles. Almost the only incident of Ahmad III's reign other than civil strife and disaffection was the cession of the port of Daman to the Portuguese on the condition that they expelled the Habshi governor who neither paid taxes nor acknowledged the central government. The Portuguese prepared to attack him in 1559, but the Habshi garrison abandoned the fort without a battle. Several other members of the Habshi (meaning "Abyssinian"; but the name is given to all slaves or former slaves of African Negro blood) community rose to prominence at this time and further weakened the power of the government. Ahmad III was murdered in 1561, and a child of unknown parentage was set up as a puppet Muzaffar III; the kingdom continued to be divided up amongst the nobles, who were now rivalled not only by ambitious Habshis but also by bands of adventurers from the north, prominent among whom was the group generally known as the Mirzas—remote descendants of Timur, and hence sixth or seventh cousins of the new Mughal emperor, Akbar. Eventually I'timad Khan in desperation invited Akbar to take over Gujarat and put the Sultanate in order. By 1573 Gujarat had passed peacefully into Mughal hands.

The kingdom had obviously fallen into disarray some forty years previously, and it is clear, from the evidence of the early Mughal buildings, that Gujarat craftsmen, finding their opportunities of employment limited in their homeland, steadily migrated northwards to offer their services to the new and growing power which the Mughals represented. However, not all the Gujarat artisans departed, as excellent work was still being done under Mughal rule in Gujarat.

Gujarat under the Mughals

After Akbar had left Fatehpur Sikri in July 1572 and arrived in Patan early in November, he received the submission of the Gujarat nobles first there and later at Ahmadabad in what was more of a triumphal procession than a campaign. He went on to Cambay, when there was some attempt at rebellion in Ahmadabad on the part of a few nobles who were having second thoughts; but they were soon brought to submission. As he moved south, however, he encountered some resistance: his distant kinsmen, the refractory Mirzas, had made themselves masters of Surat, Baroda, Bharoch and Champaner during the last weak years of the Sultanate, and together with the rebellious Habshis formed a considerable opposition. They were defeated by the imperial Mughal forces at the battle of Sarnal in December 1572, followed by a long siege of Surat which ended in February the next year. The Mughal empire was thus in control of the Gujarat ports, and Akbar managed to establish good relations with the Portuguese; this was of course vital for the restoration of the commercial traffic, and for the protection of the increasing pilgrim traffic to the holy cities. Akbar returned to Fatehpur Sikri, and Gujarat became a province (subah) of the Mughal empire.

Gujarat under Mughal rule in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was largely peaceful. The province had a considerable commercial importance for the Mughals: in addition to that of the ports it had acquired, the region was famous for its silk weaving and, especially at Ahmadabad and Surat, the production of velvets; fine cotton cloth was produced at the coastal towns, Bharoch in particular contributing fine bleached calico; Sarkhej was the principal centre for indigo production in the Mughal empire; saltpetre was refined at Ahmadabad, and salt was prepared by evaporation in many districts bordering the Rann of Kutch.

Within three months of Akbar's departure the Mirzas again revolted, and with the rebel Habshis besieged the Mughal governor in Ahmadabad. Akbar returned to Gujarat in nine days by forced marches, and finally suppressed the Mirzas' revolt in the battle of Ahmadabad in September 1573. The finances of Gujarat had fallen into disorder in the last years of the Sultanate, and before returning north Akbar had made arrangements for a complete survey of the revenue, appointing the very able Raja Todar Mall as diwan of finance. As the imperial officer in charge of the province (variously called sipahsalar, nazim or subahdar, all of which we may translate as "viceroy"), Akbar first appointed his foster-brother Mirza 'Aziz Kokaltash, who was to undertake four viceregal periods. A minor outbreak of disturbances under one of the Mirzas four years later was put down by a Mughal expeditionary force stationed in Khandesh.

The last Gujarat sultan, Muzaffar III, had been taken prisoner by the Mughal forces on Akbar's first invasion. In 1578 he escaped, made his way back to Gujarat, and rose in rebellion in 1583, actually assuming the Sultanate for a period of about six months; one of his actions must make him forfeit all claims to sympathy, when the governor of Baroda, Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan, was taken prisoner and brutally murdered after having been promised a safe conduct to a peace conference. (This event, incidentally, provided the occasion for an interesting mausoleum over his grave at Baroda [Vadodara], much closer to the early Mughal style of Delhi than the indigenous Gujarat style). Muzaffar evaded all attempts at capture, and continued to offer resistance as a miserable fugitive for the next ten years until his suicide after his capture in 1593. He had been supported by the still independent rulers of Junagadh and Navanagar in Saurashtra, and it was not until after Muzaffar's capture that Junagadh was finally brought under Mughal rule.

Akbar's experiments towards a new syncretistic religion, his "Divine Faith", are well known and need not be detailed here. We might, however, mention that part of his progressive thinking arose from his discussions with a Parsi priest from Navsari, Mahyar, illustrious in Parsi history as Dastur Meherji Rana; he accompanied Akbar to his court at Agra, and secured distinction for himself and his community.

Muzaffar III's son Bahadur, taking advantage of the absence of many Mughal officers at the Deccan campaign, rose in rebellion in 1596; this was suppressed, but broke out again early in the seventeenth century, by which time Akbar had died and been succeeded by Jahangir. This new uprising was again suppressed by the imperial troops, and Bahadur in fact died of natural causes in 1614. Meanwhile the trade of the Portuguese on the Gujarat coast was being challenged first by the Dutch and then by the English. A company had been formed in London in 1600, "The Governor and Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies", and two early voyages were made, to Sumatra, Java and the Moluccas; the third voyage was given the brief of opening up English trade at Aden and Surat, and a vessel commanded by William Hawkins anchored at the mouth of the Tapti in August 1608; Hawkins reached Agra in April of the following year, and thus negotiations with the Mughals on behalf of what was to become the East India Company began. By 1613 a permanent English factory had been established at Surat. The Portuguese from Goa

tried all they could to prevent the new English trade; but the arrival in 1615 of a royal ambassador from King James I, in the person of Sir Thomas Roe, swung events in the English favour. (Students of Mughal painting will remember that it was through Jahangir's and Roe's common interest in this art that European standards and conventions of painting reached the Mughal court).

In 1609-10 Gujarat was troubled by invasions and a state of frontier warfare with Malik 'Ambar, the Habshi general of the Nizam Shahi rulers of Ahmadnagar, Deccan, which was not finally resolved until 1619 under a new viceroy, 'Abdullah Khan; the latter had been ordered, in 1616, by letters from Jahangir directing him to assist the English traders in a further factory set up at Ahmadabad. A year after Jahangir himself arrived in Gujarat, fascinated by his first sight of the tides of Cambay, later camping at the great Kankariya tank outside the walls of Ahmadabad before visiting the shrines and mosques of the city, faithfully described in his diary. A second visit, in the hot weather, was less successful, for Jahangir described the city as "gardabad", the abode of dust, and other less complimentary names. Prince Khurram, later to be the emperor Shah Jahan, had become viceroy, and he set about the building of palaces and a sumptuous garden, the Shahi Bagh, on the banks of the Sabarmati. But he rebelled against his father, and for years his activities took him away from the province.

When Jahangir died in 1627 Prince Khurram, then in the Deccan, moved north through Gujarat, his old province, to raise funds and adherents before going to claim the throne as Shah Jahan. Some dozen viceroys were appointed during the thirty years of Shah Jahan's reign, the most capable of whom, Azam Khan, 1636-42, was an enthusiastic builder whose great sarai next to the citadel of Ahmadabad still stands. His imposing fortress at Ranpur, a military outpost on the border of Mainland and Peninsular Gujarat, where he restored peace and order, is now largely ruined but still elegant and instructive.

Gujarat suffered a severe blow in 1630-32 with one of its most calamitous famines, the satyasio kal, "famine of 'eighty-seven"; this refers to the Vikram Samvat year 1687 (A.D. 1630-31), when the rains failed for the third year running, and when the rains returned in the following year they were of such intensity as to destroy all the crops and prolong the distress. Death rather than life was the rule, with cheap slavery, suicide and cannibalism all reported, and one traveller's journal records that for one hundred and seventy kos from Surat the land was one vast burial ground. The effects of this lasted for more than a decade before the lucrative crops of and trade in cotton and indigo recovered to restore prosperity to the province.

But the prosperity of Gujarat was to decline for a more insidious reason. Shah Jahan's later years were marked by a fratricidal war with his sons jockeying for power in the race to become heir apparent to the Mughal empire. Aurangzeb, who eventually became the emperor, 1658-1707, had himself held office as viceroy, when the heavy hand of bigotry, iconoclasm and intolerance had early been felt. These traits continued generally when he was emperor, and Gujarat gradually declined with the rest of the Mughal empire, its treasury almost exhausted through Aurangzeb's campaign against the Deccan. Perhaps its most successful and peaceful time was during the viceregency of Shuja'at Khan, 1685-1701, when the domestic administration was good and just, in spite of several taxing famines. Many old buildings were adequately repaired and conserved, and new gardens laid out; but Shuja'at Khan's own mosque in Ahmadabad, though sumptuous, shows the Gujarat Muslim style in its decline.

After 1707, the death of Aurangzeb, until 1758, the decline was sharper, with a collapse of the Mughal administrative system, civil strife, and invasions from the south. The Marathas gained a constantly increasing hold on the province, with the Gaekwad family becoming specially prominent so that they wielded more power than the Mughal subahdar; by 1725 they had started a reign of terror: villages and towns were plundered, and in the next ten years the Marathas had overrun almost all of the province. The surrender to them of Ahmadabad in 1758 marks the final collapse of Mughal power. Some tracts of land remained under the control of independent Muslim nobles, the nawabs of Bharoch, Cambay, Radhanpur and Surat, as well as the large district of Junagadh; but generally Maratha rule continued until Gujarat was ceded to the British by the Gaekwad in 1817.

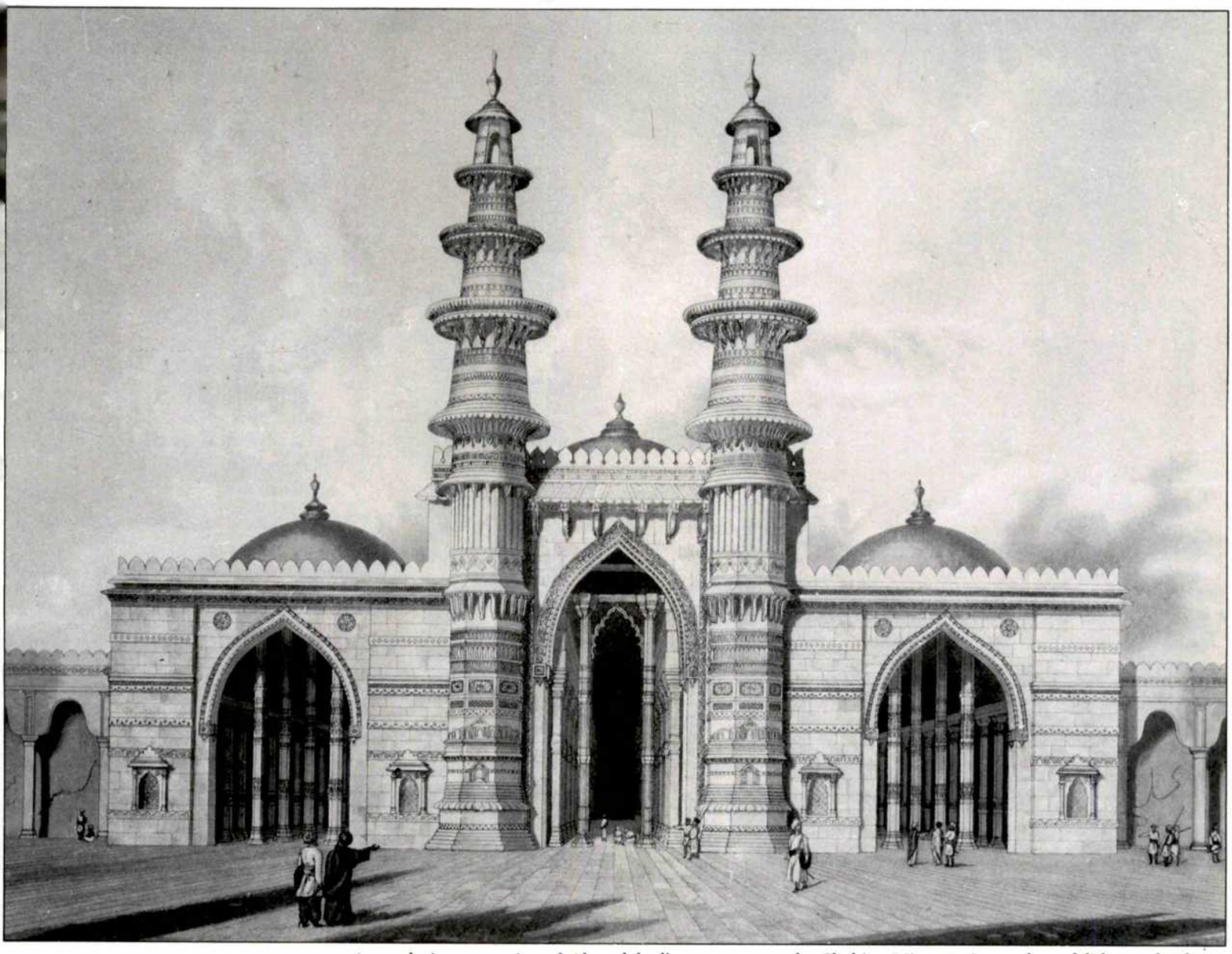
Further Reading

The above is based on the contributor's article "Gudjarat" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, 1965, to which the reader is referred for more technical details.

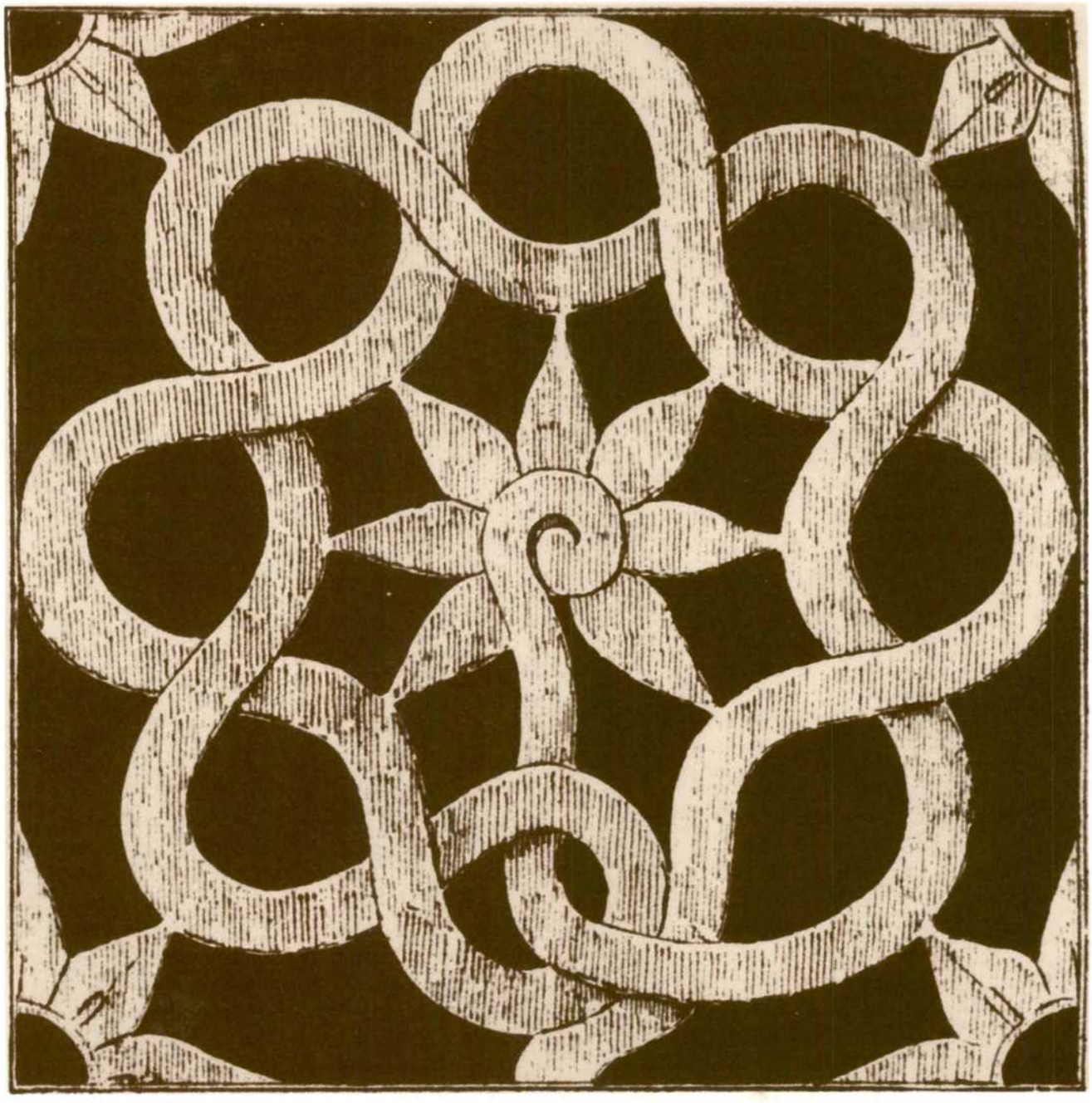
Gujarat under the Delhi Sultanate is well covered by the Persian chronicles of Barani, 'Isami and Amir Khusrau, of which good English translations exist. The Gujarat Sultanate is dealt with in detail in the Persian *Mir'at-i Sikandari*, but (Sir) E. C. Bayley's English translation of 1886 is unfortunately incomplete, inaccurate and unreliable. The foremost authority for the Mughal period is the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, whose Supplement is virtually a statistical gazetteer of Gujarat in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the Supplement is available in the English translation of Nawab Ali and C. N. Seddon, Baroda 1928.

Many accounts of the early European travellers (Duarte Barbosa; Pietro della Valle; Peter Mundy; Sir Thomas Roe; Ludovigo de Varthema; Albuquerque, and others) have been made available through editions and translations published by the Hakluyt Society, and offer fascinating early insights.

Of modern works: M. S. Commissariat's *History of Gujarat,* 1st vol. London 1938, 2nd vol. Bombay 1957, is a standard work, well documented and with much cultural information. A third volume has since appeared. S. C. Misra's *The rise of Muslim power in Gujarat,* London 1963, covers the Muslim history, brilliantly, up to 1442, and the same writer's *Muslim communities in Gujarat,* New York 1964, is valuable on the ethnological and social context; both these have extensive bibliographies. There is also much valuable information in the old *Bombay Gazetteer* and *Baroda State Gazetteer.*



An early interpretation of Ahmadabad's monuments: the Shaking Minarets in a coloured lithograph after a drawing by Captain Grindlay dated 1809. (Courtesy Phillips Antiques, Bombay).



Urban Context

R. N. Mehta and Rasesh Jamindar

Ahmadabad has had the good fortune to remain the capital of Gujarat from the fifteenth century to almost the present day with only occasional gaps. The growth of the city is examined here from the perspective of historical archaeology which considers the results of excavations from salvage archaeology in the light of epigraphy, literary references and toponyms.

Prehistory

Archaeological explorations in the Ahmadabad region have revealed the presence of Late Stone Age tools at various sites, including Vatva to the southeast. Though the expanding city has destroyed a good part of the prehistoric landscape, including numerous archaeological sites, the study of bones and tools found at similar sites indicates that cattle breeding was practised in the Ahmadabad area by people of the Stone Age as they moved in search of good pastures. The shallow lakes at the base of the sand dunes at Thaltej on the west bank of the Sabarmati suggest that this was one suitable prehistoric pastoral camp site. Similarly situated camp sites elsewhere indicate that these Stone Age cattle breeders preferred higher areas; shepherds tending goats and sheep still tend to avoid low and humid places for their animals. Elevated sites overlooking the landscape may have been additional vantage points for these first occupants of the region. According to our chronological studies, these Stone Age settlements date back to before the second millennium B.C. The problems of the disappearance of this culture are not yet fully understood.

Ashaval

The next stage in the habitation of the Ahmadabad region is indicated by finds on the eastern bank of the Sabarmati. Relics are scattered in several spots, including Sarangpur, Raipur, Raikhad, Bhadra and Saptarshi Ara. According to the available evidence, it appears that the earliest habitation was known as Ashaval. This town was about two days journey from Cambay (Khambhat) according to the eleventh-century Persian historian Al-Biruni. In the eighteenth-century history of the city, the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi,* the temple of Ramnath is supposed to have existed before the establishment of Ahmadabad. Our examination of the Ramnath shrine in Devnisheri in Mandvi-ni Pol near Manek Chowk indicates that this shrine was already in worship from about the tenth century. This temple is related to two other Natha temples, Maneknath and Kamnath, which mark points north and south of the Ramnath shrine (in Manek Chowk area, and south of Raipur Darwaza, respectively). The present Kamnath temple dates only from the Maratha period; however, archaeological relics in the compound are much older. They include eleventh-twelfth century sculptures of a two-armed Surya figure and a fragmentary Navagraha panel. When these sculptures are correlated with similar relics at Dhalh-ni Pol in Raipur, Sarangpur and other sites, it is clear that the area delimited by Sarangpur on the east, Ramnath on the west, Kamnath on the south, and Maneknath on the north may define the ancient extent of Ashaval. We assume that it is within this area that the main population of the city was concentrated.

Our inference about the location and size of Ashaval is supported by a reference to Pinchumandarka Tirtha (now near the Panchanath Mahadeva temple southeast of Ellis Bridge) noted in the *Padma Purana.* In the area of present-day Bhadra, several stone images of Surya have been recovered from the northeastern bastion of Gaekwad's Haveli, and the Panchanath Mahadeva temple. These images testify to the historical validity of the references in the *Padma Purana.* They also suggest that Surya was worshipped at Ashaval from the eighth century onwards. Further sculptures ranging up to the thirteenth century have also been discovered in other parts of the city.

Al-Biruni and several twelfth-century Jain writers refer to the activities of Ashaval which was evidently a well-known and prosperous city during the fourteenth-century Tughluq period. It was at Ashaval that the independence of the Gujarat Sultanate was proclaimed in 1403 by Tatar Khan.

Karnavati

According to Merutungacharya, a fourteenth-century Jain writer, Karnadeva, the Solanki ruler of Anahilvada-Patan, conquered Ashaval and built another capital nearby which was named after him, Karnavati. While this particular reference seems to be a later insertion into Merutungacharya's text, it does preserve the local historical tradition about the growth of Ahmadabad. According to

this tradition, another settlement was established near Ashaval by Karnadeva in the later part of the eleventh century. This reference does not indicate the precise location of the new town, but several possibilities may be postulated: Karnavati may have coincided with Ashaval; the two cities may have been adjacent; or, Karnavati may have been located at another site which we identify with the area south of Calico Mills in Behrampur. (In the seventeenth century, during the Mughal period, a new suburb was laid out in the south of the city, also named Ashaval; there is, however, no connection between the two Ashavals other than the coincidence of their names, possibly intended to continue the tradition).

An interesting stone inscription mentioning Karnavati and Stambhatirtha was obtained from Saptarshi Ara, an elevated site on the south side of the city overlooking the Sabarmati. Our archaeological investigation of this area has revealed relics dating back to the twelfth-century Solanki period. Here there is a small Shiva temple with a broken linga of black stone similar to that on which the epigraph mentioned above is inscribed. This suggests that the inscription may indeed refer to the Saptarshi Ara site. Other architectural fragments going back to the Solanki period are strewn all around. We note that Stambhatirtha, a name by which this area is generally known, is a toponym found at other elevated sites elsewhere in the region. The thirteenth-century Sanskrit drama *Hamirmadmardana* suggests that Karnavati was situated on the Sabarmati, thus confirming our archaeological findings. The extent of the ancient settlement eastwards can be traced to Behrampur, where a fine eleventh-century Hanuman image has been discovered. Other old carvings were also found in the Ganganath Mahadeva complex in Behrampur, and also at Chandola.

Karnavati was short-lived, since its existence as a military outpost against the rulers of southern Gujarat, at whose hands Karnadeva eventually suffered defeat, became unnecessary in the succeeding period. While these changed circumstances meant the decline of Karnavati, Ashaval continued to flourish.

Establishment of Ahmadabad

After Ahmad Shah's succession to the throne of the new Sultanate he abandoned the old capital of Anahilvada-Patan, where he evidently felt increasingly unsafe. Since he had supporters at Ashaval, Ahmad shifted his new capital there, and rapidly developed a new royal residential settlement. As it was the practice at this time to call capitals after their royal founders, Ahmadabad was adopted as the city's name. The site chosen for the new palace was the elevated plain of Bhadra on the east bank of the Sabarmati. Originally this had nalas (streamlets) running down to the river on the north and south sides, and uneven land to the east. Original portions of the stone fort erected by Ahmad Shah are still to be seen as a north-south wall between Manek Burj on the south and Nehru Bridge on the north; the Tin Darwaza was probably the easternmost extent. The delimited area is about five hundred metres by eight hundred metres, almost the same size as the earlier royal centre at Anahilvada-Patan.

Bhadra was a rectangular zone, with open ground on the east, and a palace complex with a royal mosque on the west. The mosque and parts of the fort wall along the Sabarmati seem to be original foundations; the Tin Darwaza's stonework, for example, is typical of fifteenth-century construction. Most of the other parts of Bhadra have undergone considerable change; the other original monuments are either destroyed or buried to a depth of about two and a half metres.

Around the Bhadra enclosure were scattered other settlements, such as that with Haibat Khan's mosque as its focus, a short distance to the south. Other than the older settlement of Ashaval, suburbs such as Bhanderipur were already in existence. Outside Tin Darwaza the most important area was that of Manek Chowk which included the Jami' Masjid. This became the nucleus of the new market that developed towards the north and east, eventually engulfing older Ashaval. The royal cemetery of Ahmad Shah and his successors was immediately to the east of the Jami' Masjid.

Growth of the City

As first laid out, Ahmadabad extended up to the Jami' Masjid and present-day Ratan Pol to the northeast. Hathi Khana, the royal elephant stables, located in the busy area of Ratan Pol, was an important landmark in this zone, which was on the outskirts of the city. The Golwad, or workers' quarters, was also located here. To the east was Dhikva; the word "dhik" comes from "dhenk", which signifies a system of drawing water for the small gardens cultivated by the Vagharis.

The planning of the royal enclosures, the Jami' Masjid and the markets between Manek Chowk and Tin Darwaza was a significant achievement of the first Sultanate rulers. Since the city

was essentially developed as a royal capital, its nucleus was the palace. Around this settled various merchants, especially dealers in arms and manufacturers of luxury goods. Beyond this inner commercial ring was another zone of markets around the Jami' Masjid. Toponyms like Dhalgarwada, Salapasa Road, Patwasheri and Danapith, which are still common in this area, indicate the original commercial occupation of the inhabitants.

Once Ahmadabad was firmly established as the Sultanate capital, numerous amirs settled in the neighbourhood. These noblemen generally preferred to live beyond the confines of the city where, at a safe distance, they could develop their own suburban settlements. These settlements were known as Puras; but they were also called after their noble founders. Sometimes they were known with the suffix "ganj", such as Nurganj and Muradganj. Abu'l Fazl noted that Ahmadabad was: "a noble city in a high stage of prosperity situated on the bank of the Sabarmati . . . . It has two forts outside of which are 360 quarters of a special kind which they call Pura, in which all the requisites of a city are to be found."

In later times, the writer of *Mir'at-i Ahmadi* quotes an earlier Persian work, *Tazkirat-ul Mulka,* which describes Usmanpura on the west bank of the Sabarmati. Here there were "at least one thousand shops, and in all of these were traders, artisans, craftsmen, government servants and military people, both Hindu and Muslim, until quarrels and mismanagement ruined them. The present author has observed these puras in flourishing condition, and stately buildings in them, but now they are in ruins, perhaps they will be soon forgotten, save for a few mosques and gates."

The combined evidence of these different writers indicates that Ahmadabad's Puras were independent settlements that grew up around the royal centre, with their own dynamics of growth, decay and regeneration. In this respect their urban character was that of independent "satellites". To further investigate the history of these Puras we need to examine their surviving mosques, tombs, gates and step-wells. Our toponymical analysis of the names of these Puras reveals the existence of one hundred and forty-three such settlements in the Ahmadabad region.

A further source of information are the Jain temples described by Lalitsagar, an early seventeenth-century writer. This authority suggests that areas such as Kalupur and Sarangpur were at the time also considered suburbs of the city.

The Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

The most important public work in Ahmadabad in the middle of the fifteenth century was the great tank at Kankariya laid out by Qutubuddin. This was built by constructing a dam wall across a natural monsoon stream; upon this dam the later Armenian tombs and the present-day Kankariya gardens were laid out. The stream supplied water to the great polygonal tank which marked the southernmost limit of the capital at this time.

While the growth of Ahmadabad during this period is not well known, we infer that the absorption of parts of older Ashaval was achieved on the east and south, and that the city had expanded in other directions on the north. Beyond this, Bhanderipur formed a distinct suburb in the east.

The reign of Mahmud Begra (1458-1511) was important for the development of the city. Suburbs such as Sarangpur, Kalupur, Dariyapur on the east, and possibly also Shahpur on the north, developed around the original urban nucleus; Tranlimdi separated Kalupur from the main town. These Puras were mainly developed by the amirs of Mahmud and those of his son, Muzaffur II; other Puras were also laid out further away. Our analysis of place names suggests that by the beginning of the sixteenth century, the extent of Ahmadabad was marked by Bhanderipur, and partly by Sarangpur and Kalupur. By the mid-1520s the area within the semi-circle of the fortification walls was fully occupied by a dense population. The period after about 1535 was not conducive to growth due to political instability.

As to the construction of the city walls, there are several interpretations: the first postulates that they were the work of Ahmad Shah; the second, that they were built by Mahmud Begra. A local Bhavai folk drama, *Lalji Maniar No Vesa,* dating from about the eighteenth century, presents yet a third interpretation, that the walls were laid out after the attack on the city, possibly in 1582. Our archaeological investigation and examination of the fort wall itself confirm the information given in the drama. It is now clear to the writers that only after the siege of Ahmadabad, and the reconquest of the city by Akbar's armies, was the outer line of the city fort constructed. It is interesting to note that according to this view, the walls were erected by the Mughal conqueror to protect himself against the defeated, but still threatening, local authorities.

The fortifications firmly delimited the peripheries of the main city, and from this time onwards the urban pattern was firmly established. The nucleus of the city continued to be Bhadra and

Manek Chowk, which constituted the twin political and commercial centres of the capital. The growth of Ahmadabad from its initial rectangular enclosure into its distinctive semi-circular shape known as Dhanukudil, "curved like a bow", is a phenomenon known also in other cities, such as Surat.

As a result of the fortifications, the road system developed rapidly; this is revealed by the Khanjehan, Raikhad, Ganesh Bari and Khanpur Darwazas which lead down towards the Sabarmati. The Delhi and Jamalpur Darwazas indicate the major north-south axis; the Mudia, Raipur, Shahpur and Dariyapur Darwazas formed a subsidiary network; the Kalupur, Sarangpur and Astodia Darwazas opened to the east. While the city grew by stages, and was never a planned effort at any single moment, the different Puras and internal areas continued to develop independently.

The Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

During this period of relative political stability, the fortified town experienced a growth in prosperity. Bhadra was extensively repaired, and its fortifications were renovated. The modern gate and the alignments on the south, east and north were altered, and that on the south side was repaired. Manek Burj had a new use as a head-water for the water channels for Azam Khan's Caravanserai and possibly the Karanj. Gardens and hamams were laid out here, while new buildings were erected elsewhere in the city.

One of the outstanding monuments of Jehangir's period was a palace constructed in 1618 in Shahibagh as famine relief work; another structure dating from 1637 is the sarai of Azam Khan in Bhadra. Our toponymical investigation has revealed that present-day Khadia became Akbarpura; this name survived up to the nineteenth century, but is now little known. Although Ahmadabad remained merely a provincial town under the Mughals, it was well maintained. European travellers of the period, such as Sir Thomas Roe and Thevenot, were impressed by the size and arrangement of its facilities.

The next century, however, witnessed a decline due to the weakening of Mughal authority, and many of the suburbs and even parts of the inner city were abandoned and ruined, as noted by the writer of the *Mir'at-i Ahmadi.* The Maratha conquest of Ahmadabad in 1757 marks the beginning of the Gaekwad-Peshwa era. These rulers did not contribute to the expansion of the city as did their Mughal predecessors; they followed their own policy of erecting temples and housing themselves and their retinues in Bhadra. They converted older buildings to new uses, and repaired some earlier religious structures. The Hajira-ni and Hamam-ni Pols, both in Khadia, and other localities in the walled city were developed at this time.

The Modern Era

In 1817 the Marathas were ousted from Ahmadabad by the British. With its basic goal of economic exploitation, the East India Company developed the city into the military and administrative centre of the region. Bhadra was transformed, and structures were also altered; several churches were erected. The most substantial contribution of the British was the establishment in 1830 of the military headquarters northeast of the city. The cantonment was located on the fringe of Asarva. In 1861 the railway was laid near Kalupur as a development of transport facilities.

The immediate effect on the city was the opening up of roads leading to the railway station. For this purpose, the Prem and Panchkuva Darwazas were created by piercing the fortification walls (in 1864 and 1871, respectively). The development of railway offices, staff quarters and other facilities in this zone dates also from this period. The next important effect on traffic was the concentration of wholesale markets near the station. The growth of mechanized industries and workers' quarters in the eastern suburbs transformed this area into an industrial zone. The first textile mill was established in 1861; many more appeared soon after.

Other changes in the city took place on the western bank of the Sabarmati. The building of the wooden bridge, later replaced by the Ellis Bridge after 1875, encouraged a steady flow of traffic westwards. Residential developments and educational institutions, in particular, were established in this area.

After the First World War, there was an acceleration of suburban development in Ahmadabad. The old walls were mostly pulled down after 1922, and thereafter the city was no longer constrained in its outward growth. After Independence, industrial and residential growth has increased phenomenally. The construction of multi-storeyed apartments and high-rise office

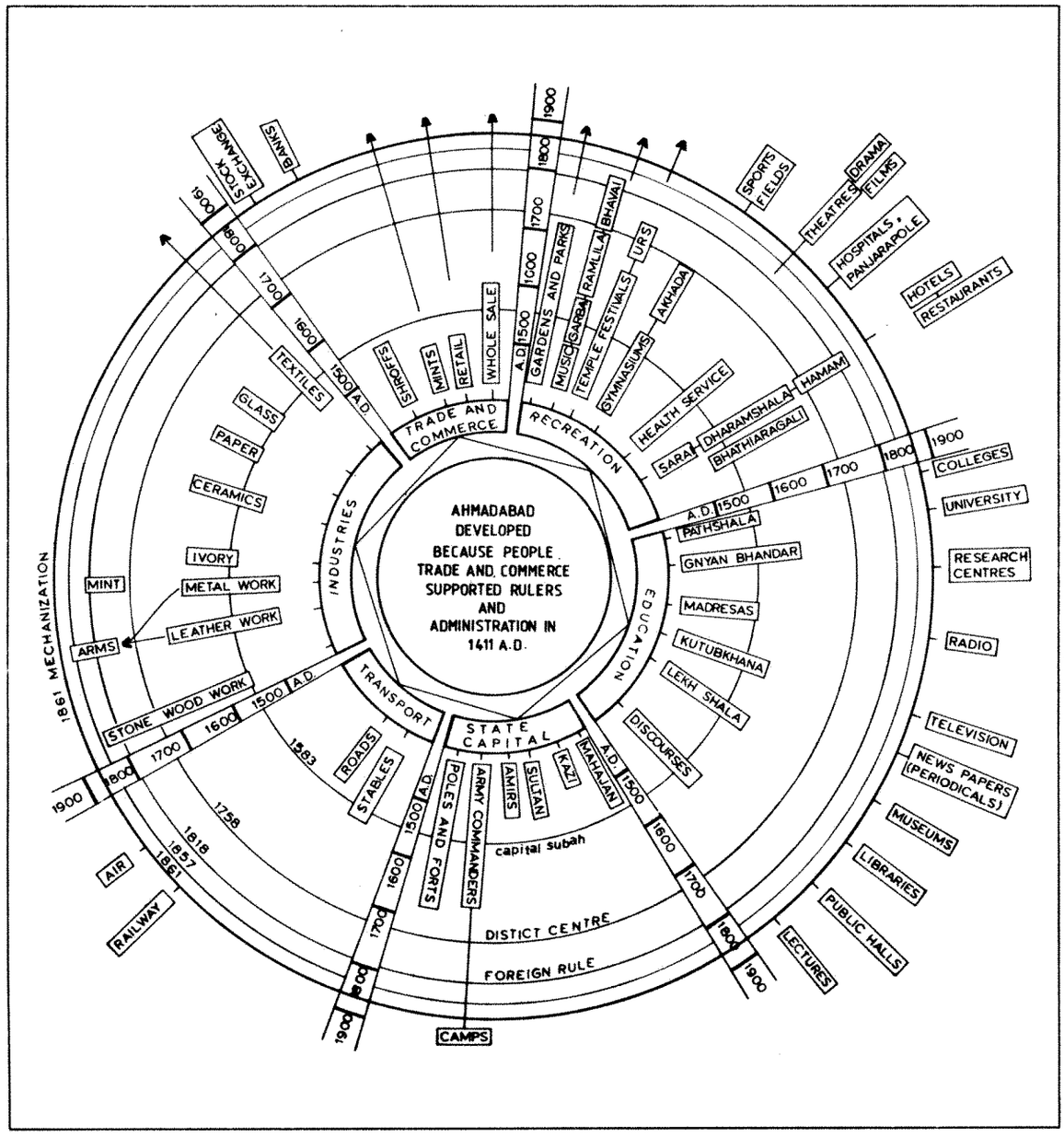
buildings in concrete, brick, steel and glass has now dramatically changed the skyline. Such large-scale activity is accompanied by increasing clusters of dense slums in low-lying and open areas. At the present moment Ahmadabad is expanding rapidly as it once did in the fifteenth century, but with the difference that overcrowding and uncontrolled growth has created serious problems of environmental pollution. It is to be hoped that future planning will recognize the historical importance of the city and the legacy that still survives in the form of traditional residential quarters as well as the monuments themselves.

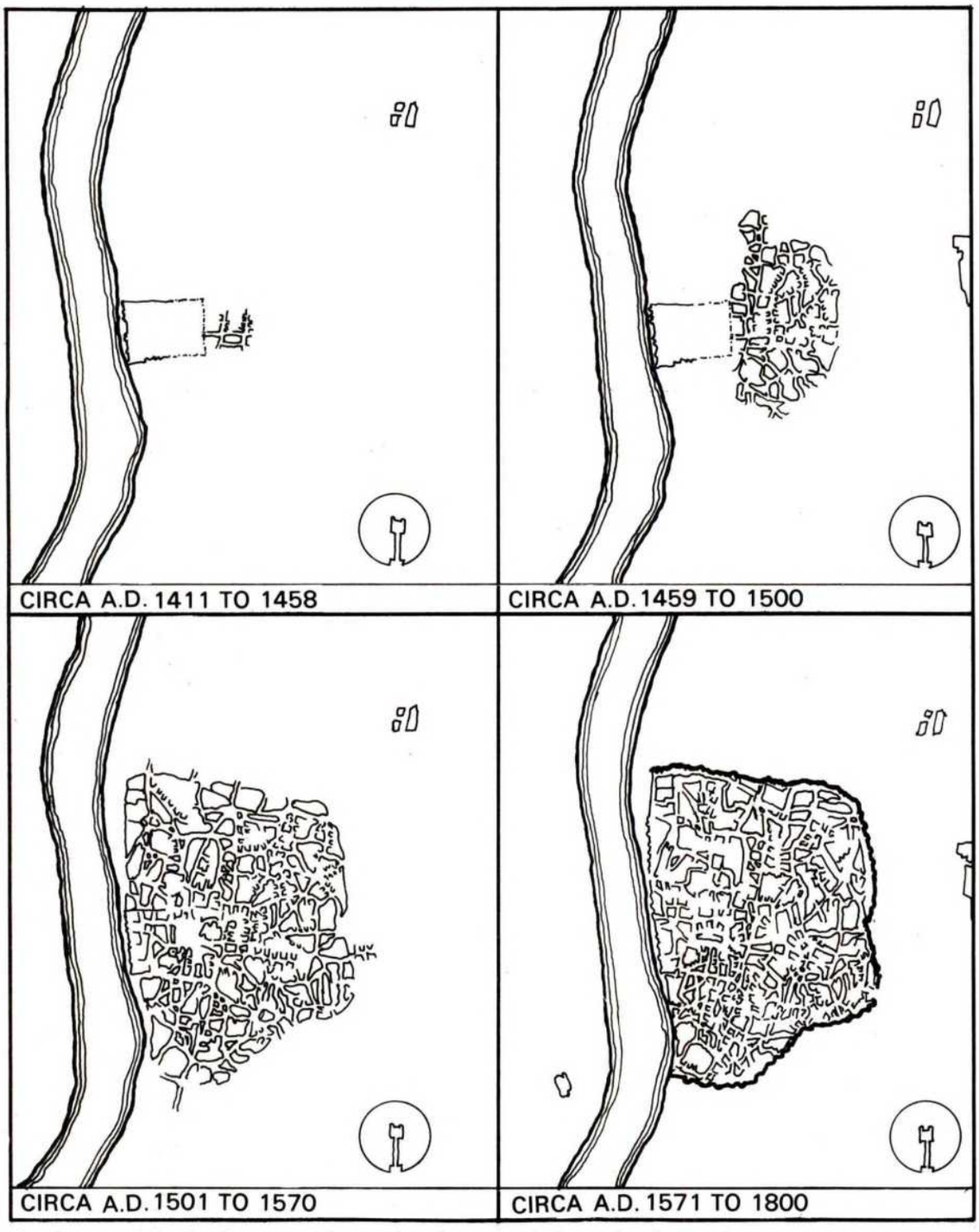
Note
Our chapter summarizes some of the results of a larger study on Ahmadabad that is being carried out by the Gujarat Vidyapith under the direction of the writers who would like to acknowledge the sponsorship of the University Grants Commission.

Further Reading
The traditional history of Ahmadabad is given in the *Bombay Gazetteer, Ahmedabad,* ch. 14, as well as in M. S. Commissariat, *History of Gujarat,* vol. 2, Bombay 1957, and the *Census of India, Gujarat, 1961,* vol. 5, parts VII (2) and X (A). Among the Sanskrit works that refer to Ahmadabad are *Hamirmadmardana, Mudrit Kumuchandra Prakarana, Prabhavakcharita* and *Prabhandchintamani.* The principal Persian writers on the city are Al-Biruni, Al-Idrisi, Abu'l Fazl and Mirza Mohamad Ali. Of the European travellers who visited Ahmadabad after 1618, and who described the city, are Sir Thomas Roe, William Finch, Thevenot, Thomas Aldworth and Mandelsoe.

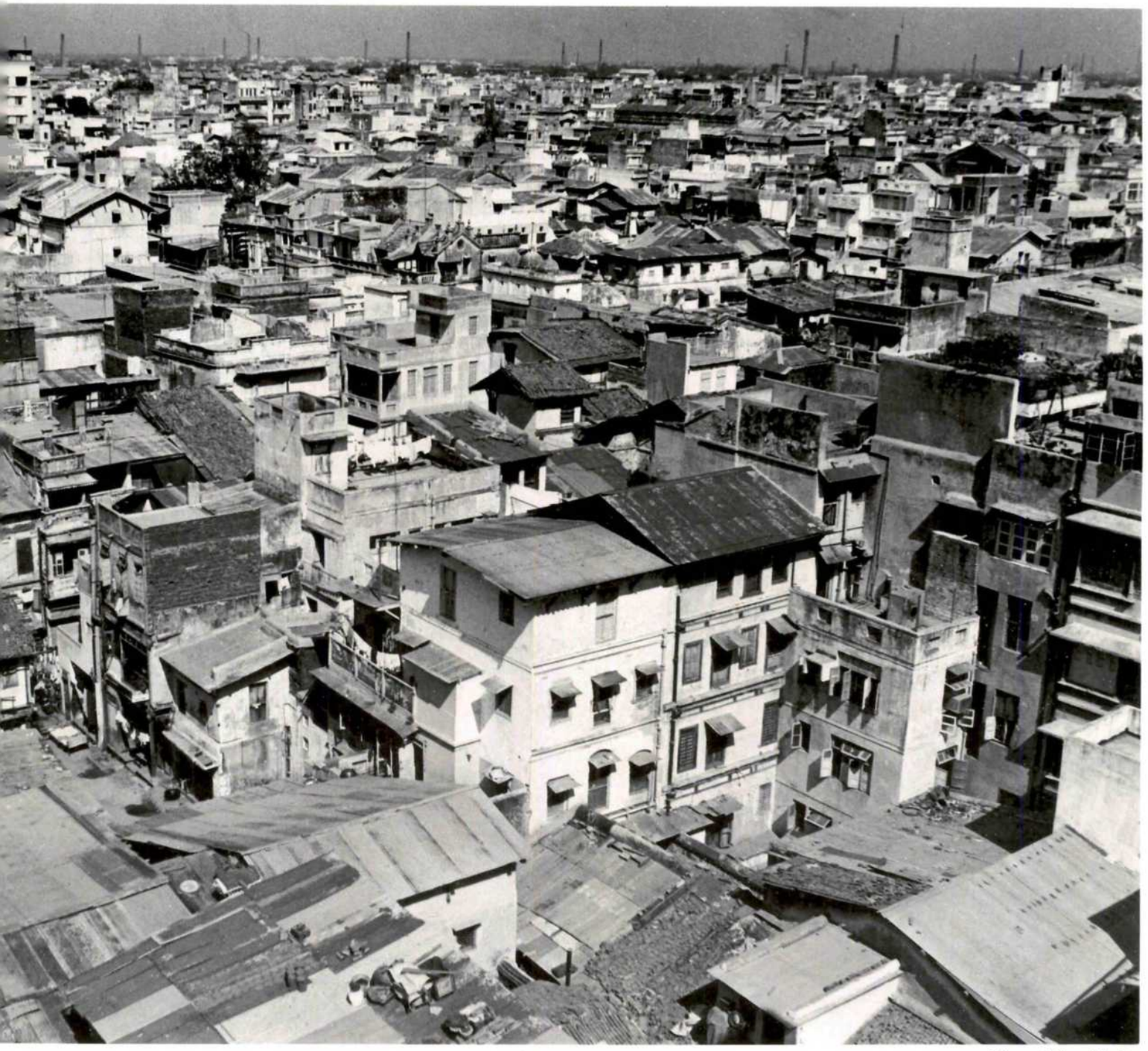
Two manuscripts on the toponyms and the archaeology of the city have been completed by the writers; further work is in progress. Among the published articles by the writers are: R. N. Mehta, "Ahmedabad: a topographical, toponymical and archaeological perspective", in *Archaeology and History: Essays in the memory of A. Ghose,* eds. B. M. Pandey and B. D. Chakravarti, vol. 1, New Delhi, Agam, 1987, and "Excavations at Ahmedabad", *Journal of the M. S. University,* 1977, and R. N. Mehta and R. Jamindar, "Chronology of Uttarakhanda of Padma Purana", in *Rtambhara: Studies in Indology,* ed. K. C. Verma, 1986, and "The Padma Purana and Ahmedabad", *Purana,* XXVII/2, July 1985.

Growth of the city.





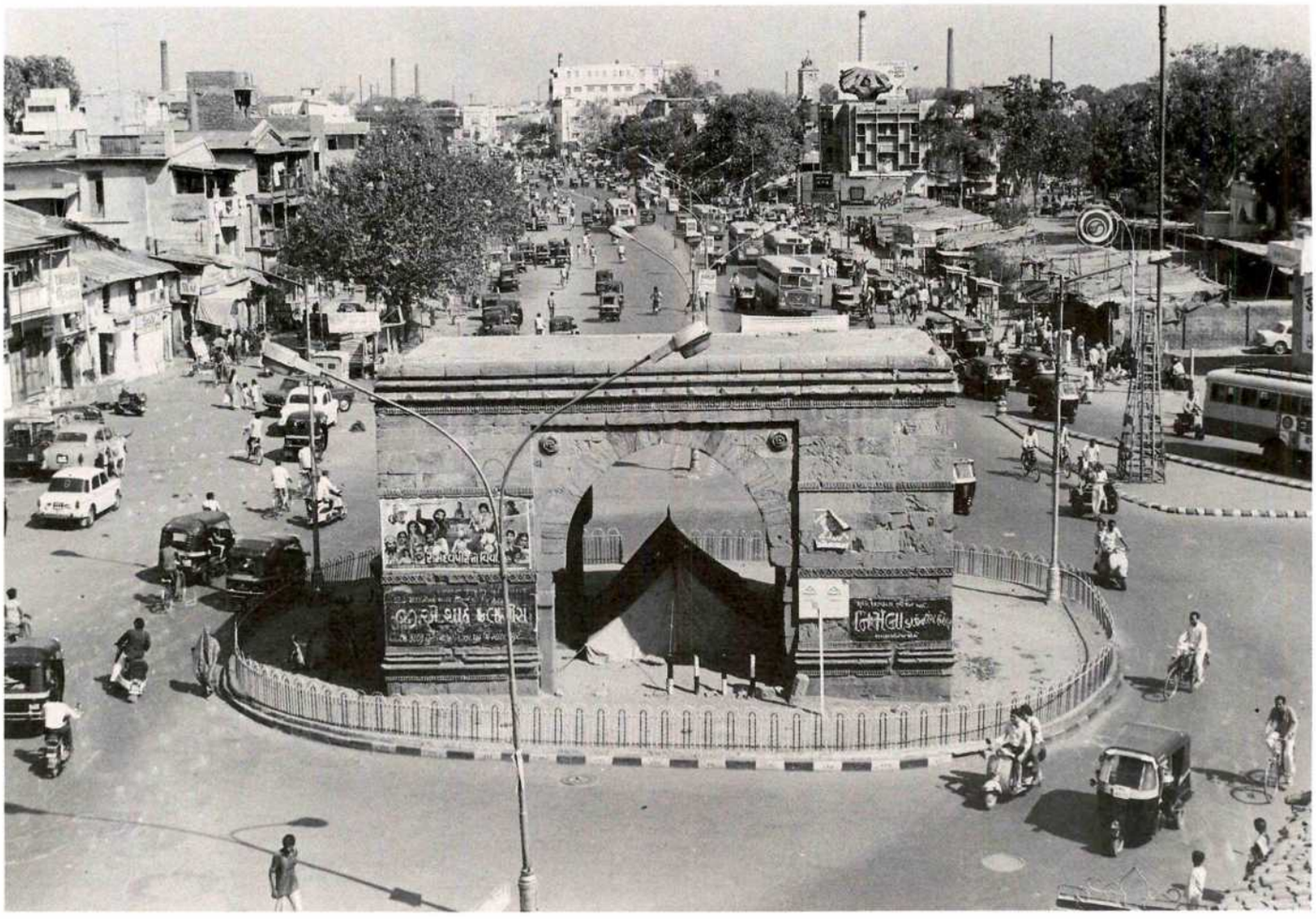
Sketch maps of the development of the city based on topography, archaeology and toponymy.

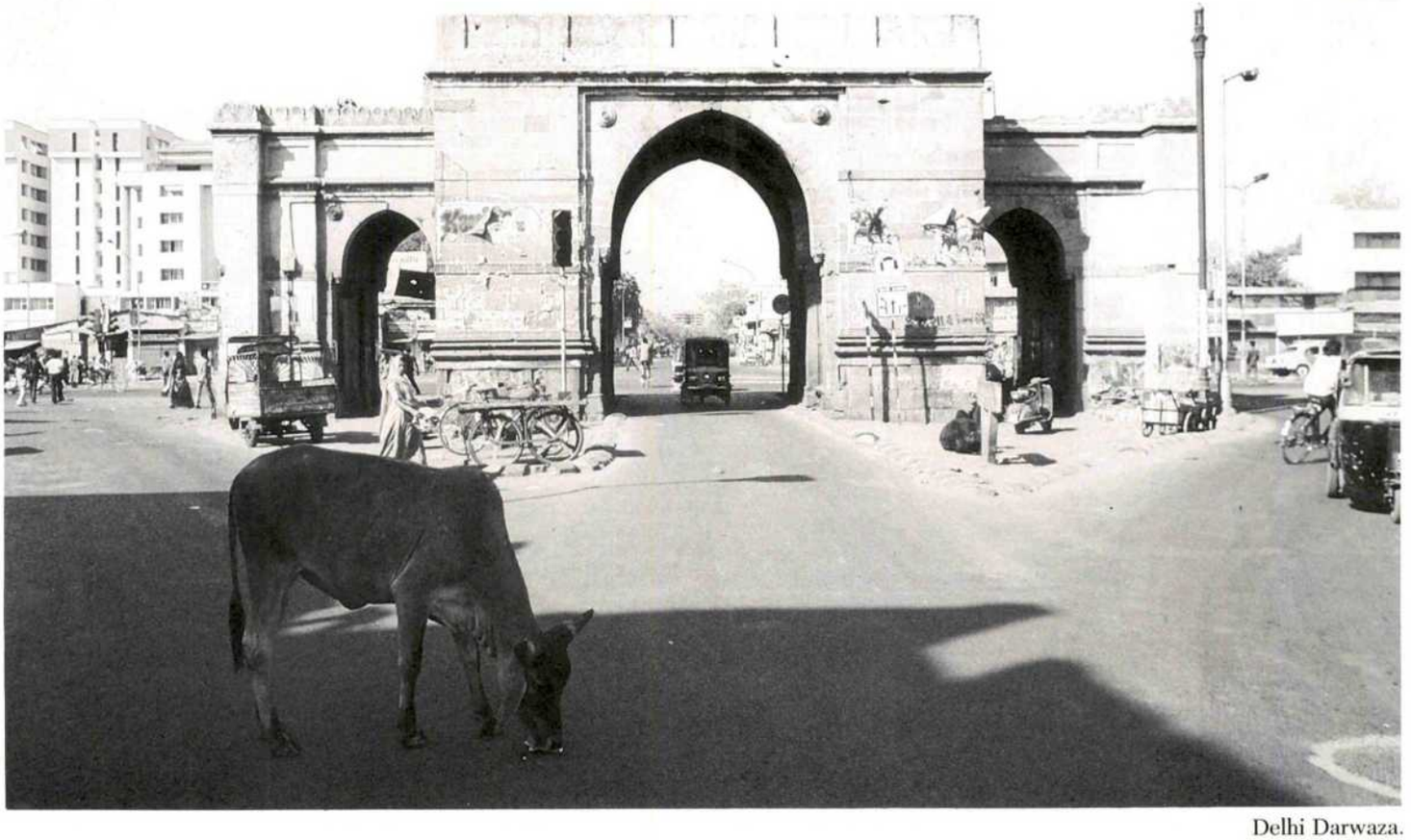


View of the old city.

Bhadra fort, view of the gate.

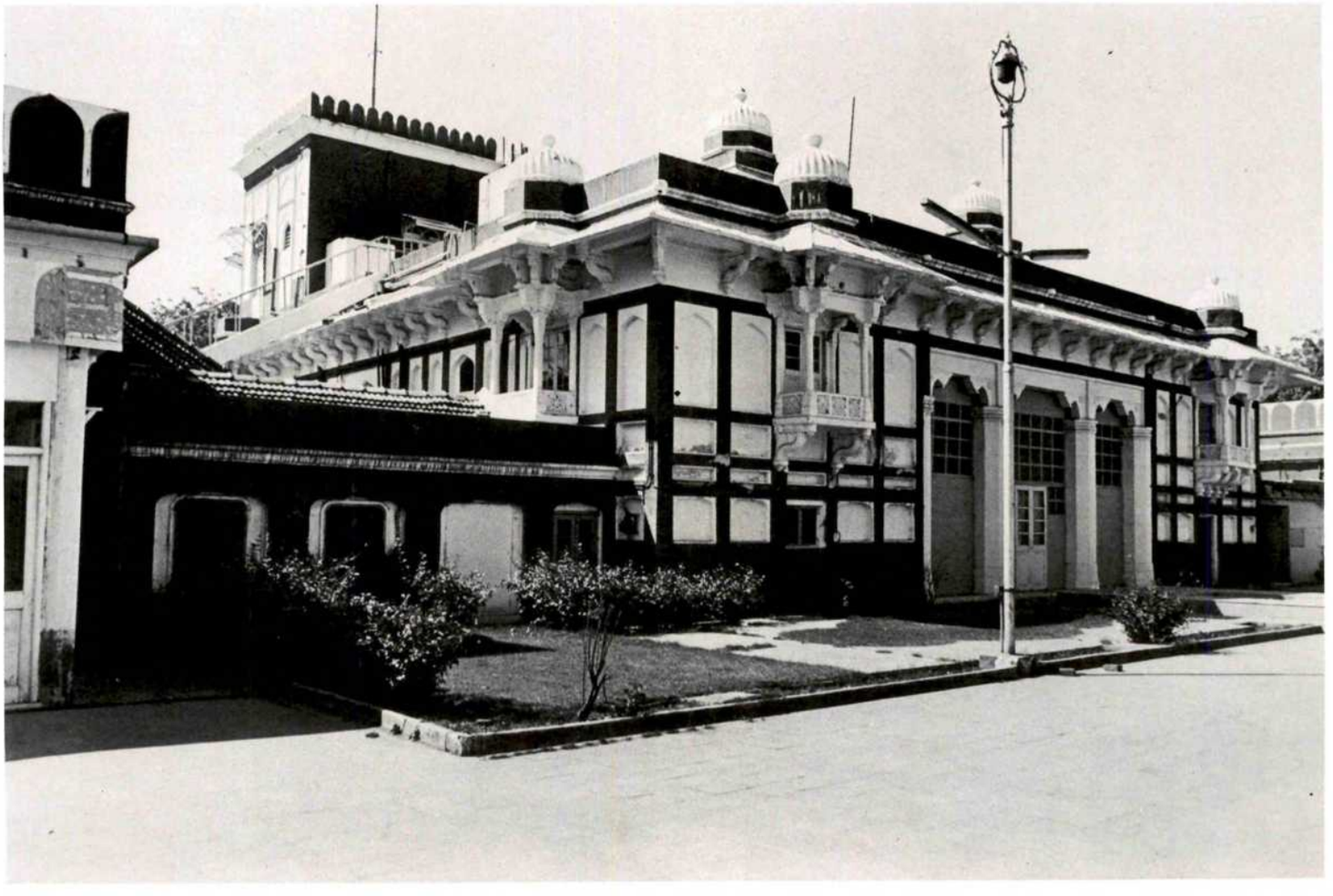
Astodia Darwaza.





Delhi Darwaza.

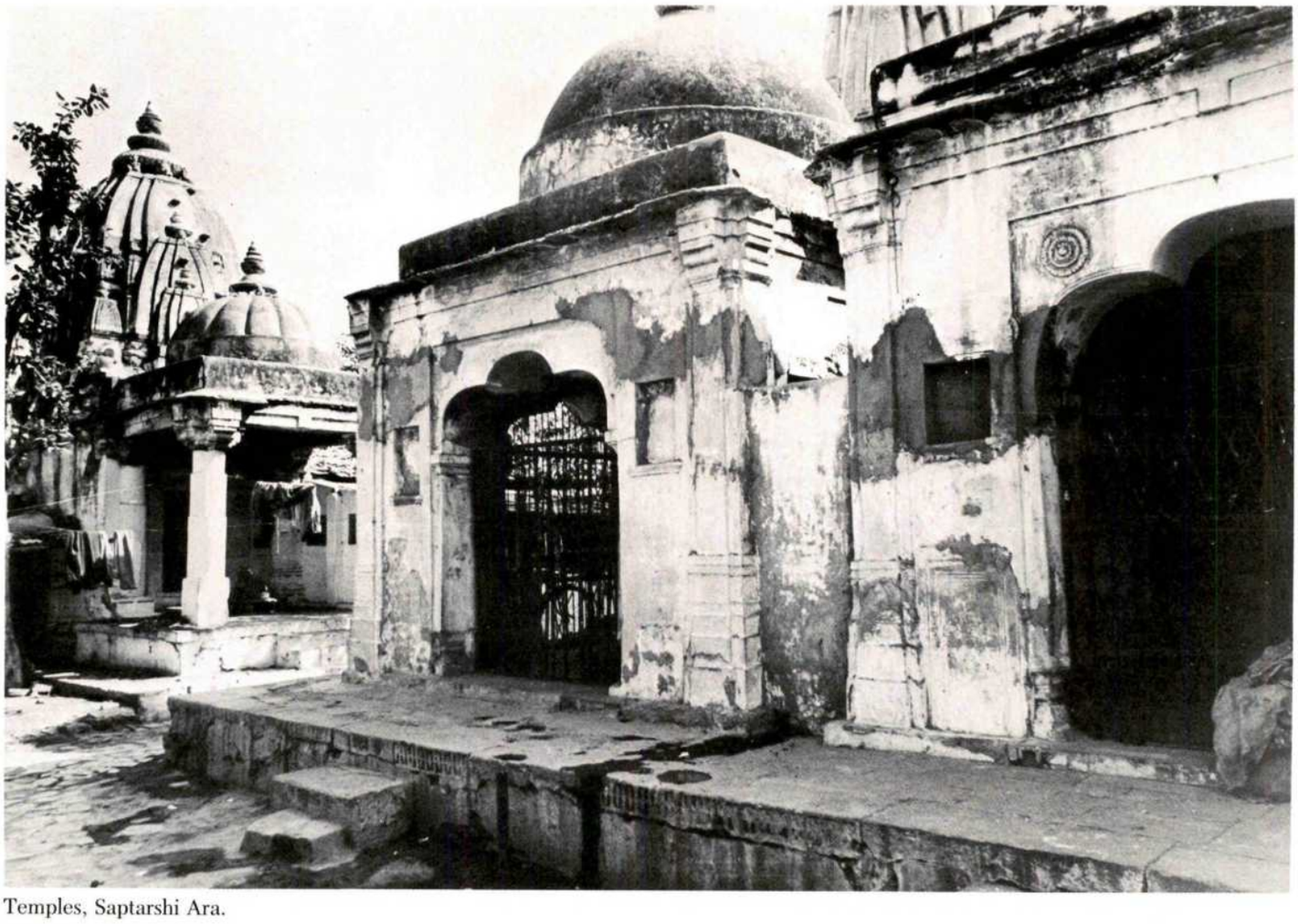
Shahibagh, 1618.



Shahibagh, view of a wall near the Sabarmati.

Shahibagh, Bhimnath Ghat on the Sabarmati.

View of a pol.

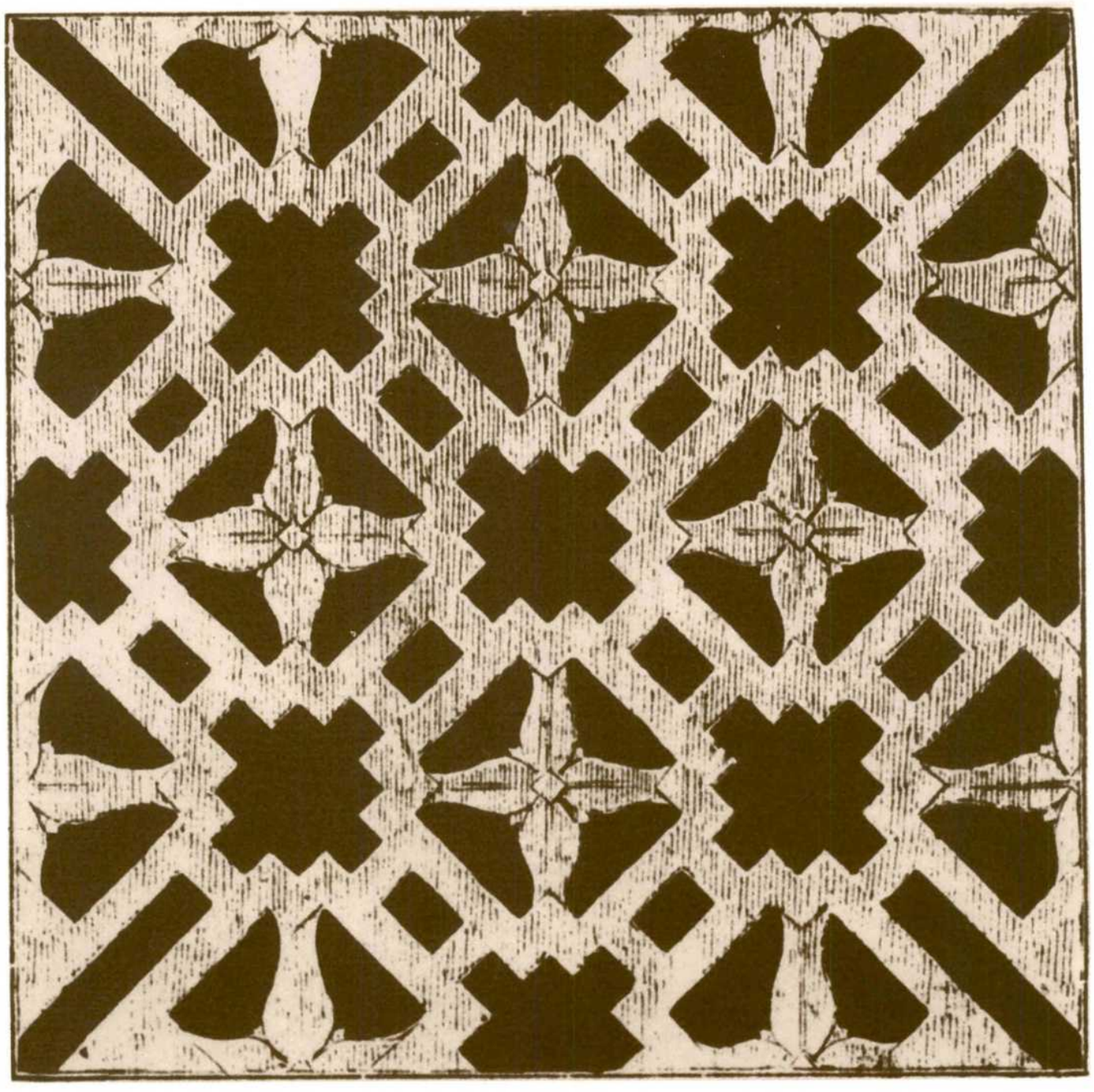


Temples, Saptarshi Ara.

Interior of a temple, Saptarshi Ara.

Shrines, Saptarshi Ara.

Swaminarayan temple, Kalupur.



Mosques and Tombs

John Burton-Page

Ahmadabad, once the capital and still the premier city of Gujarat, is an old walled town standing on the east bank of the Sabarmati river, which has throughout the centuries enjoyed the reputation of being one of the fairest cities in the whole of India. The advent of industrialization, with mill and factory chimneys belching smoke, the streets filled with motor transport of every description, and urban sprawl and overcrowding resulting from the recent population explosion, have somewhat diminished Ahmadabad's glories; but most of its loveliness is still to be found, and it has been sadly unappreciated by most modern travellers.

Ahmad Shah founded his new capital to the north of the old Hindu settlement of Ashaval. The new city, which replaced Anahilvada-Patan as the capital, covered an area of about five hundred hectares. The enclosure walls, some five to six metres tall, had originally fourteen gates, and were defended by towers and bastions every fifty metres or so; but an eighteenth-century source ascribes these to the time of Mahmud Begra, giving a chronogram, saying that specified parts were the responsibility of separate nobles. The walls are even described as being of Mughal date, since their internal construction is of red brick, but this is not referred to in the Mughal sources. None of this, of course, precludes the possibility of there having been an earlier mud or mud-brick wall.

On the west the city was defended by a wall following the almost straight line of the river bank. A temple to the goddess Bhadrakali in pre-Muslim times has now utterly disappeared except for the reflection of its name in the Bhadra, or Bhadra Qil'a, the internal fort which constitutes the citadel, a square enclosure originally housing the royal palaces, and separated from the Maidan-i Shah (royal grounds) to its east by a double gateway, of which the inner member stands imposingly between two enormous (later) circular bastions. (Excavations in recent times have revealed many fragments of Jain and Hindu temples in the citadel area. There is now a comparatively modern Bhadrakali temple, within the area of Azam Khan's caravanserai of 1637).

The Legacy of Islamic Building before Ahmad Shah

Before we proceed to consider the mosques and tombs which are the glory of Ahmadabad we must recapitulate the principles of the growth of the Gujarati Islamic style. As we have seen in the Historical Context, Islam had been implanted in Gujarat well over a century before the political rule of the Delhi Sultanate was shaken off and Ahmad Shah's Sultanate came into being, with mosques established from the beginning, and the form of the mosque which had already evolved in Gujarat was there as an exemplar for Ahmad Shah and his successors. The earliest mosques in Gujarat, to be sure, were mere improvisations arranged into a mosque form from pillaged temple material, as has happened all over India in the initial phase of an Islamic conquest, and were exemplified in the large but for some time ruinous Adina mosque at the old capital, Patan. The Tanka mosque at Dholka, 1362, with its haphazard pillars from which human forms have been effaced, offers an extant example. Two further mosques will suffice to illustrate the development of the style, the Jami' mosques of Bharoch (1322) and Cambay (Khambat) (1325). The former is entirely in the indigenous trabeate (beam-and-bracket, pillar-and-lintel) style, with an open prayer hall, its roof supported by richly carved pillars derived directly from the wealth of Hindu and Jain temple architecture. The exterior is comparatively plain, the outer walls being ornamented with nothing more than modest stringcourses, and a series of carved buttresses which indicates the presence inside of mihrabs; the only concession to traditional Islamic forms appears in the three large soaring domes which, with many smaller ones, dominate the skyline. The interior of the roof, though, shows the ornate cusped patterns and square coffered ceilings characteristic of the temple style, which were indeed probably temple spoil adapted to the purposes of the mosque. The Cambay mosque, on the other hand, is more assertively Islamic, for the facade of the prayer hall shows three well-proportioned arched openings, the central one taller than those flanking it, although the hall behind is in the pillar-and-lintel style; the facade is also surmounted by a row of merlons of characteristic shape. The great courtyard has two water cisterns (tankas) underneath it—a typically Gujarati feature. A colonnade runs the length of the southern side of the mosque, its central part being a two-storeyed dodecagonal rotunda, entirely of pillars of typically Hindu or Jain style, which were doubtless produced by local craftsmen. The rotunda originally supported a large corbelled dome, with a superb tombstone below. The mosque walls are plain, as before, with simple Jain-like stringcourses, and the outer walls show alternate deep and narrow courses as in the Khalji style at Delhi; but the pillared eastern entrance porch is entirely in the local temple style, with seating slabs with sloping back rests (kakshasanas).

(The bold figures in square brackets in the following sections refer to the maps of the city on pages 2-4; the same numbers are retained for the drawings and photographs of the buildings.)

Monuments of the Reign of Ahmad Shah, 1411-1442

The earliest dated mosque in Ahmadabad is that of Ahmad Shah himself **[1]**, built in 1414, in the southwest corner of the citadel, probably a private mosque for the use of the sultan and his immediate train (and hence other arrangements would have been necessary for the city's congregational mosque; probably a temporary structure served such needs until the great Jami' mosque, described below, was completed). Here we have the immediate descendant of the Cambay mosque on a smaller scale: again there is an arched prayer hall facade of three arches, with the central bay raised above the level of the remainder, with the internal arrangements in the trabeate style (the central bay reveals two such pillars with a heavy stone lintel above them); and again the roof parapet is capped with a row of merlons. But here the central bay is flanked by two great but sparsely ornamented buttresses, which terminate at parapet level—the turrets above them having presumably fallen in the great earthquake of 1819; but even these are not an innovation in the Gujarat style, as there is a precedent for them in the mosque of Hilal Khan Qazi at Dholka. There is no evidence to determine whether these turrets were in fact minarets (the staircases in the thickness of the buttresses give access to the roof, from where the call to prayer could have been given); but it is tempting to see them as the forerunners of the paired minarets which, at least in the earlier stages of the style, flank the central opening of the prayer hall, a peculiarly Gujarati feature. The raising of the central bay above the side roof levels has two consequences: firstly, the general appearance of the prayer hall is greatly enhanced by the change of level, relieving what could otherwise be a monotonous aspect in a long low building; and secondly this practice allows air and light to enter the prayer hall much more freely, providing a sort of clearstorey. The vertical gap between the two roof levels is filled with stone screens, which reduce possible glare from oblique rays of the sun, and also prevent the entry of birds, and driving rain, at roof level. Both the clearstorey and the stone screens are to become further characteristic features of the Gujarat style.

A smaller mosque, built within the next year or so, is that of Haibat Khan **[2]**, a relation of Ahmad Shah; built almost entirely of temple spoil, the exterior aspect is severely plain, except for the five half-round buttresses behind the mihrab wall; the corner buttresses taper, in the manner of the Tughluq style of Delhi. The interior shows all the rich flamboyance of the indigenous Hindu-Jain temple craft. The noble central dome—again over a chamber raised above the side aisles—reveals within that it is the roof of a temple mandapa taken over in its entirety. The curious feature here is the pair of slender cylindrical turrets set at the ends of the parapet over the central arch, unornamented and obviously non-functional, rather like thinner versions of the pillars over the central arch of the "Arhai din ka jhompra" mosque at Ajmer. They represent, no doubt, a further stage in the search for the Gujarat minaret form; but they are minarets only in a psychological sense.

A modest mosque, undated, is that of Shakar Khan (probably a son of Ahmad Shah) **[3]**, near the Kalupur Darwaza, possibly of about this time. It is almost entirely devoid of decoration (the pillars were obviously cut for the purpose), and is entirely trabeate, of the open pillared hall style. Good corbelled domes cover the five main bays of the prayer chamber, which is of impressive length. An unusual feature is that the pillars on the courtyard side are grouped in threes from east to west. Five half-round external buttresses mark the position of the internal mihrabs, and these have rather more carved decoration. A staircase leads to the roof, and there is no trace of any sort of minaret.

Next comes the little mosque of Sayyid 'Alam **[4]**, *c.* 1420 (the inscription is fragmentary), where the central chamber is of three arches, considerably taller than the side wings which are entirely in the trabeate style. This also has a richly decorated interior, and fine pierced stone window screens; but here the central arch of the facade is flanked by a pair of ornate buttresses which end at parapet level in semicircular platforms supported by heavy stone corbelled brackets; though there is now nothing above them, perhaps we have here at last the beginnings of the true Gujarat minaret, for the construction of this mosque was concurrent with that of the great Jami' mosque, Ahmad Shah's greatest work, to which we now turn.

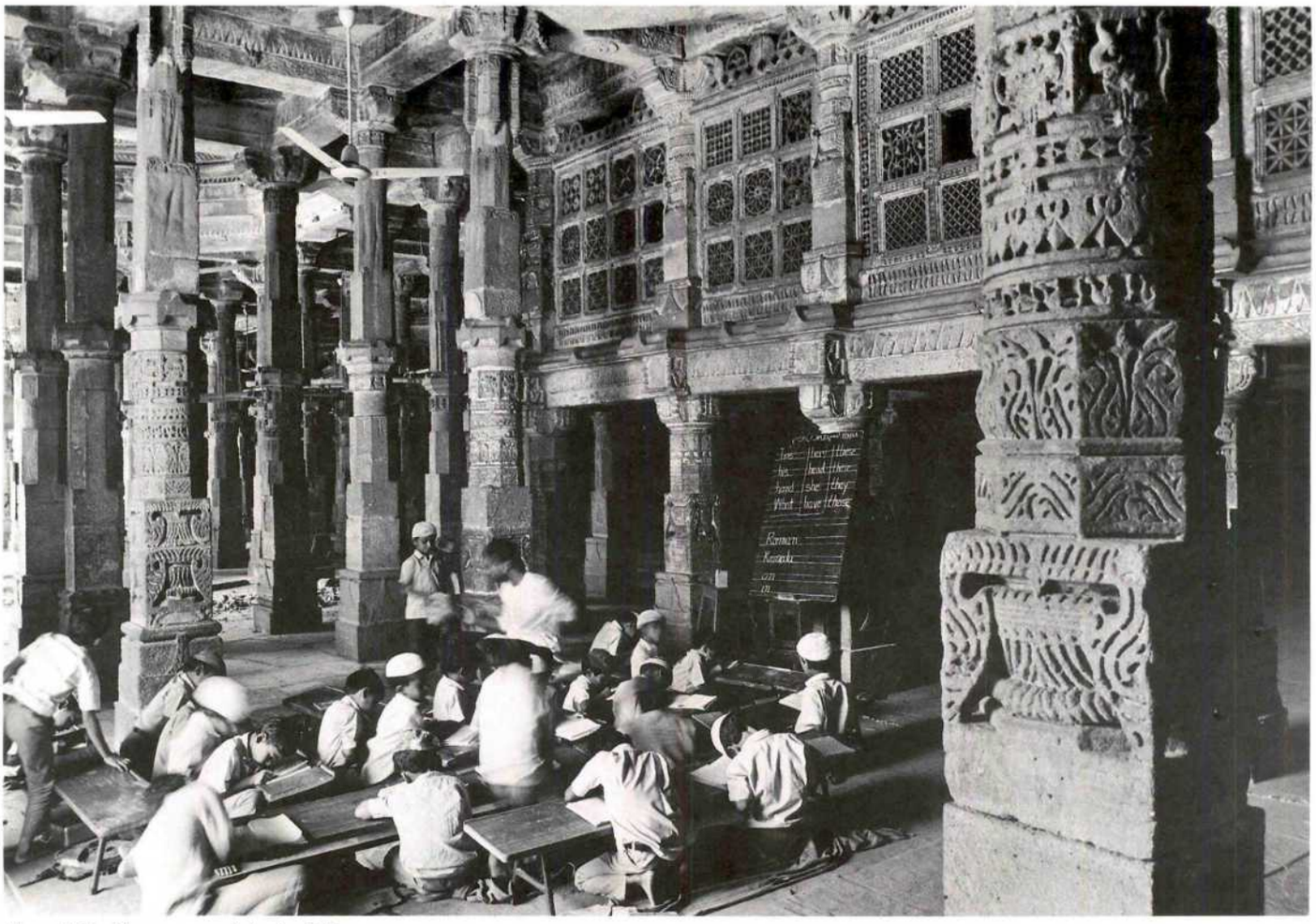
The Jami' mosque **[5]** was completed in 1424, although it had obviously been many years in building. The harmony of solids and voids in its noble facade makes it one of the loveliest mosques in India, and when it was built it was probably the largest in the subcontinent (although later eclipsed in size by those of Lahore and, much later, Bhopal). The whole conception is grandiose, for the vast paved courtyard is a rectangle about seventy-five metres by sixty-six metres; the north, east and south boundaries are enclosed by open colonnades along the stone walls, with a long ablution tank in the middle—here, unfortunately, the area is protected from the sun by a modern roof on thin struts, looking all too much like a bicycle shed! The west side is filled by the prayer hall, the builders having avoided any suspicion of monotony in such a long structure by

arranging the roofs on *three* levels: the extreme north and south chambers are the lowest, opening to the courtyard by five pillared bays of unequal size, not structurally arched but rather showing an arch-shaped infilling at the top supported on corbels, a device known also in the early buildings at Dhar and Mandu; the central chamber is of three arched bays on two levels, the roof of the side bays at the second level carried on pillars with perforated stone screens between them, with a similar arrangement carrying the central bay above the side bays. The whole of the western chamber is a great hypostyle hall, a forest of two hundred and sixty pillars all with restrained decoration directly derived from the temple styles, so disposed as to form three rows of five square bays each, every one with a dome above. The three front central bays, with their extra height provided by the clearstoreys, are most impressive, the middle one forming a sort of central rotunda. The two tall pillars which are seen from the courtyard within the central arch have an additional embellishment in the form of a cusped semicircle carried on corbels just below the top beam, again a feature of Gujarati temple architecture as at, for example, the magnificent Surya temple at Modhera. The facade shows, flanking the great central arch, sumptuously decorated buttresses, the bases of the minarets which fell in the 1819 earthquake; and these are certainly real minarets at last, as an old drawing makes clear.

A grandiose conception indeed; but the mosque alone is only part of Ahmad Shah's vision. The mosque is built so that its northern wall lies along a royal processional way, leading eastward from the Maidan-i Shah already referred to, which was entered at its eastern end by a great triple gateway (Tin Darwaza) **[6]**, its central arch wider than the flanking ones, two buttresses projecting from the inner piers similar to the decorated minaret-bases in the mosques, with a deep parapet above in which there are three roofed balconies projected on corbelled brackets. The Maidan-i Shah (which has been completely obliterated by modern development) extended from the Tin Darwaza to the east gateway of the citadel, with streets off it to the north leading to quarters ancillary to the necessities of the palace. It had a central chabutra (raised platform) which may have formed part of the original system for the royal water supply (a neighbouring street bore the name "Karanj", a corruption of the Persian kariz, "underground water channel"; and clay pipes were found here during reconstruction work). The Maidan had also a postern on its southern side. The "royal precinct" scheme is completed by two other works, an enclosure set aside in Ahmad Shah's time, east of the mosque, to contain his tomb, and a further enclosure to be dedicated to the tombs of the royal ladies.

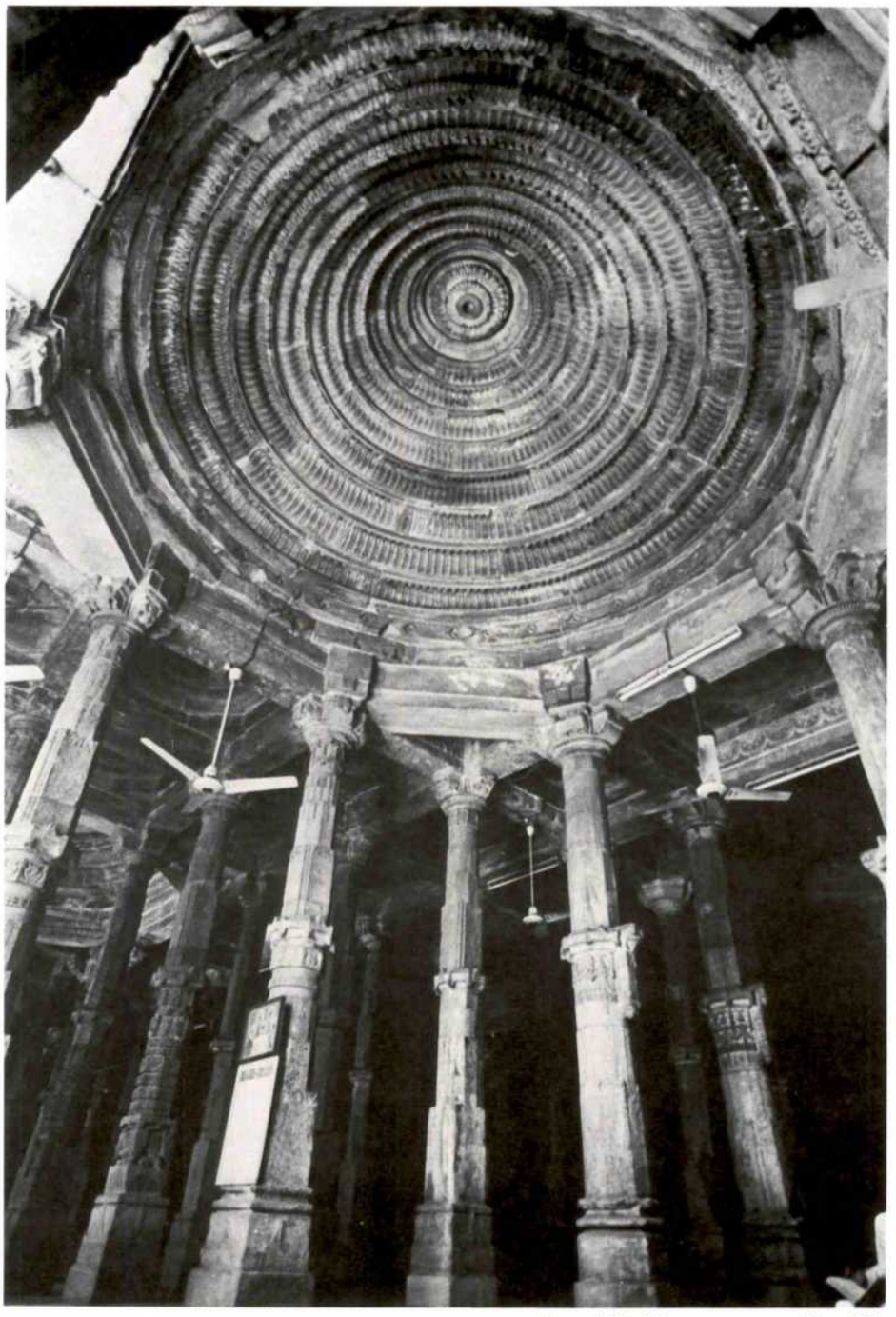
Ahmad Shah's mosque, Bhadra, west wall facing the courtyard, 1414 **[1]**.

Ahmad Shah's mosque, interior [1].



Ahmad Shah's mosque, interior [1].

Ahmad Shah's mosque, mihrab [1].

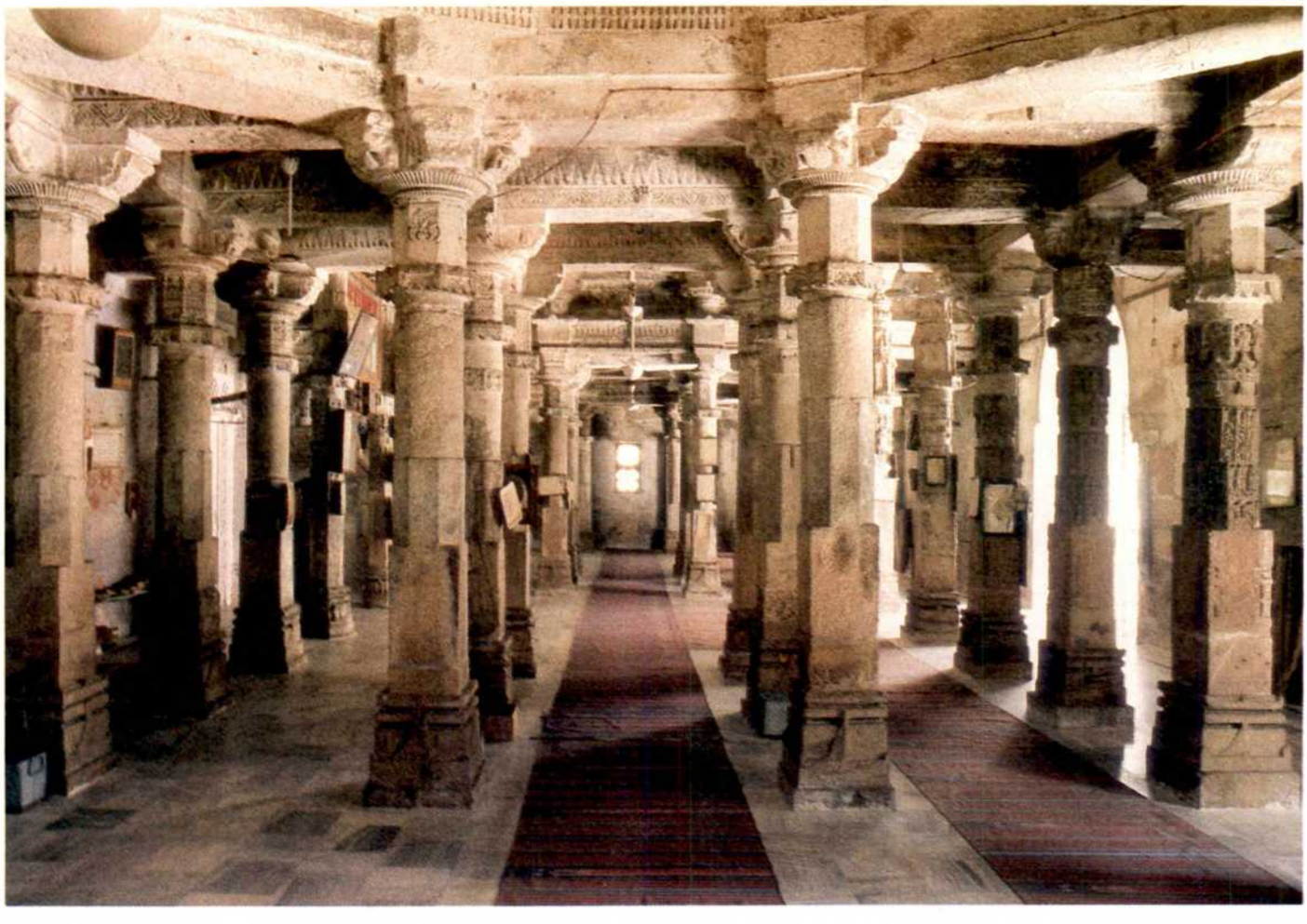


Ahmad Shah's mosque, a ceiling [1].

Ahmad Shah's mosque, detail of a ceiling [1].

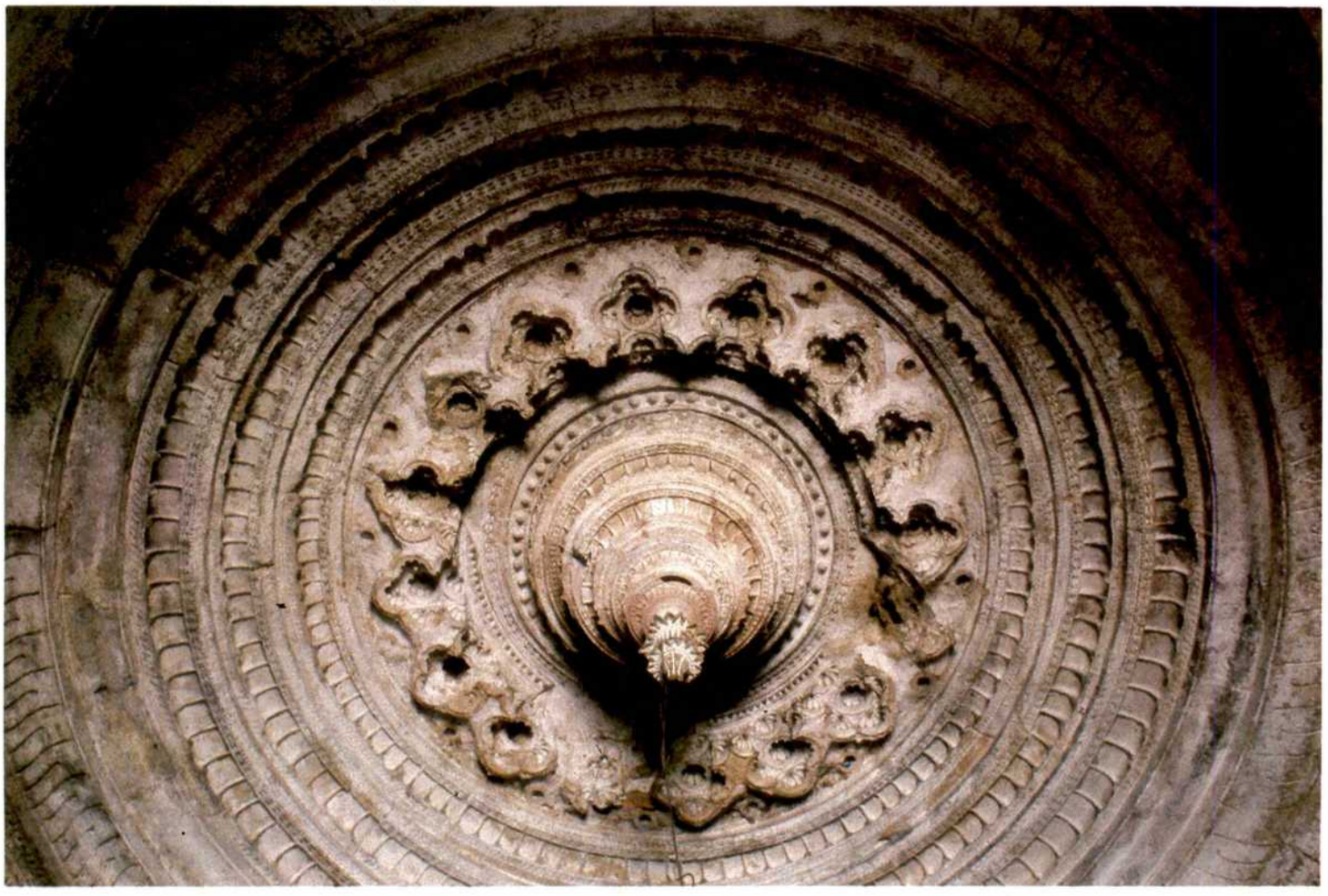
Haibat Khan's mosque, Jamalpur, west wall facing the courtyard [2].

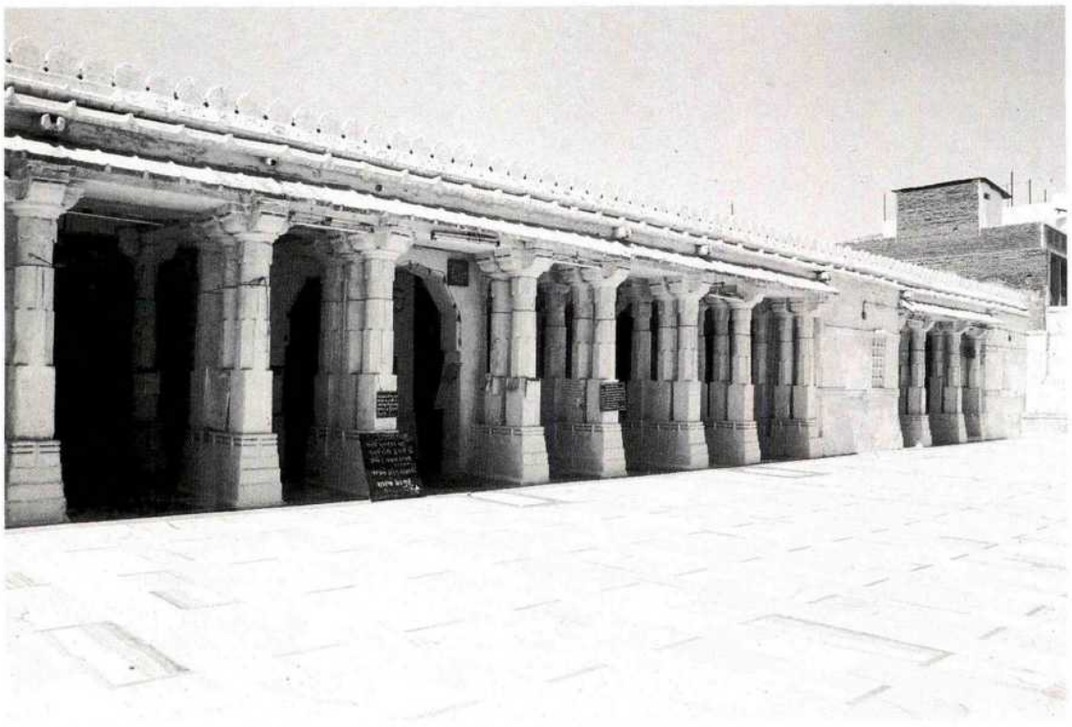
Haibat Khan's mosque, interior [2].



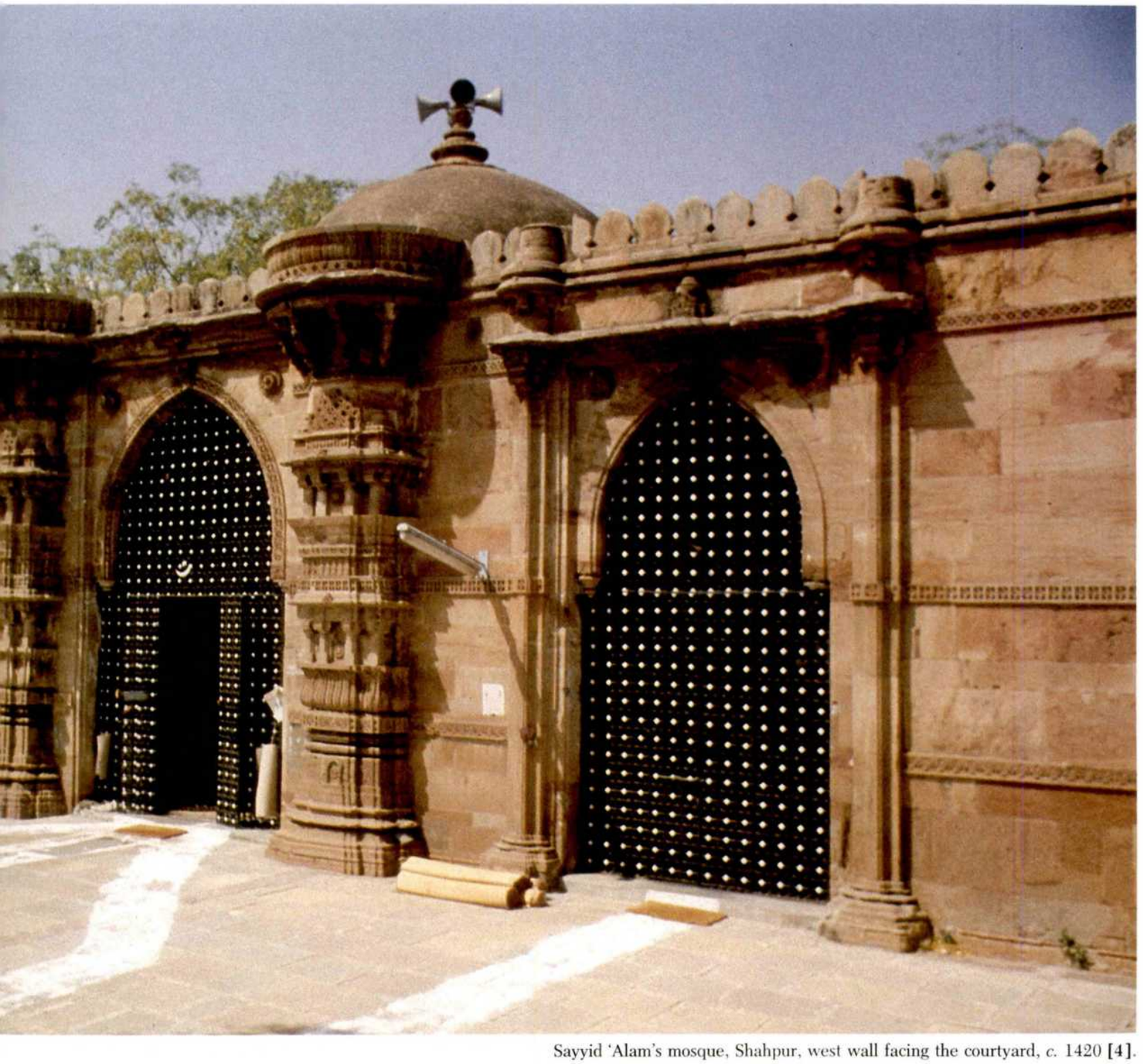
Haibat Khan's mosque, bastion and part of west facade [2].

Haibat Khan's mosque, detail of a ceiling [2].

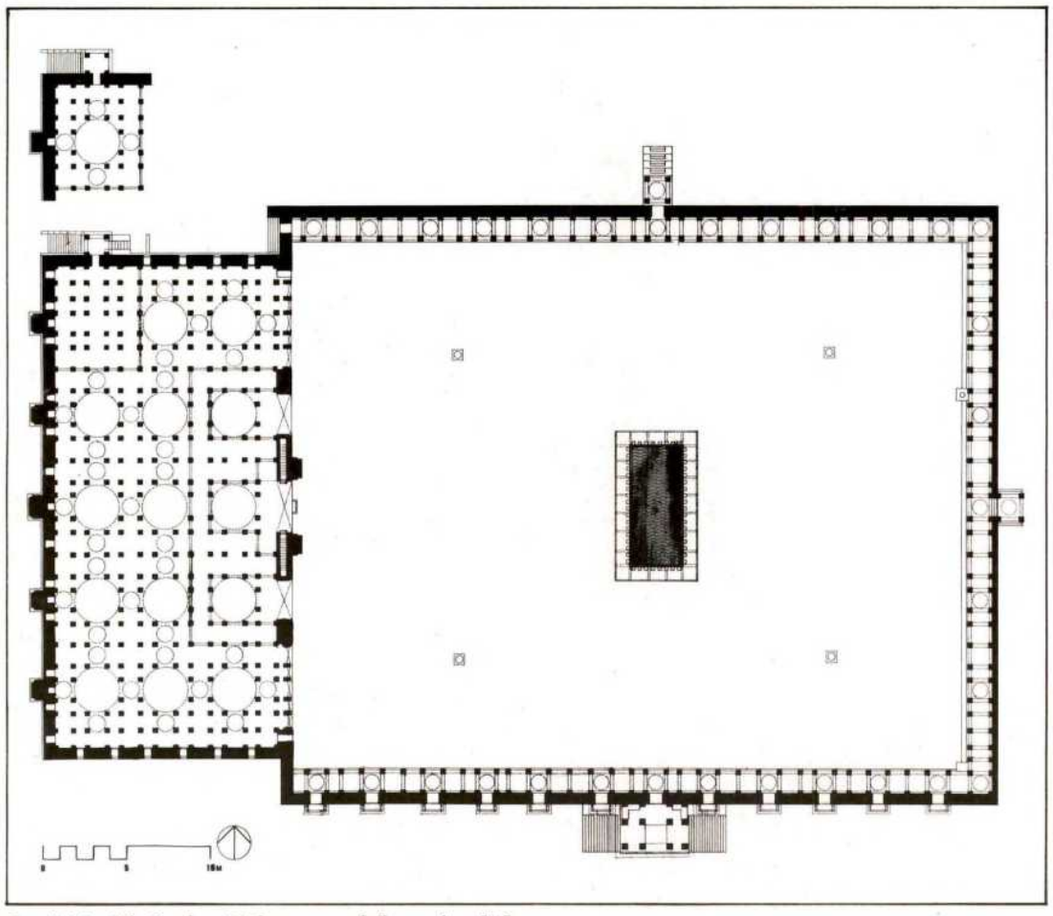


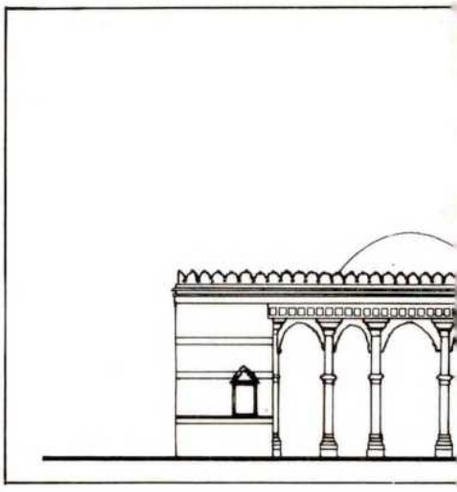


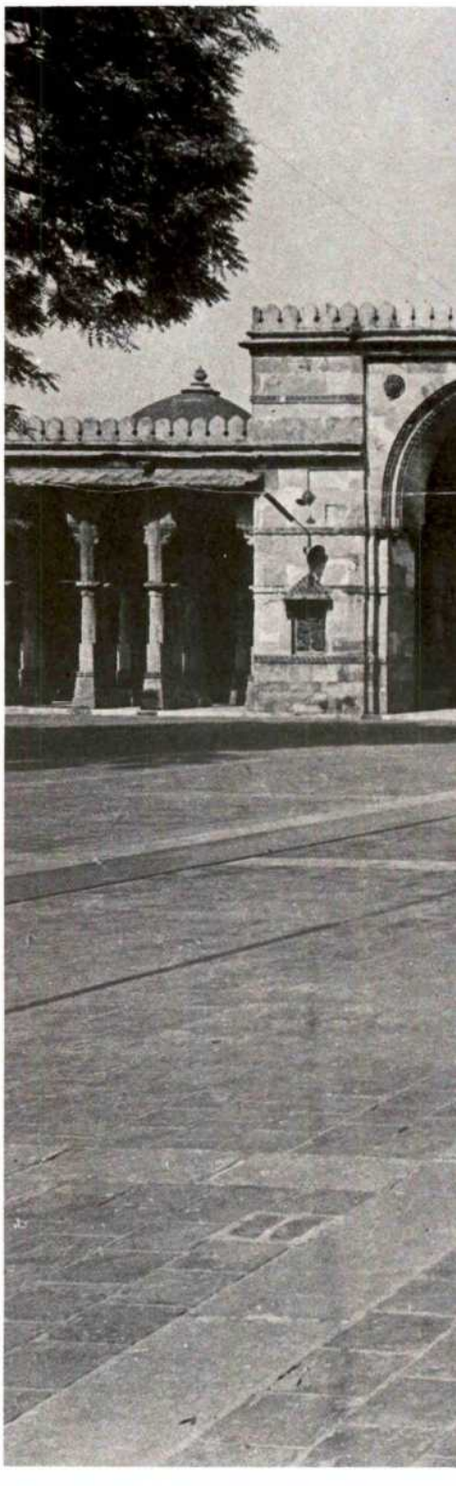
Shakar Khan's mosque, Kalupur, west colonnade facing the courtyard **[3]**.



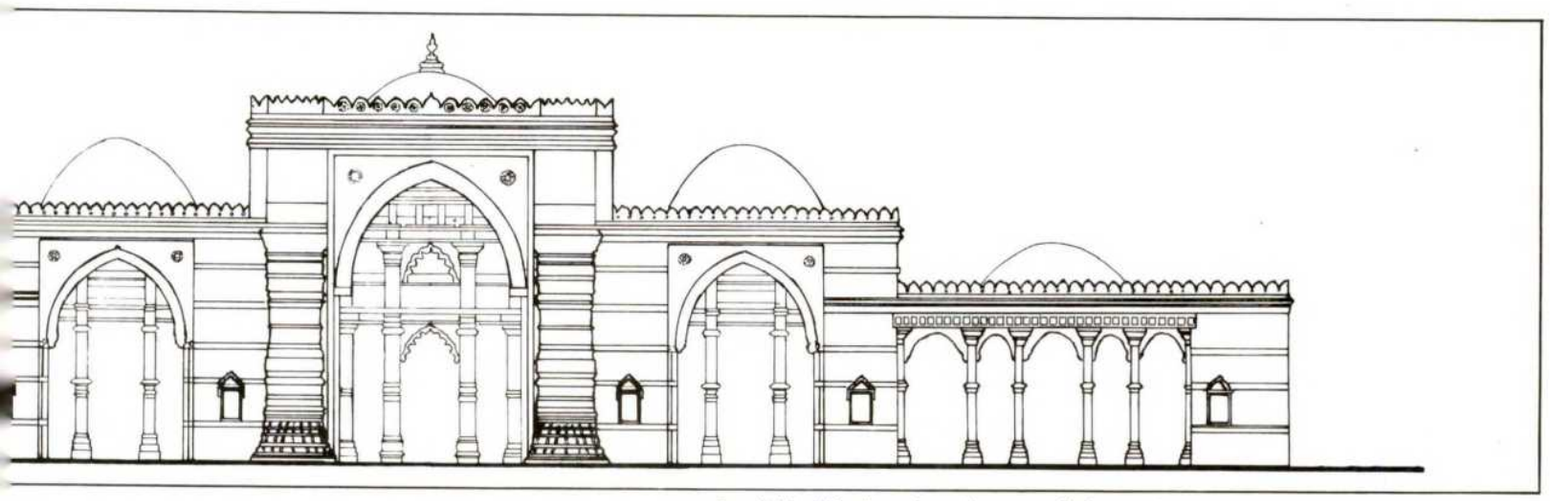
Sayyid 'Alam's mosque, Shahpur, west wall facing the courtyard, *c.* 1420 **[4]**.





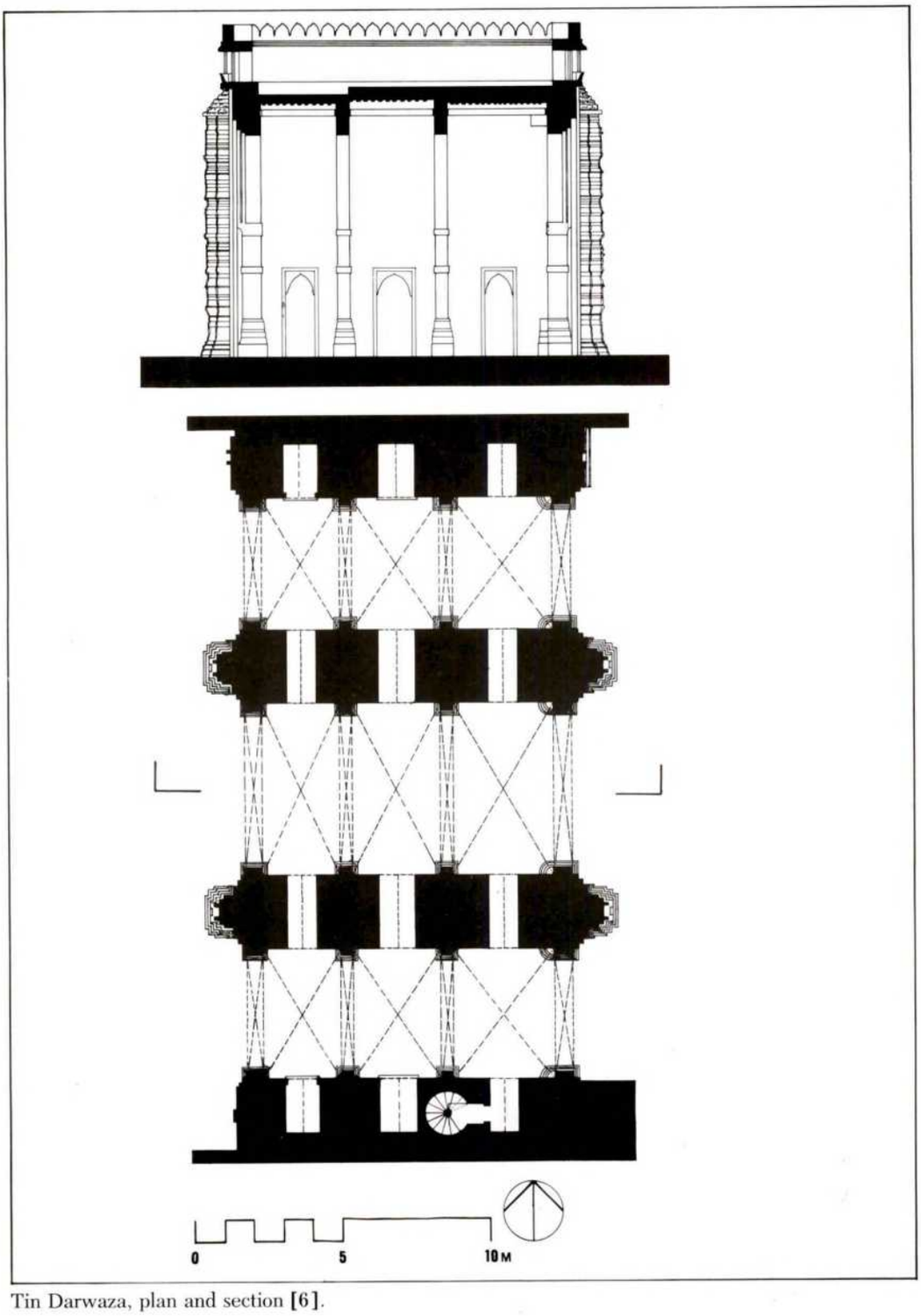


Jami' Masjid, Pankor Naka, ground floor plan **[5]**.
Inset: Plan of raised gallery in the northwest corner of the prayer chamber.



Jami' Masjid, elevation of west wall facing the courtyard (height 7.75 metres) [5].

Jami' Masjid, west wall facing the courtyard [5].



Tin Darwaza, plan and section **[6]**.

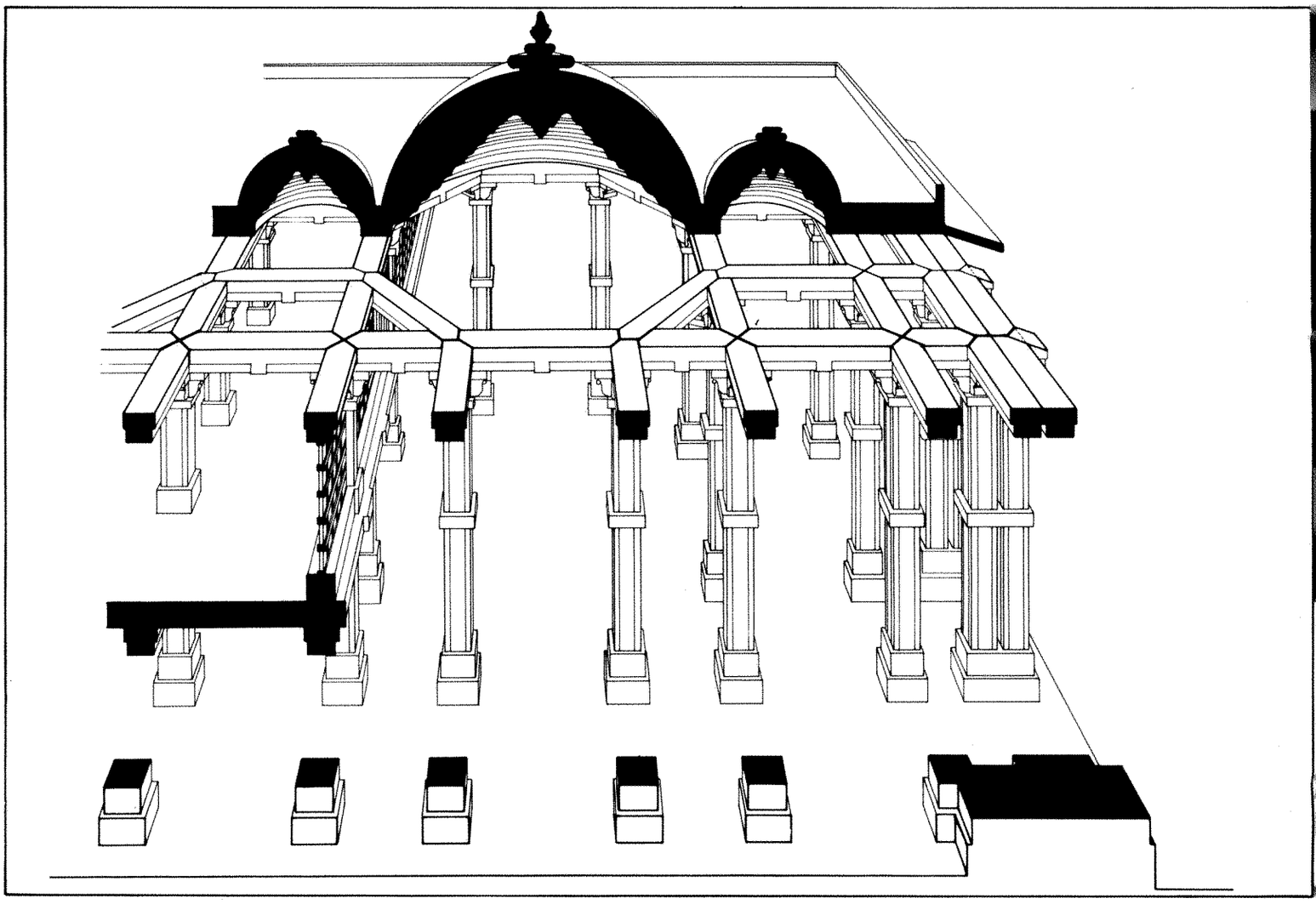
Tin Darwaza, west facade [6].

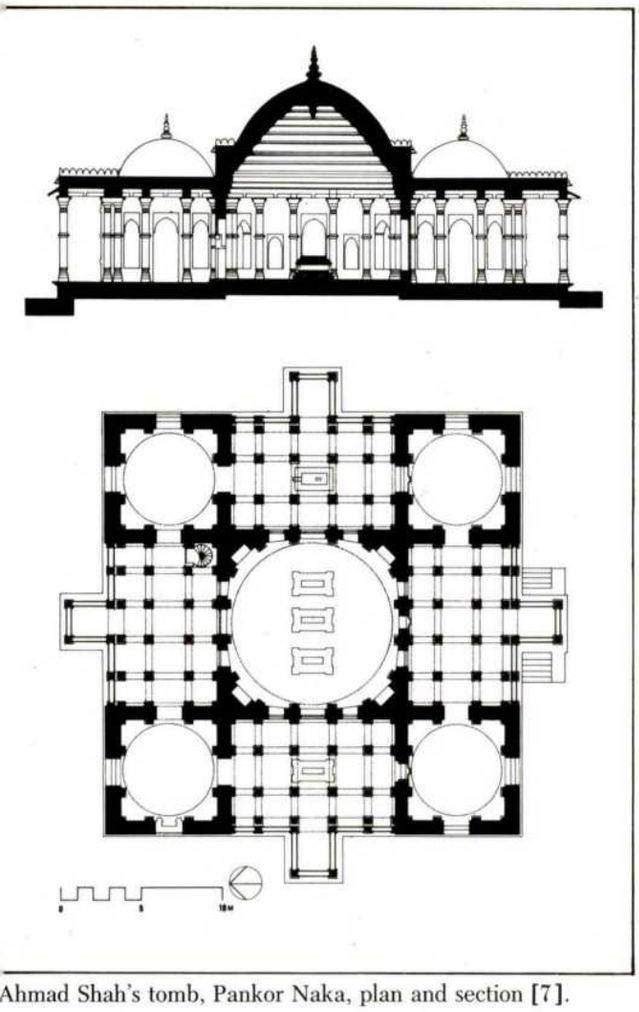
Monuments of the Reign of Muhammad Shah, 1442-1451

The two works last mentioned were in fact completed in the reign of Ahmad Shah's son and successor Muhammad. The tomb of Ahmad Shah **[7]**, itself unspectacular as a building, is nevertheless of importance in architectural history: the pillars supporting the roof are composed so as to form a sort of cloister around the square domed central chamber, which is separated from the cloister by perforated screens of stone in square patterns: another characteristically Gujarati feature. The tombs of the queens (Rani ka Hazira) **[8]** are, by contrast, set in an open courtyard, which stands imposingly on a very high plinth, within pillared galleries; and here there are exquisite screened windows separating the outer corridors from the outside world. The tombstones of marble, inside the courtyard, are superb examples of the stonecarver's art.

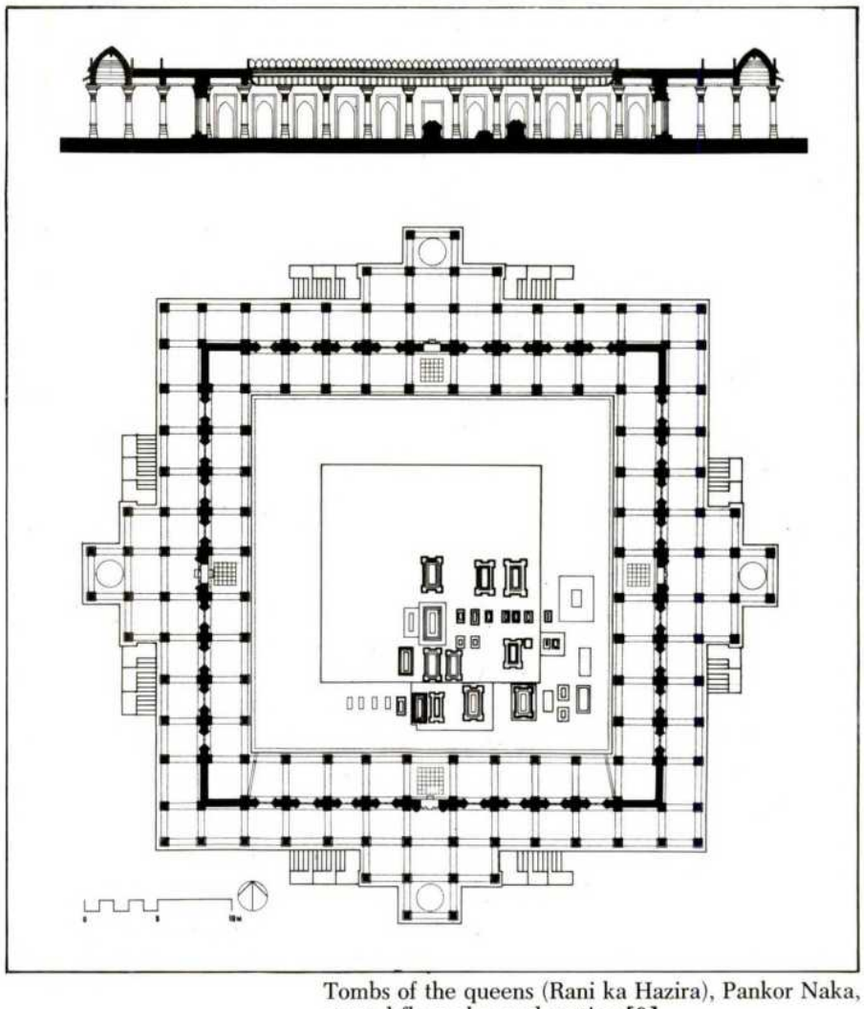
This reign sees the beginning of another great architectural project, this time at Sarkhej **[9]**, some ten kilometres southwest of Ahmadabad, with a fine monumental tomb and an elegant mosque. The tomb was built for Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, known as "Ganj Bakhsh", who died here in his retirement at the age of one hundred and eleven lunar years in 1446. Essentially a domed central chamber surrounded by four ranges of pillared corridors, it is the largest of its type; the central chamber is separated from the outer corridors by perforated brass panels, of a variety of elegant designs, while the outer row of pillars are joined by perforated stone screens, arch-shaped below with the commoner small squared screens above, giving the outer facades a two-storeyed effect, although the interior is of only the one tall storey. The central dome—which sits rather uneasily on its support, since this is an unequal octagon, as though its builders were unaccustomed to using this form with fluency—is surrounded by smaller domes over the bays of the outer corridors. The mosque, by contrast, is a completely open building with the arch used not at all, the western prayer hall presenting a view of a forest of simple pillars, taller than those of the one-bay-deep corridors which surround the remaining three sides. An open pavilion to the south of the tomb completes this stage of the building; but the sanctity of the site attracted an immense but completely harmonious development at Sarkhej towards the end of the fifteenth century under Mahmud Begra.

Perspective of a typical mosque interior.



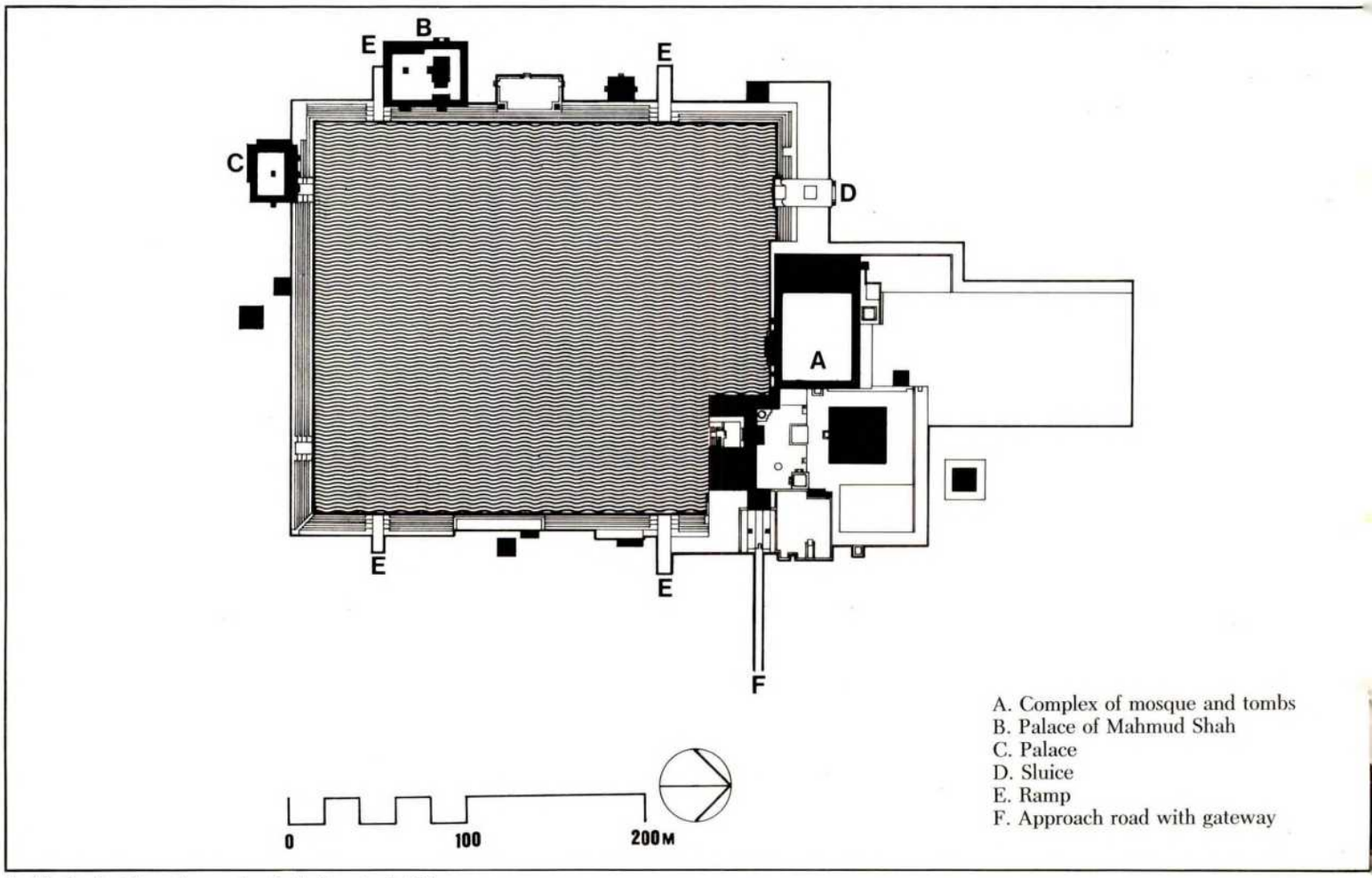


Ahmad Shah's tomb, Pankor Naka, plan and section [7].



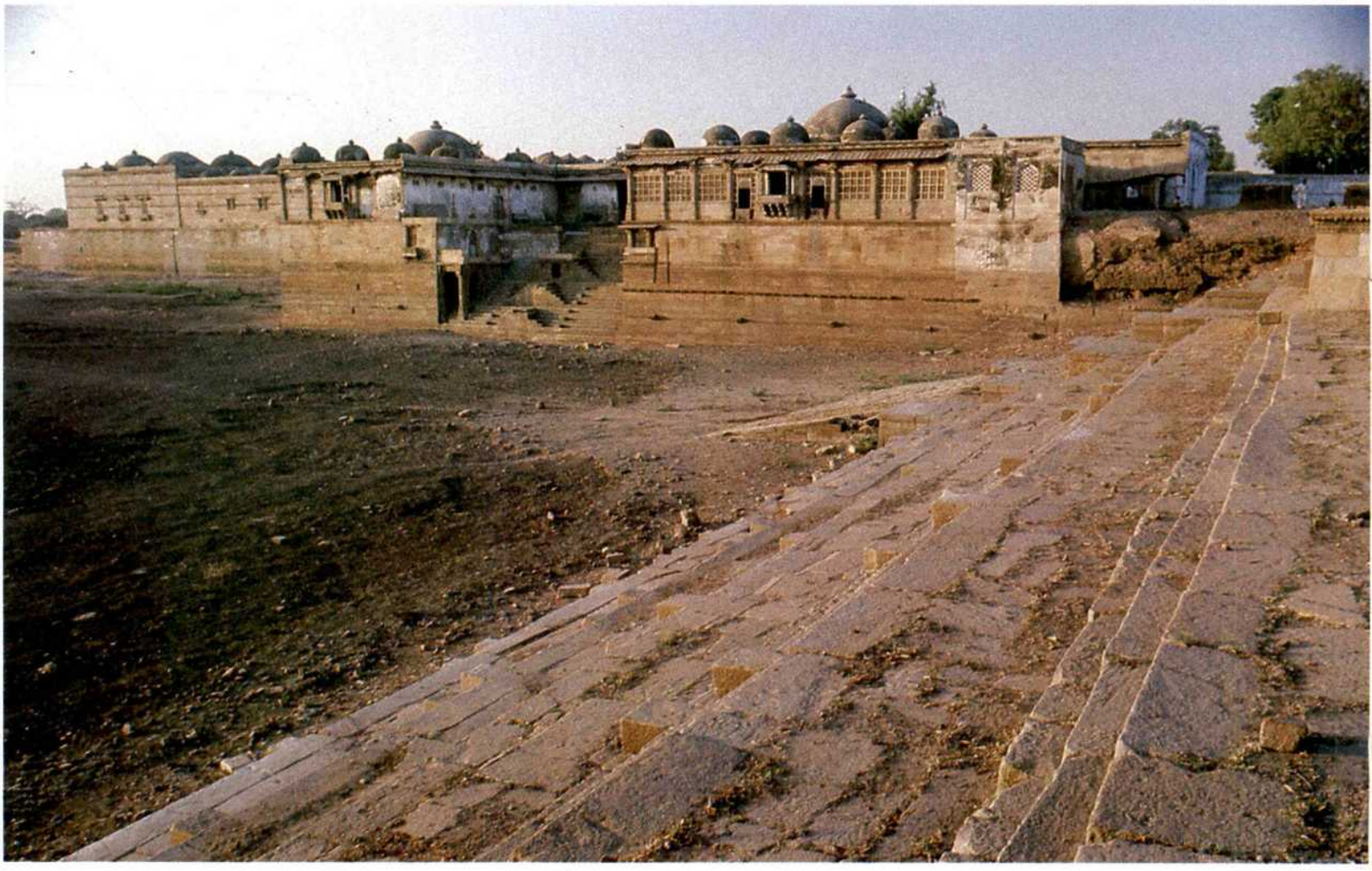
Tombs of the queens (Rani ka Hazira), Pankor Naka, ground floor plan and section [8].

Ahmad Shah's tomb, east facade [7].



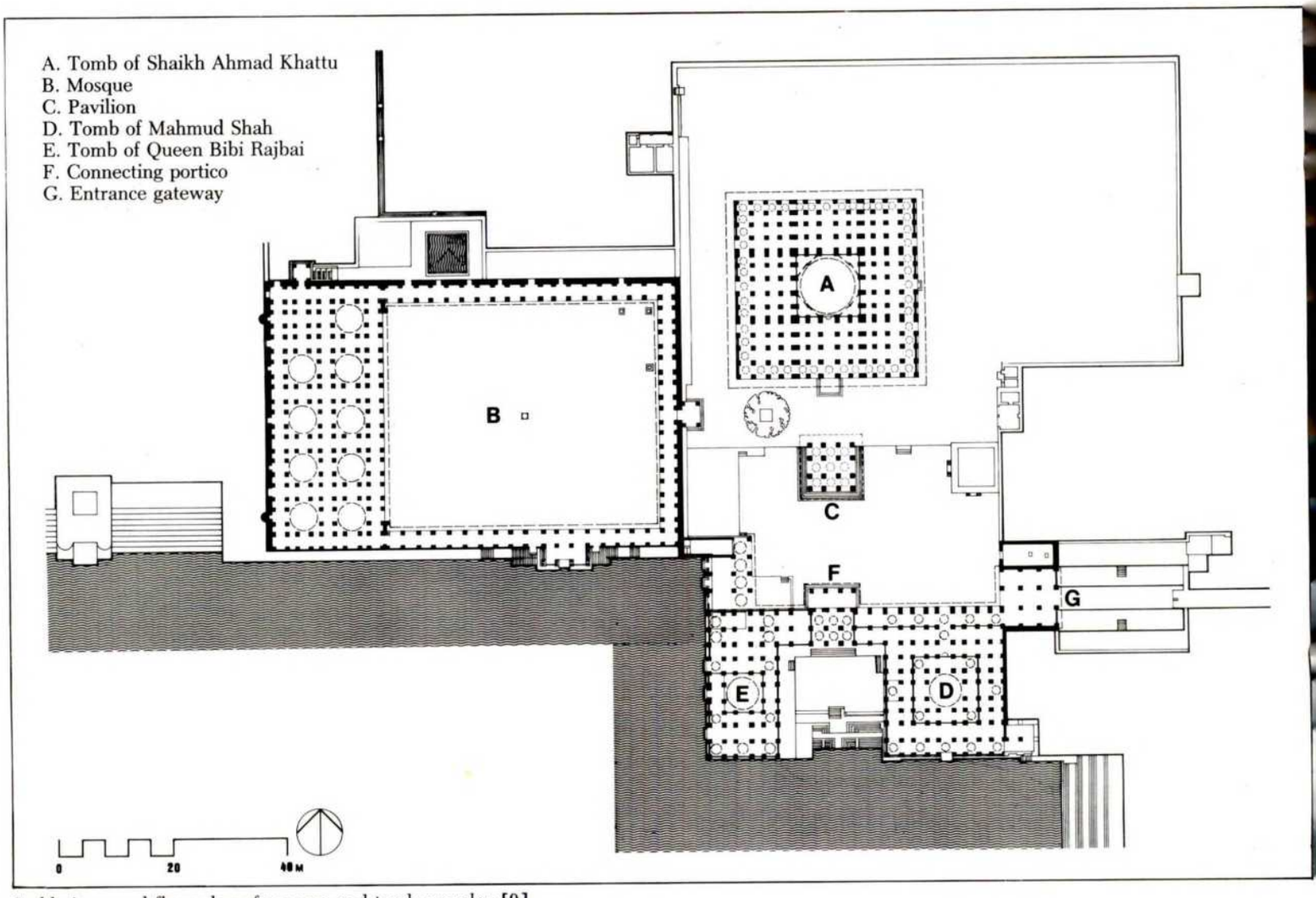
Sarkhej, site plan of complex including tank [9].

Sarkhej, general view [9].



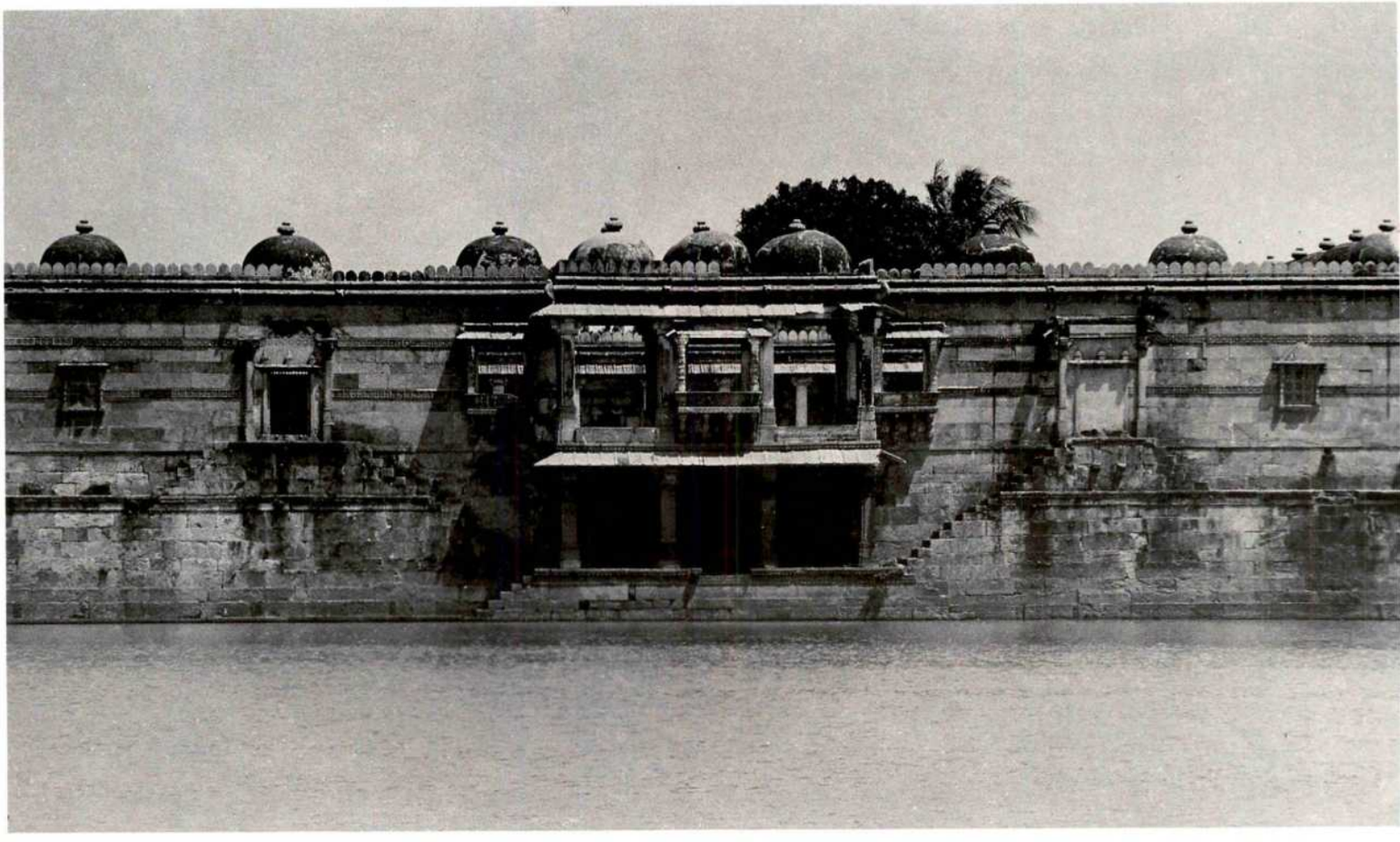
Sarkhej, Mahmud Shah's palace, west facade [9].

Sarkhej, palace and steps of the tank [9].

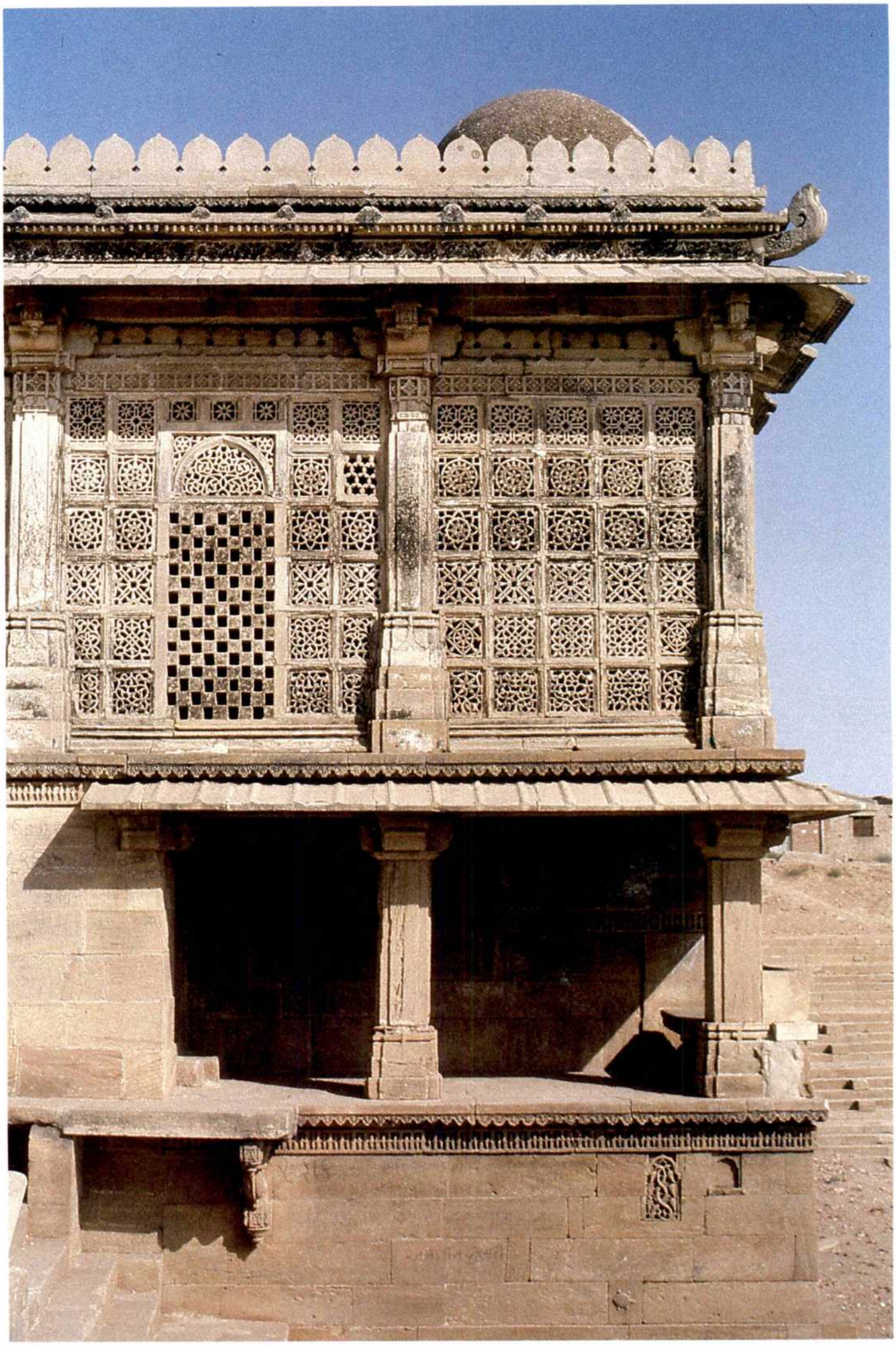


Sarkhej, ground floor plan of mosque and tomb complex **[9]**.

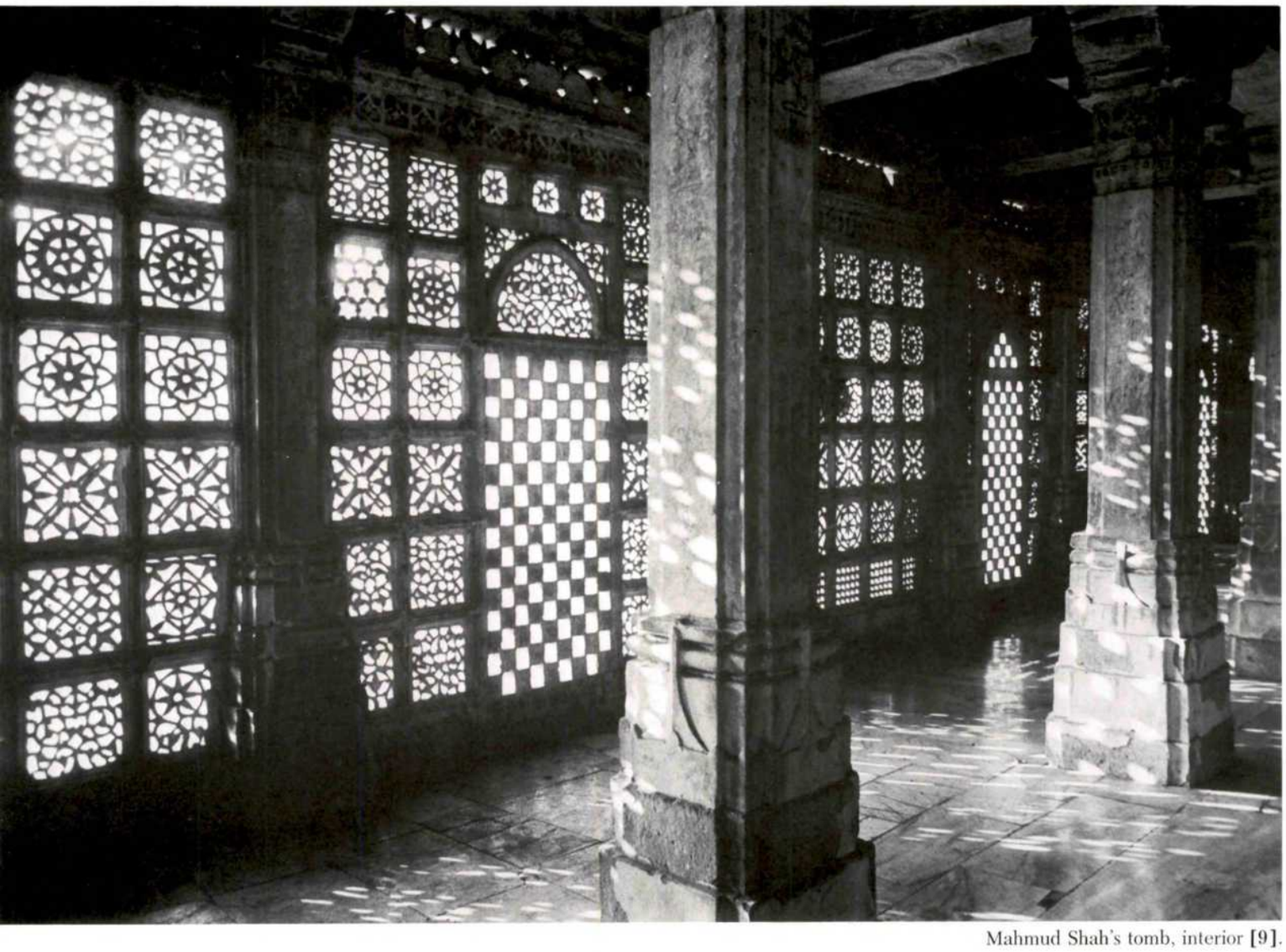
Sarkhej, mosque, detail of south facade **[9]**.



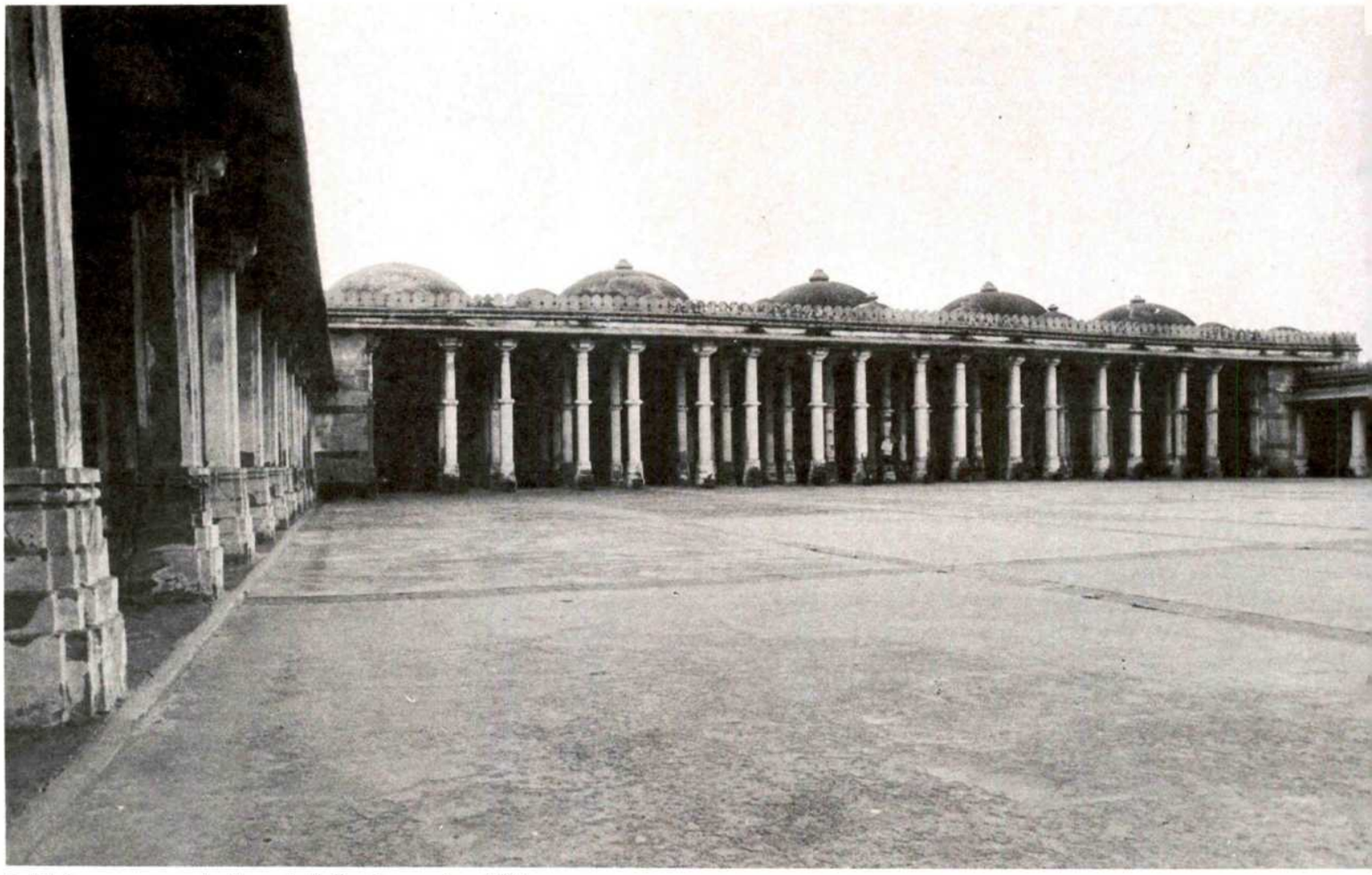
Sarkhej, sluice **[9]**.



Sarkhej, Mahmud Shah's tomb, detail of the west facade **[9]**.

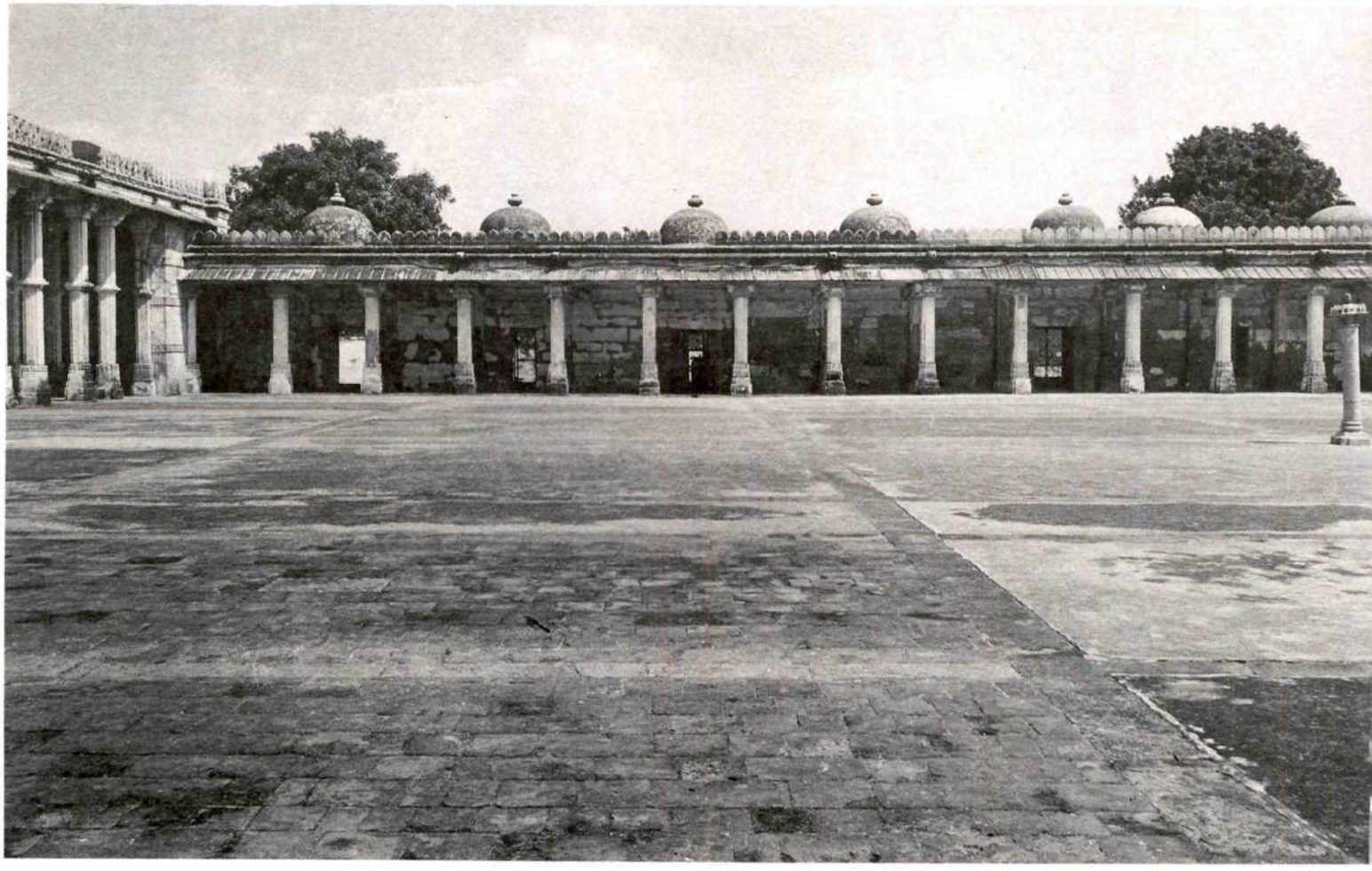


Mahmud Shah's tomb, interior **[9]**.

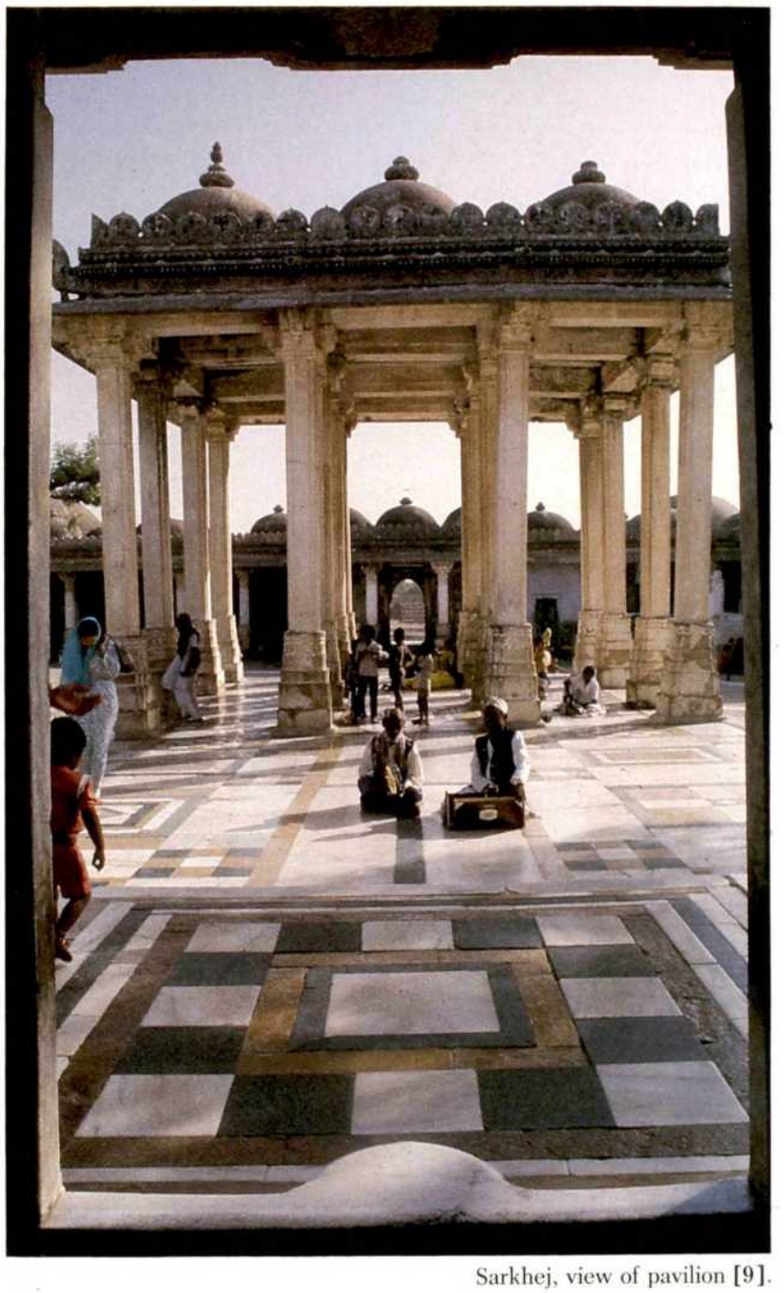


Sarkhej, mosque, west colonnade facing the courtyard **[9]**.

Sarkhej, mosque, colonnade surrounding courtyard **[9]**



Sarkhej, mosque, detail of west facade [9].



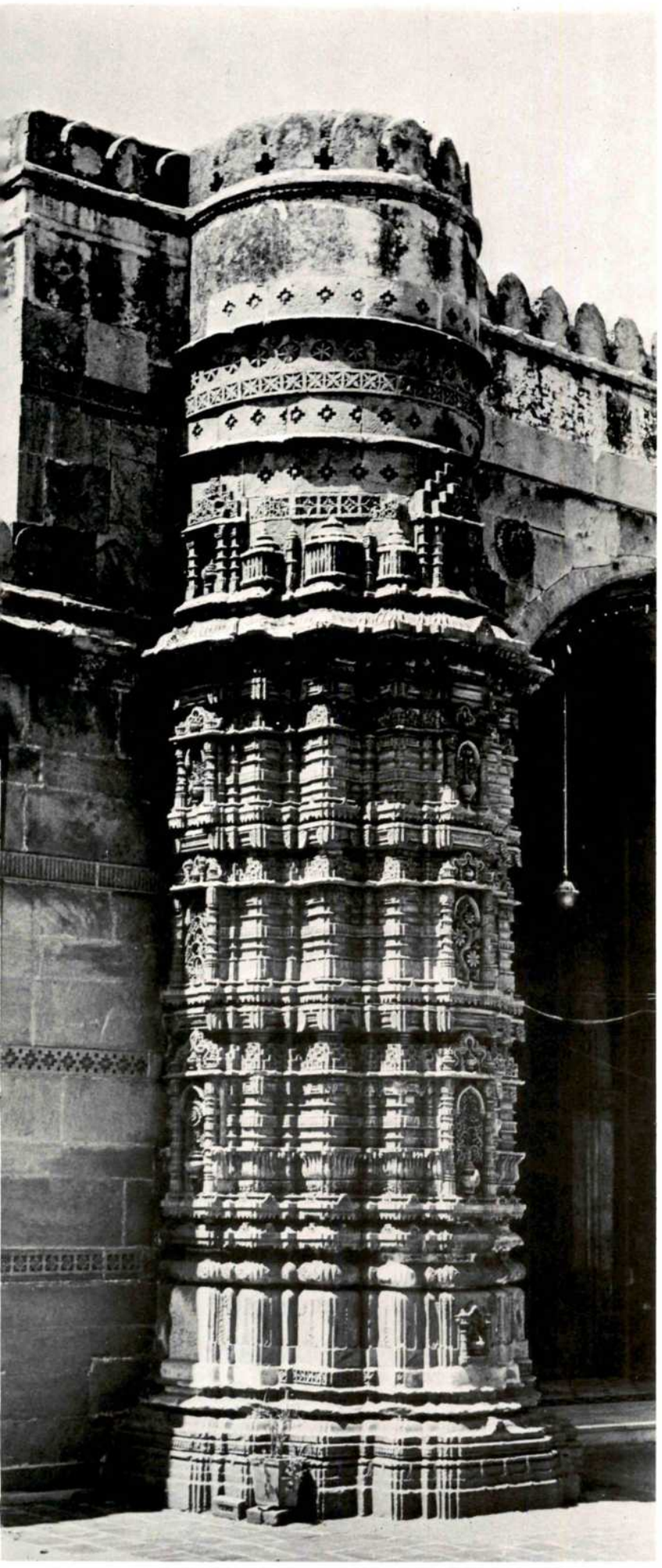
Sarkhej, view of pavilion [9].

Sarkhej, Shaikh Ahmad Khattu's tomb, general view [9].

Monuments of the Reign of Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah, 1451-1458

A few buildings produced in the short reign of Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah show the progression of the same style. The mosque in the city carrying his name **[10]** (which however bears the date 1449, in the previous reign) is on a modest scale and similar to Ahmad Shah's mosque, except that the central buttresses, the minaret bases, are more robust and exquisitely decorated. The mosque of his mother ("Bibiji") **[11]** in the Rajpur locality (1454) is instructive, for one of its paired central minarets is still standing intact, showing three circular galleries round the tapering shaft, supported on heavy corbels, the topmost level of the minaret opening by an arched door to the courtyard and capped by a conical roof. In this mosque instead of open pillared chambers in the north and south wings of the prayer hall are three elegant arches, the side ones closed by seat-backs, the taller central one open to the courtyard. The mosque **[12]** and tomb of Malik Sha'ban both bear inscriptions with the date 1452; they are widely separated, since the mosque is in the city and the tomb lies in Rakhiyal, on the eastern outskirts, adjoining a tank built by the malik's order which has now been converted into a stadium. And both present unusual features: the tomb is a pillared square hall inside a large square enclosure with corner chhatris, its central chamber carrying a large dome without a clearstorey, with the surrounding colonnades entirely covered by flat roofs except for very shallow domes at the corners. The mosque facade is open, revealing a double row of pillars in the front, with openings of unequal size; but the plan is most remarkable: the westernmost section is a chamber three bays wide, each with a mihrab; two bays flanking this to the north and south, again with mihrabs, lie forward of this western end, and the main hall, wider again by one bay on each end (with a further mihrab in each), is set further forward still. There is a single large dome. The western view of this mosque has therefore a stepped appearance, which Burgess (1900) and others following him have likened to a Hindu mandapa, declaring further that the mosque is nothing but a converted mandapa. But this seems unlikely, since the mandapa is an open structure, whereas this mosque has of course a solid stone wall at its western end; it seems more likely that it may have been inspired by a mandapa shape, but even so it is curious that this is the sole example of this form. Also in this reign the Kankariya tank **[13]** was excavated, a kilometre outside the city wall, a polygon of thirty-four sides with a circuit of one and a quarter kilometres; steps of cut stone descend to the water-level, and even so utilitarian a feature as a sluice is tastefully decorated with carving. The area around the tank was used as a camping-ground in Mughal times.

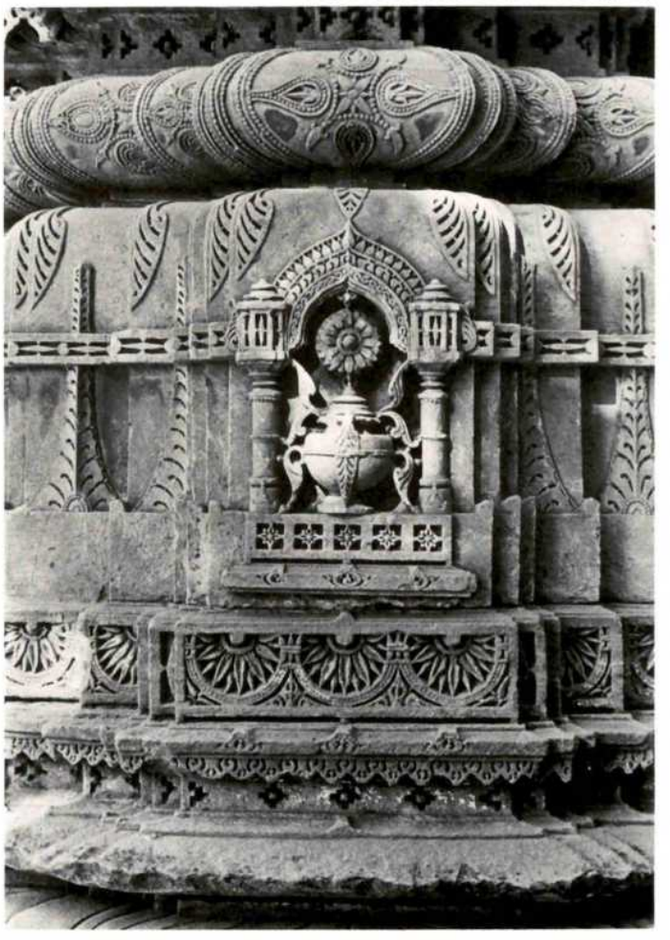
Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah's mosque, Dariyapur, west wall facing the courtyard **[10]**.

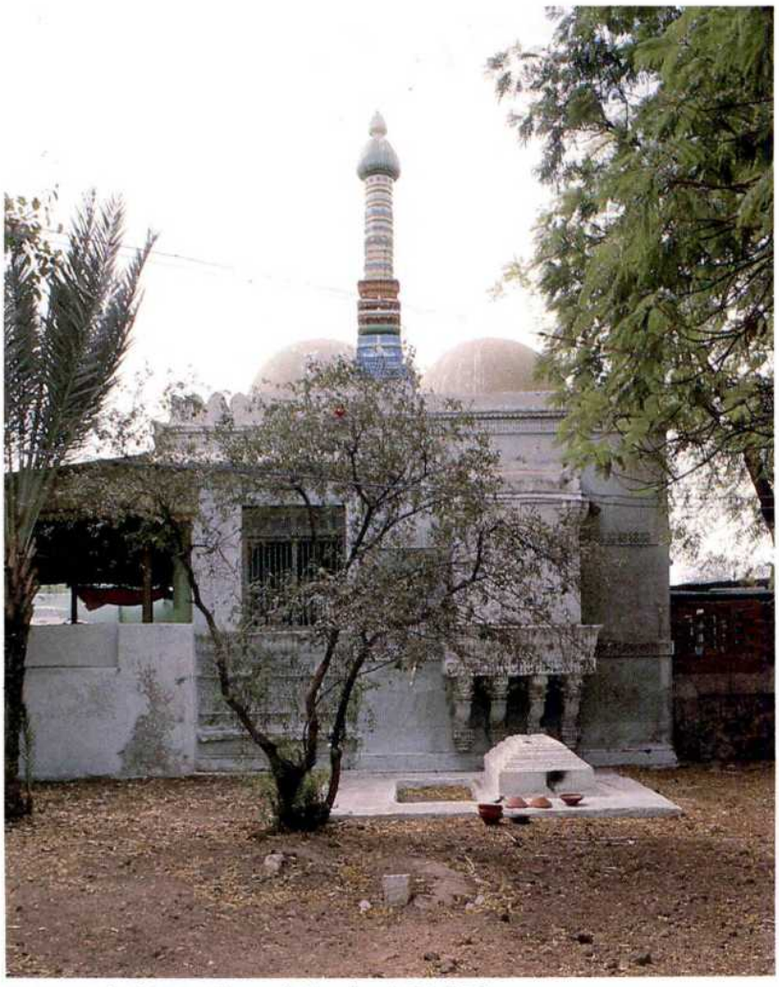


Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah's mosque, close up of a minaret **[10]**.

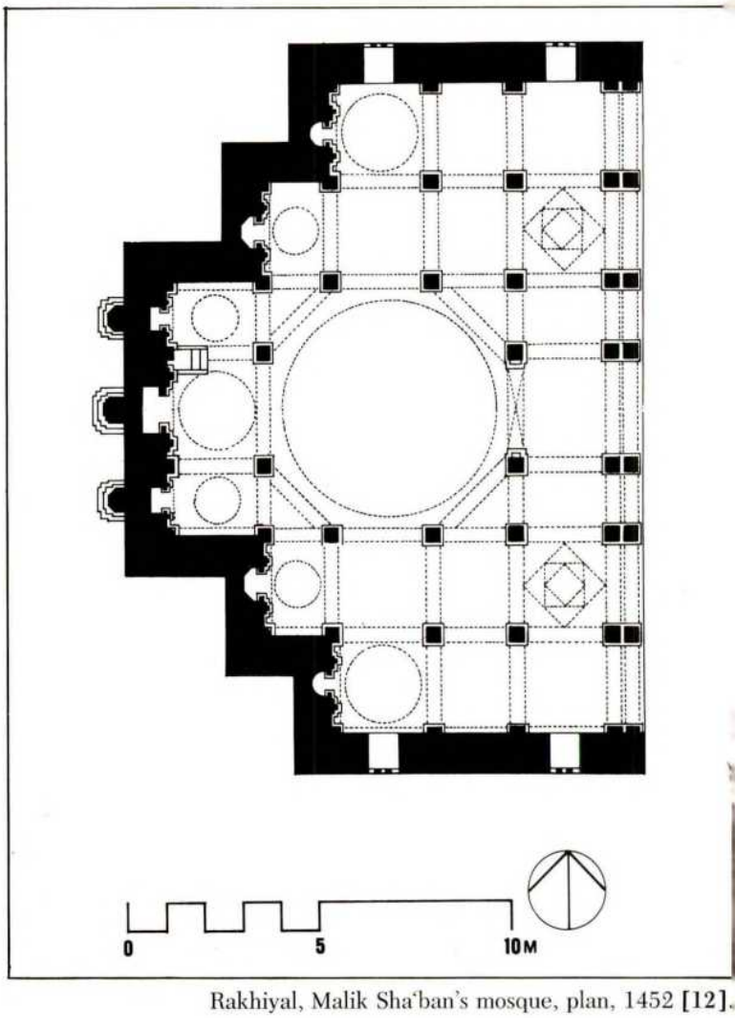
Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah's mosque,
detail of a niche in a minaret **[10]**.

Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah's mosque,
detail of a niche in a minaret **[10]**.





Rajpur, Bibi ki Masjid, north facade, 1454 [11].



Rakhiyal, Malik Sha'ban's mosque, plan, 1452 [12].

Kankariya tank [13].

Monuments of the Reign of Mahmud Shah "Begra", 1458-1511

The Gujarat style reached its apogee during the reign of Sultan Mahmud "Begra", who reached out, as we have seen in the Historical Context, beyond the bounds of Ahmadabad, founding new cities at Junagadh, Champaner and Mahmudabad (of which the first two cannot concern us here), adding greatly to the building complex at Sarkhej, and continuing to grace Ahmadabad with exquisite examples of the building art. Of these perhaps the earliest are the mosque and tomb of Sayyid 'Usman **[14]**, *c.* 1460, at Usmanpur across the river; the tomb is a beautifully proportioned domed building, although it appears very low for its length, entirely constructed in the pillared style (but with the enclosing stone screens now unfortunately missing), and the mosque also has the open pillared facade with no arches. In both cases the employment of paired pillars at intervals gives additional interest to the scheme. Here the dome is handled with greater competence than in earlier examples, for its circular base rests on a dodecagon, supported by extra pillars surrounding the tomb chamber. The mosque has tall minarets, placed here at the ends of the facade rather than centrally, well decorated with their six storeys, but perhaps a shade too dominating. The mosque of Dastur Khan **[15]**, with an inscription of 1463, is almost square, about thirty by thirty-four metres, constructed on a very high plinth, with a sort of cloister, one bay deep and domed all over, on the north, east and south, running directly into the western prayer chamber; the cloister opens to the courtyard by pillars, while exquisitely carved perforated screens divide it from the outside. The ablution tank in the courtyard is connected to a reservoir of almost the same extent as the courtyard itself. Two arcuate mosques, both showing an accomplished integration of the arcuate and trabeate styles, are of much the same time, those of Miyan Khan Chishti **[16]** (*c.* 1465) and Bibi Achyut Kuki **[17]** (1469), where the minaret bases flank the central of three arches, but these again are rather over-elaborate and tend to dominate the structures. The ornate minarets of the former mosque are crowned with domical tops, but since these are not typical of the time they may be restorations of a later period. The southern bays of the prayer chamber and part of the back wall were unfortunately tastelessly altered to make accommodation for a Railways engineer in the mid-1870s. Bibi Achyut's mosque, and her tomb **[17]** in the form of a small pillared pavilion, lie within a large rectangular enclosure with round towers at the corners, unknown elsewhere in Gujarat.

Two aberrant structures must be mentioned here, as they probably represent an extraneous influence in Gujarati architecture. These are two monumental tombs, one of Darya Khan **[18]**, once a minister of Mahmud Shah, and a tomb on the Sarkhej road known as A'zam-Mu'azzam **[19]**, popularly declared to be the builders of Sarkhej. Both are of considerable size, and unlike anything else of their period in Ahmadabad are built almost entirely in brick and in the arcuate style throughout. Darya Khan's tomb (1453), the largest brick tomb in Gujarat, has a tall heavy central dome on a tall circular drum, with arched verandahs on the four sides with smaller domes above, all carried on brick squinches rather than the indigenous beam-and-bracket, and looks as though it would be more in place in Delhi; it is at best a gloomy building, and I have been told that it is haunted. The A'zam-Mu'azzam tomb is also square, but with a much shallower dome, here not carried on a drum, three well-proportioned blind arches on each face with an upper gallery of smaller open arches, with a great tapering domed turret at each angle, rather like those of some of the buildings of the late Tughluqs and Lodis in Delhi. (For completeness we might mention another brick building, Alif Khan's mosque in Dholka, where the three domes are supported in much the same way as in the A'zam-Mu'azzam tomb. The scale is enormous, and in spite of its ruinous condition it is most imposing).

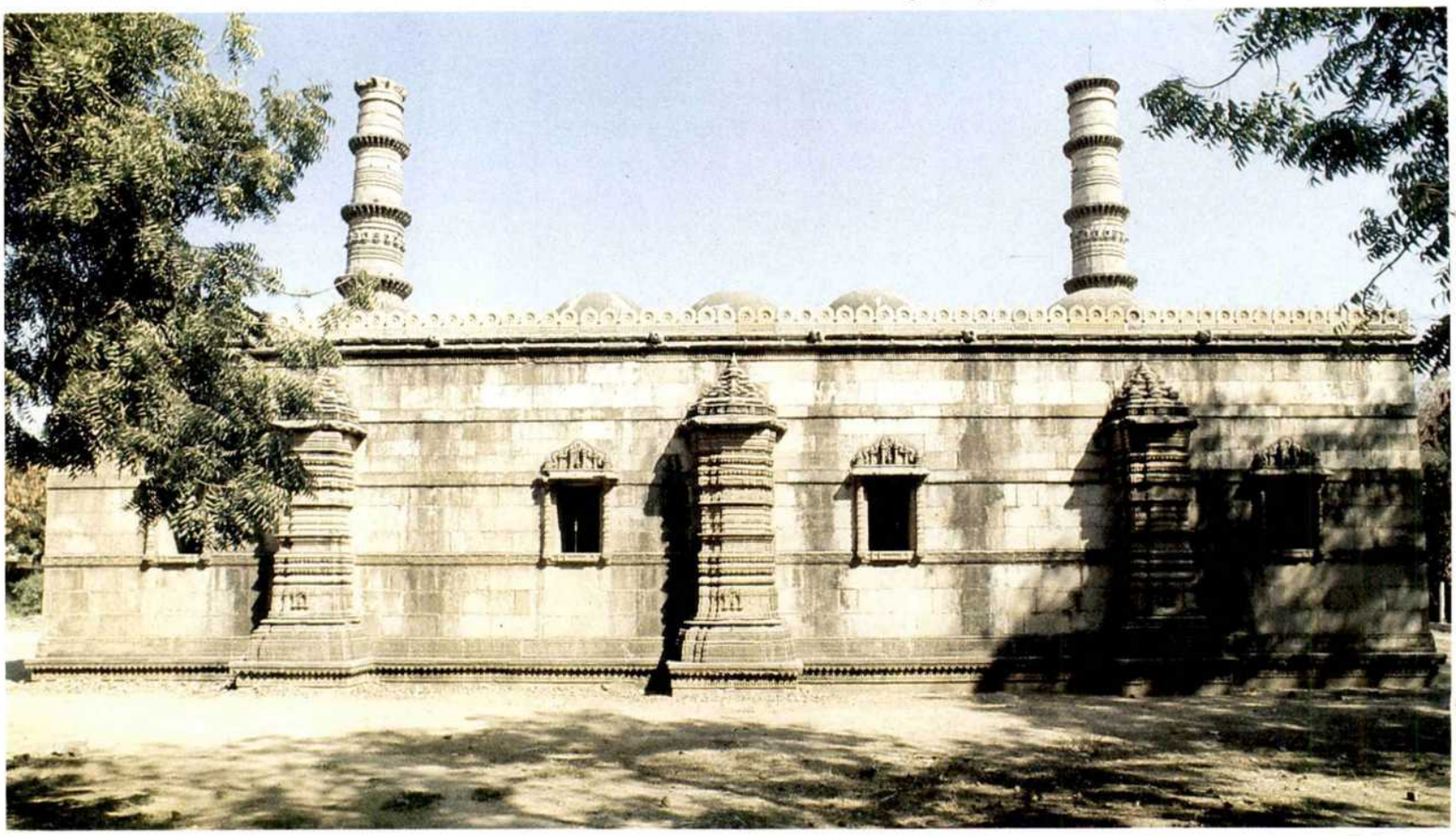
These are admittedly isolated specimens; but they may have pointed the constructional way to a further arcuate building, this time in stone: the tomb (and its associated complex) of the saint (Burhanuddin) Qutb-i Alam **[20]**, the grandson of a famous saint of Uchch, who came to Ahmad Shah's court and died there in 1452, in Vatva, some eight kilometres southeast of the city walls. This is a two-storeyed structure, of which the upper storey is a square room immediately over the tomb chamber, opening to the air by three arches on each side; above this is the dome, which originally had a small chhatri in each corner (only one of these now remains). The ground floor storey has a broad inner arcade on each side of the tomb chamber, with a narrower outer arcade; and the pillar-and-lintel form of construction appears only in the entrance porch. But the builders were evidently still unaccustomed to working with the arched form, for the outer arcades have not withstood the force of the lateral thrust, their arches have largely fallen, "and the whole is very much crippled, while the tomb without arches, that stands within a few yards of it, remains entire" (Fergusson, 1876). The tomb was formerly attributed to the reign of Mahmud Begra, but its date is in fact uncertain. I have recently heard it suggested that it might even be early Mughal; but in my opinion no Mughal architect would have handled the arcuate style with such incompetence. Not only the minor tomb but also the mosque attached to the complex is entirely in

the trabeate style.

And the trabeate style continued to be popular. The great complex known as Shah Alam **[21]**, constructed over many years, is considered later below, although its foundation may have begun shortly after the saint's death in 1475. And Mahmud's personal building scheme, extending the Sarkhej complex, relies very largely on the beam-and-bracket. He caused to be excavated, by the side of the great mosque, a vast lake; steps down to the water were added to one side of the mosque courtyard. At the east end of the north side of the lake were built, in the shadow of the tomb of Shaikh Ahmad Khattu, two magnificent tombs, one for Mahmud Shah, and another, connected by a portico, for his queen Bibi Rajbai; both of these are of the trabeate style, domed, and with the central tomb chamber surrounded by elaborate stone screens. At the west end of the south side of the lake is Mahmud's palace, again almost entirely trabeate, but now in a sad state of disrepair; and the sluice gates to the tank are again treated with great attention to proportion and decoration. (An inscription in Gujarati prose, in Nagari characters, declares that the tank was built by "Madapharsa", i.e. Muzaffar Shah, in 1514; this is, of course, later than the tombs of Mahmud Shah and his queens, and the palace building, which were obviously sited with reference to a large extent of water. It may simply refer to the completion of the works, or to some works of improvement).

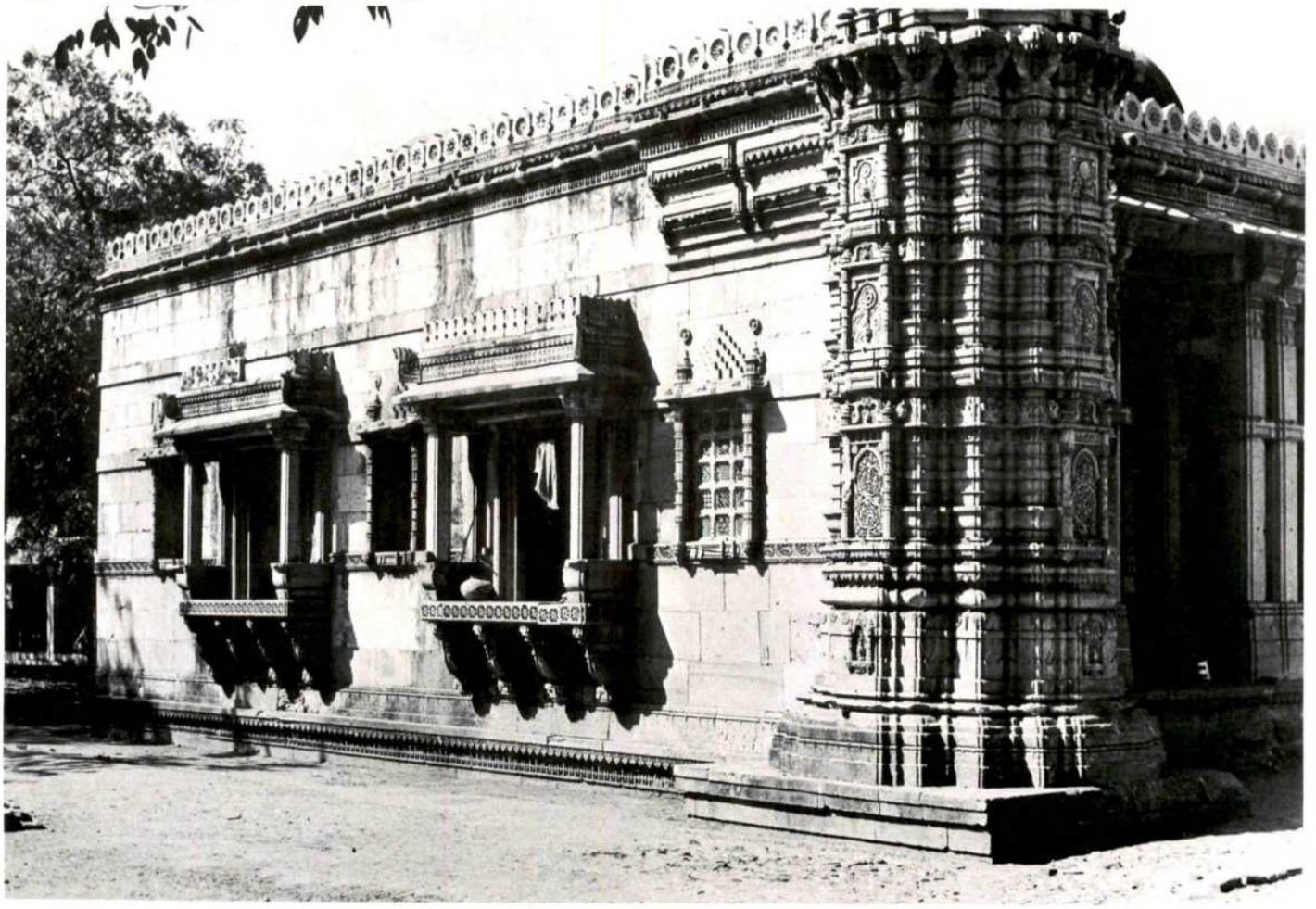
Mahmud had by now built his new capital of Champaner. But excellent building works continued at Ahmadabad. The mosque of Muhafiz Khan **[22]**, 1485, a comparatively small one, has the richly carved minarets at the ends of the prayer hall arcuate facade rather than flanking the central arch; and they are lower, having only three storeys above roof level, than in some other examples, investing the ensemble with more coherence. The difference in elevation between the central chamber and the side bays is not apparent from the courtyard, where the facade conceals the arrangement; but the attractive rear view of the mosque reveals this, and also the decorated oriel windows which project from the sides of the sanctuary. The mosques of Bai Harir **[23]**, 1500, in Asarva, and Rani Rupavati **[24]** in the Mirzapur quarter, of about the same date, have the minarets placed centrally, and show an interesting integration of the arcuate and trabeate forms in the elaborate north and south extensions to the prayer chamber, with their balcony openings on the facade very much in the old temple style; but although the decoration of the minaret buttresses in both of these is very ornate, there is something of a heaviness about both. The former building has the small tomb of the founder beside it, and a magnificent vav or step-well; the latter also has an associated tomb.

Usmanpur, Sayyid 'Usman's mosque, west facade, *c.* 1460 **[14]**.



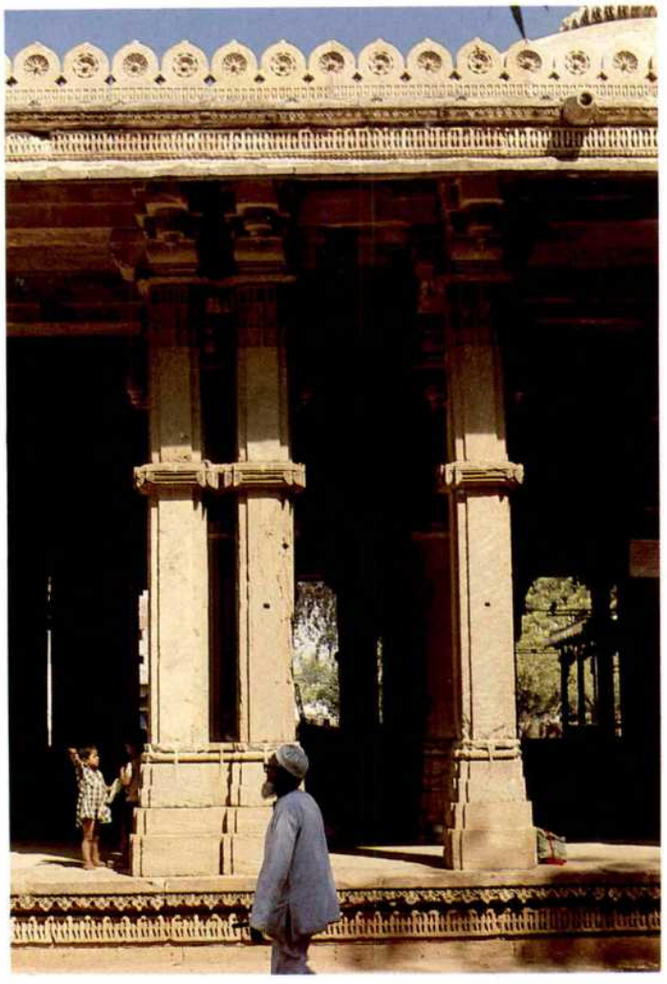
Sayyid 'Usman's mosque, south facade [14].

Sayyid 'Usman's mosque, south facade [14].



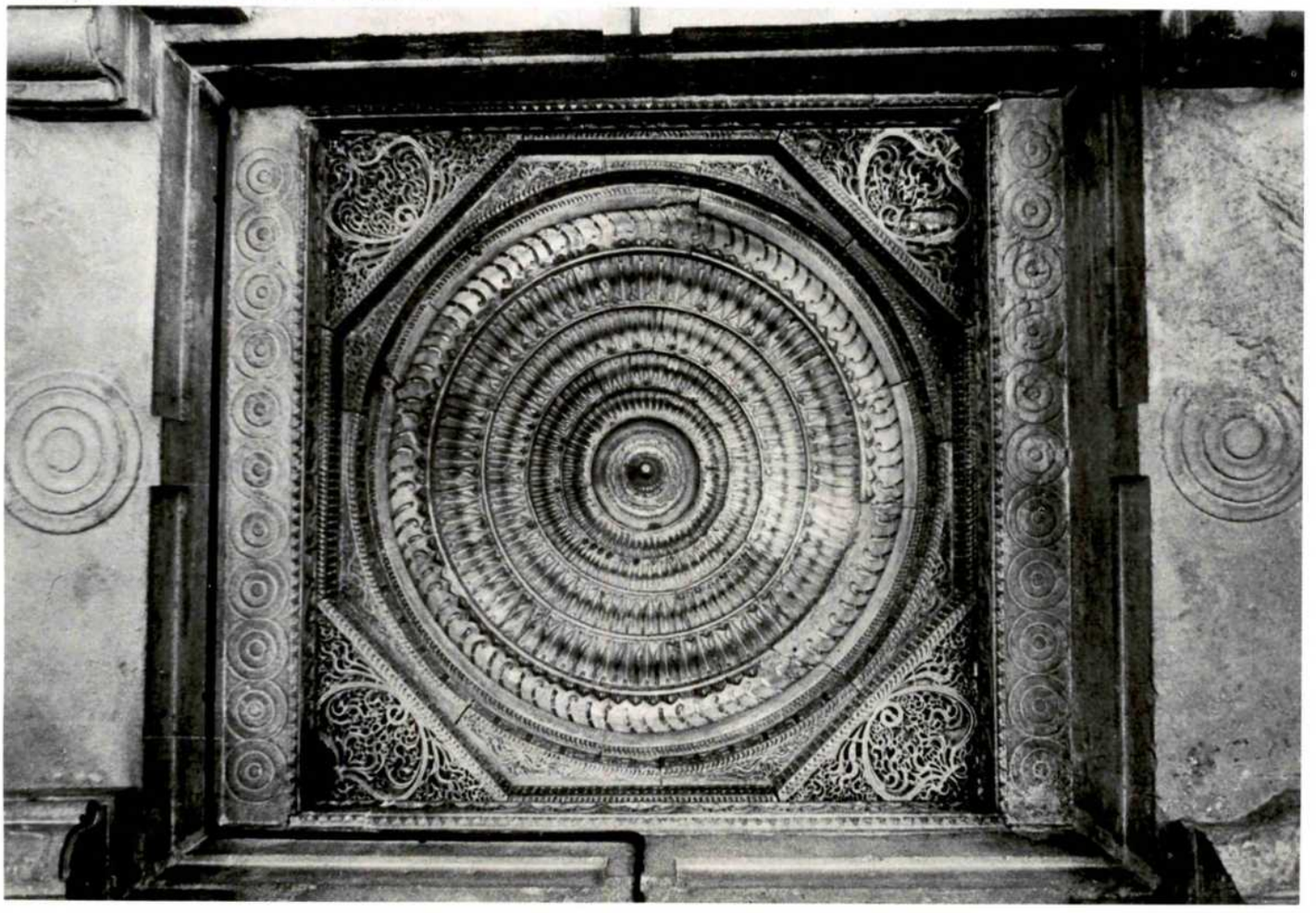
Usmanpur, Sayyid 'Usman's tomb, general view, *c.* 1460 **[14]**.

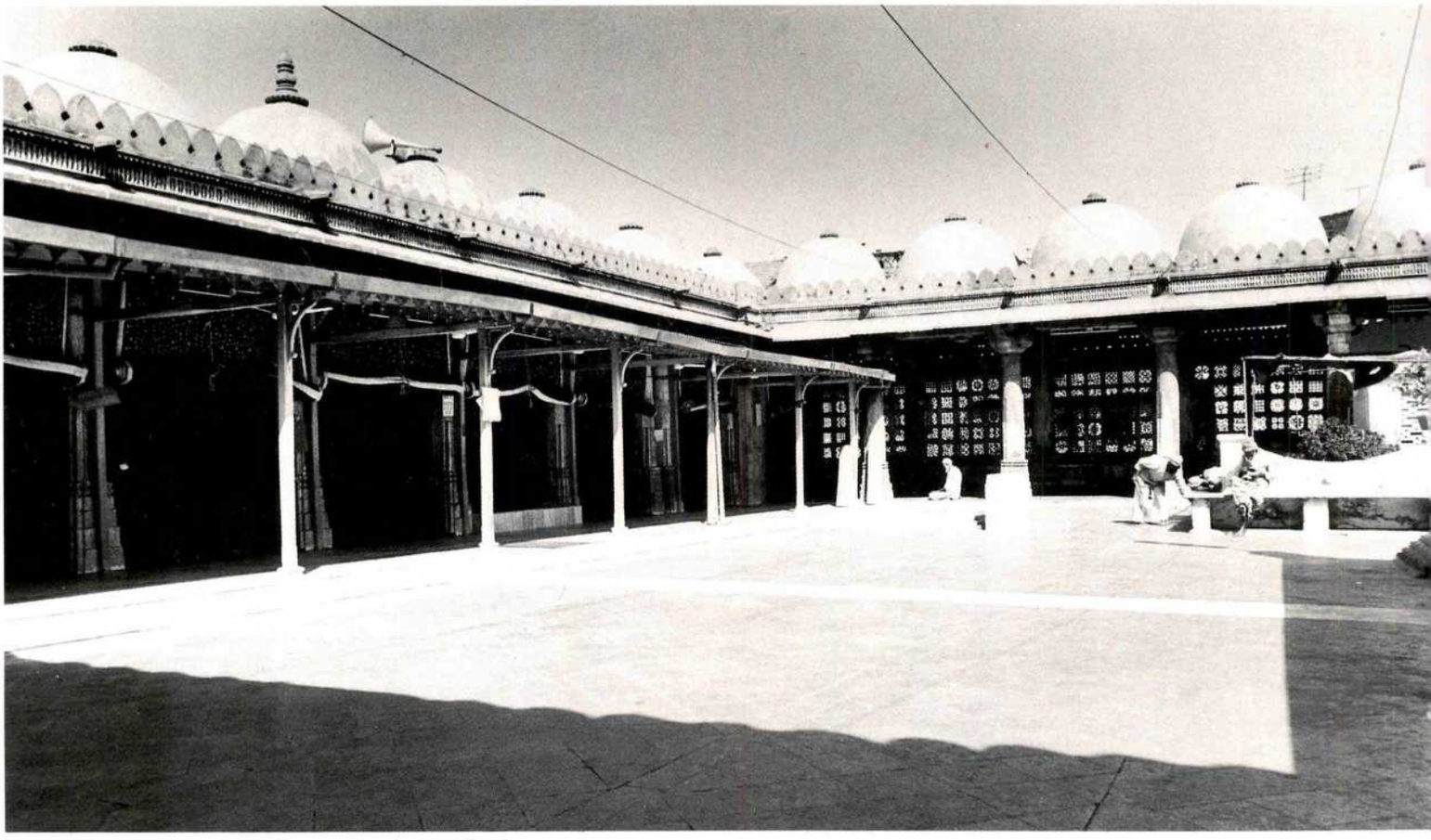
Sayyid 'Usman's tomb, detail of facade **[14]**.



Sayyid 'Usman's tomb, interior [14].

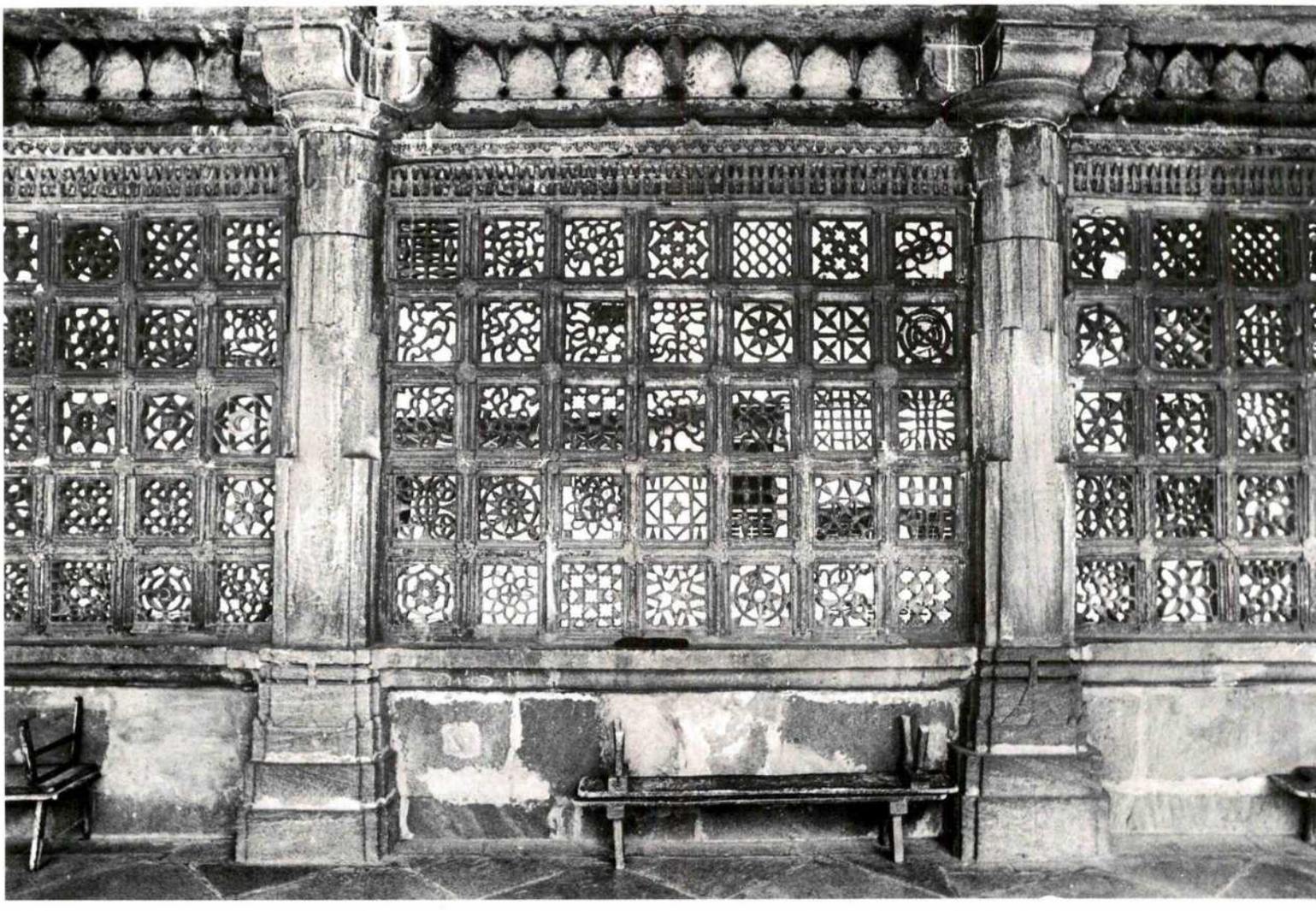
Sayyid 'Usman's tomb, detail of a ceiling [14].





Dastur Khan's mosque, Astodia, courtyard, 1463 **[15]**.

Dastur Khan's mosque, jalis **[15]**.



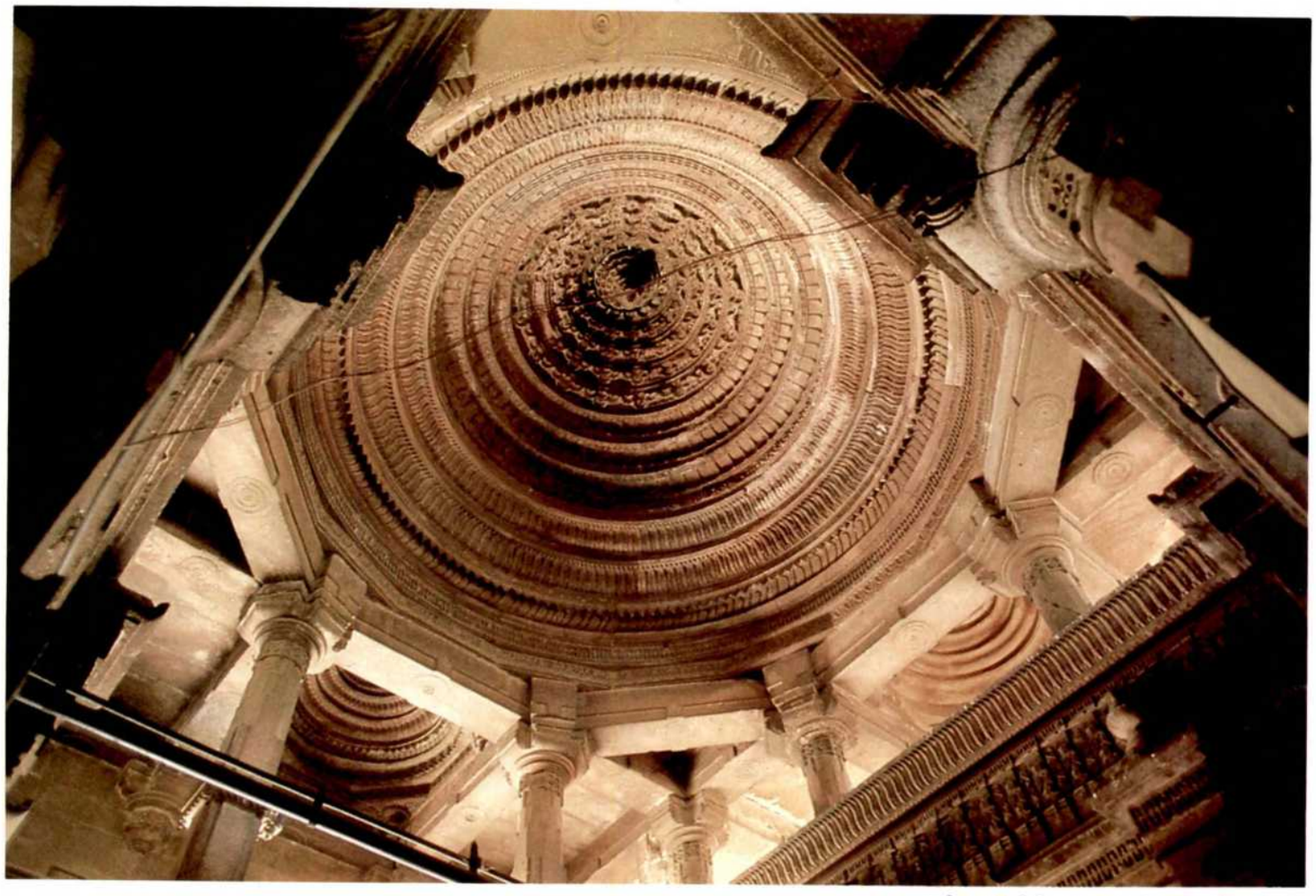
Dastur Khan's mosque, interior [15].

Shahi Bagh, Miyan Khan Chishti's mosque, general view, *c.* 1465 **[16]**.

Miyan Khan Chishti's mosque, niche in a minaret [16].

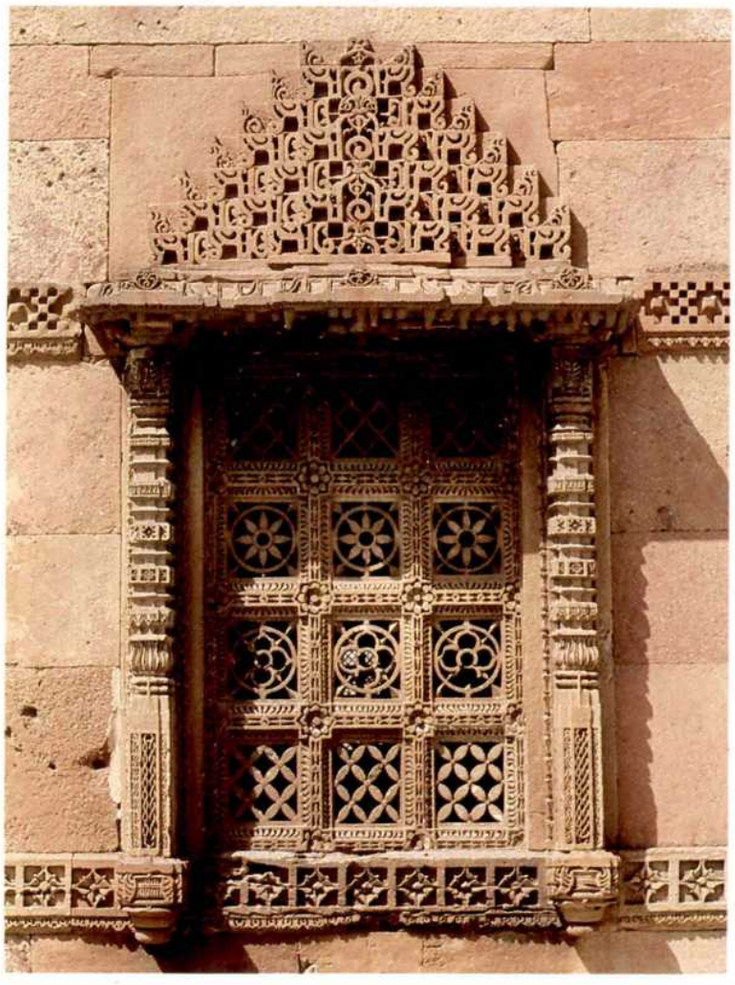
Miyan Khan Chishti's mosque, mihrab [16].

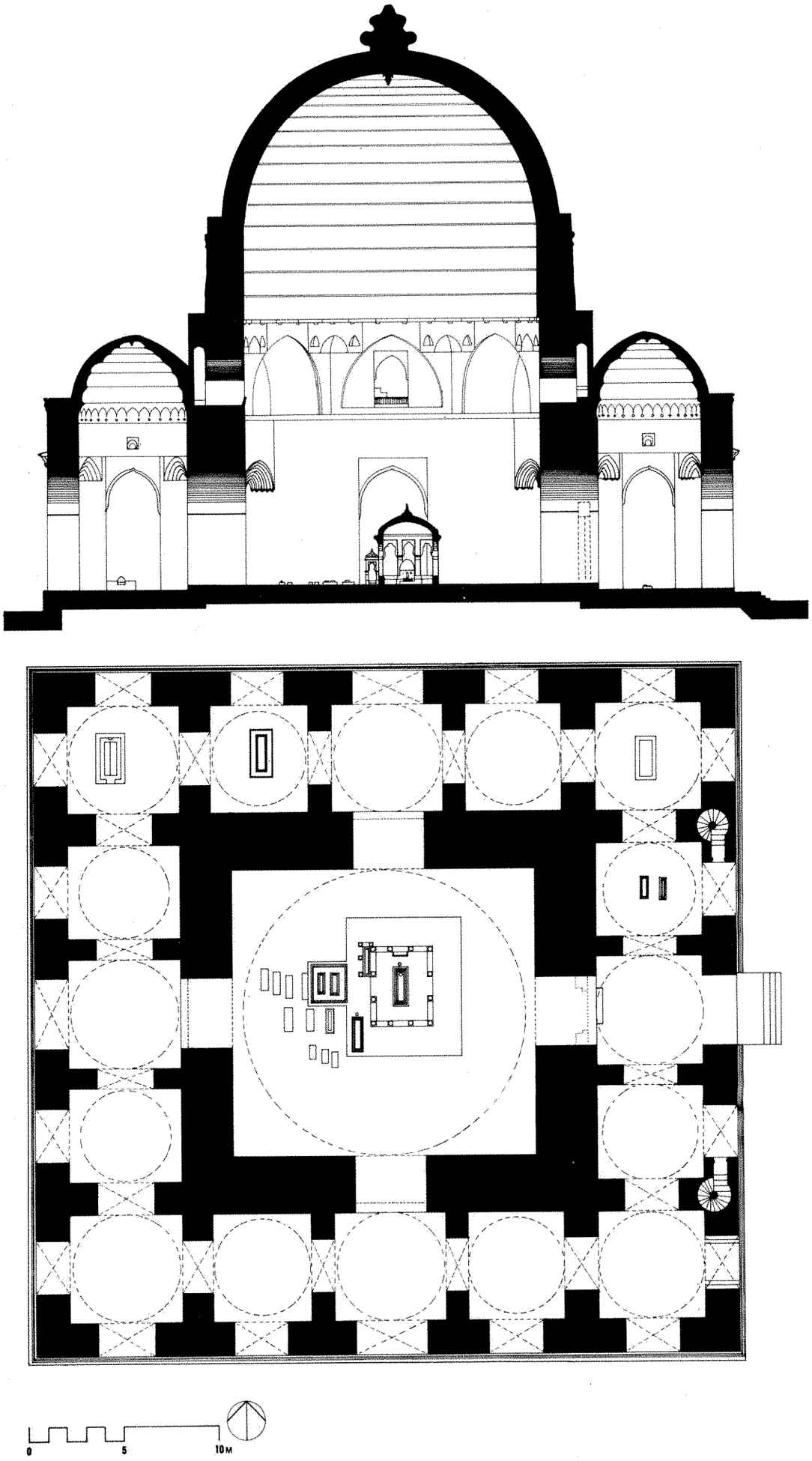
Dudheshwar, Achyut Kuki's mosque, west wall facing the courtyard, 1469 [17].



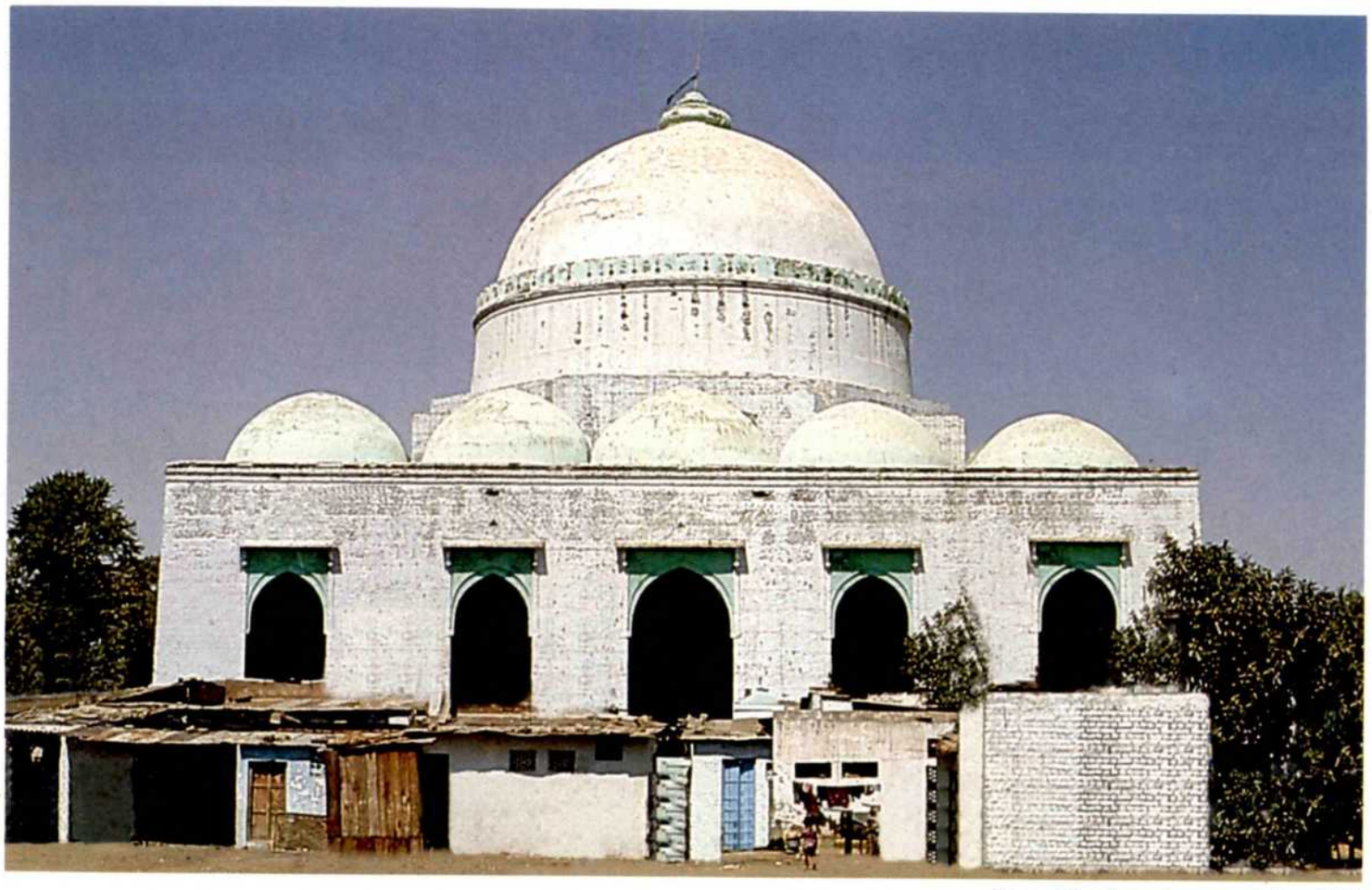
Achyut Kuki's mosque, dome ceiling [17].

Achyut Kuki's mosque, window [17].





Dudheshwar, Darya Khan's tomb, plan and section, 1453 **[18]**.



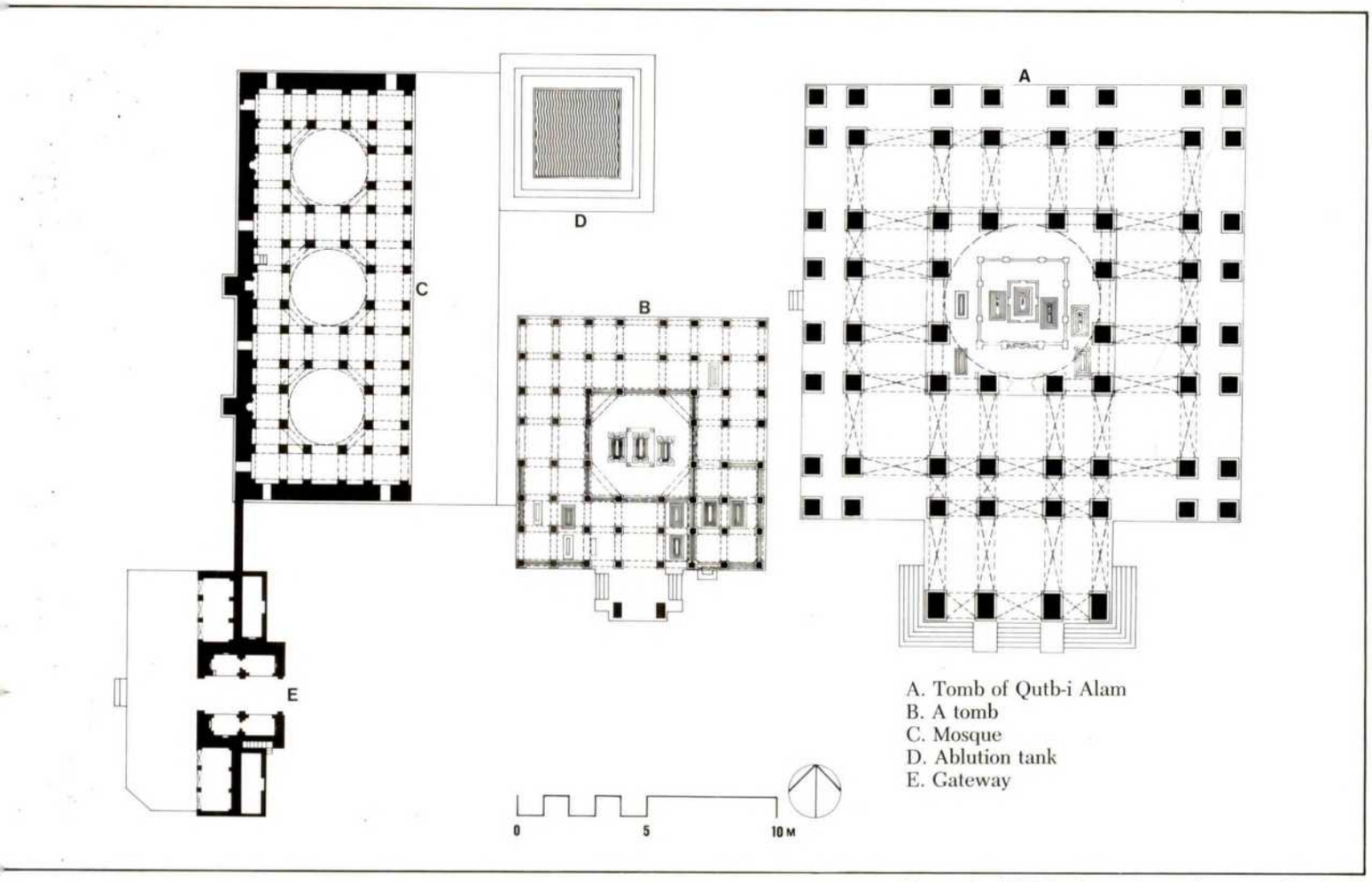
Darya Khan's tomb, general view [18].

Darya Khan's tomb, a ceiling in the colonnade [18].

Darya Khan's tomb, squinch [18].

Vasna, A'zam-Mu'azzam's tomb, general view **[19]**.

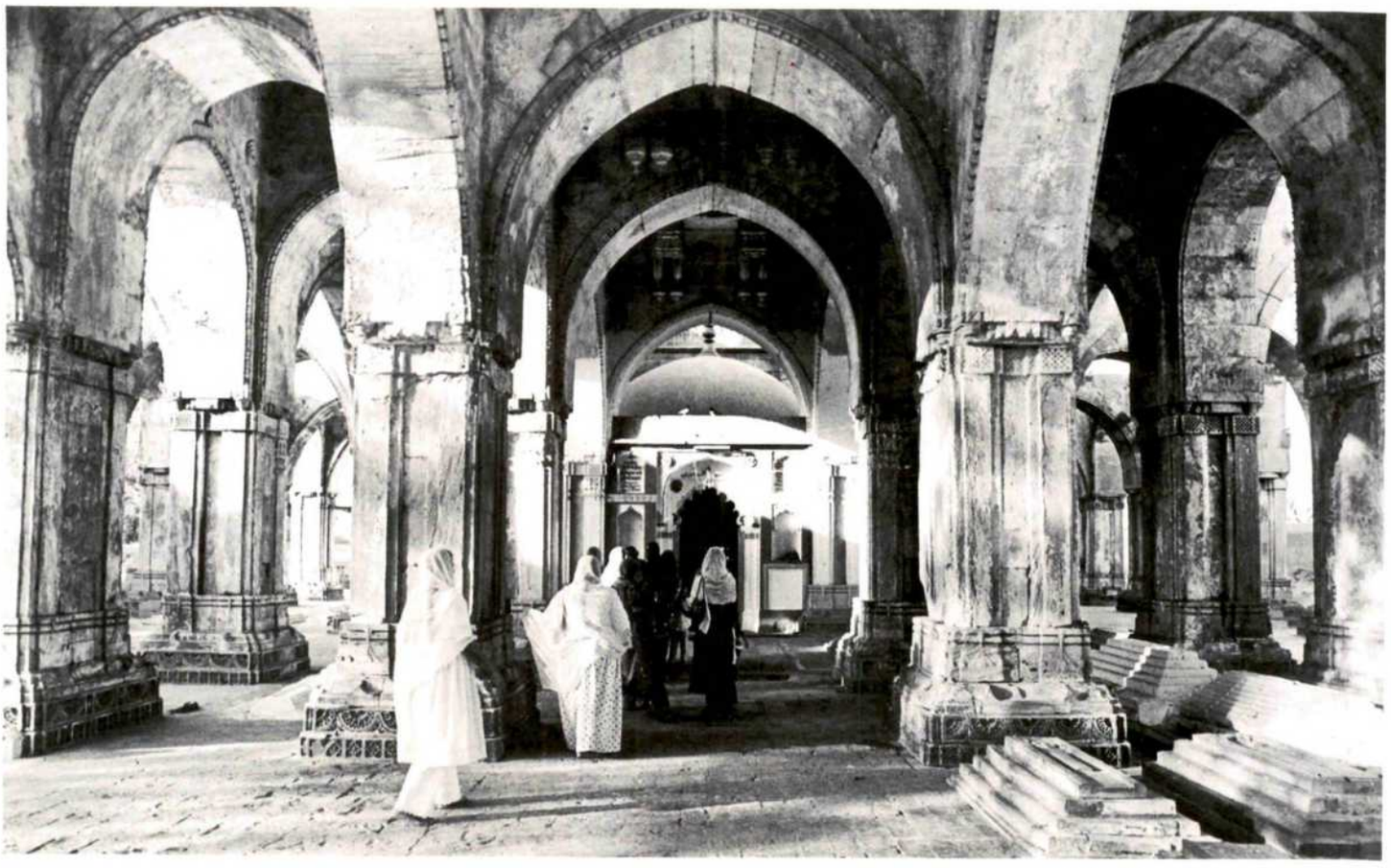
A'zam-Mu'azzam's tomb, east facade **[19]**.



Vatva, Qutb-i Alam's tomb complex, site plan **[20]**.

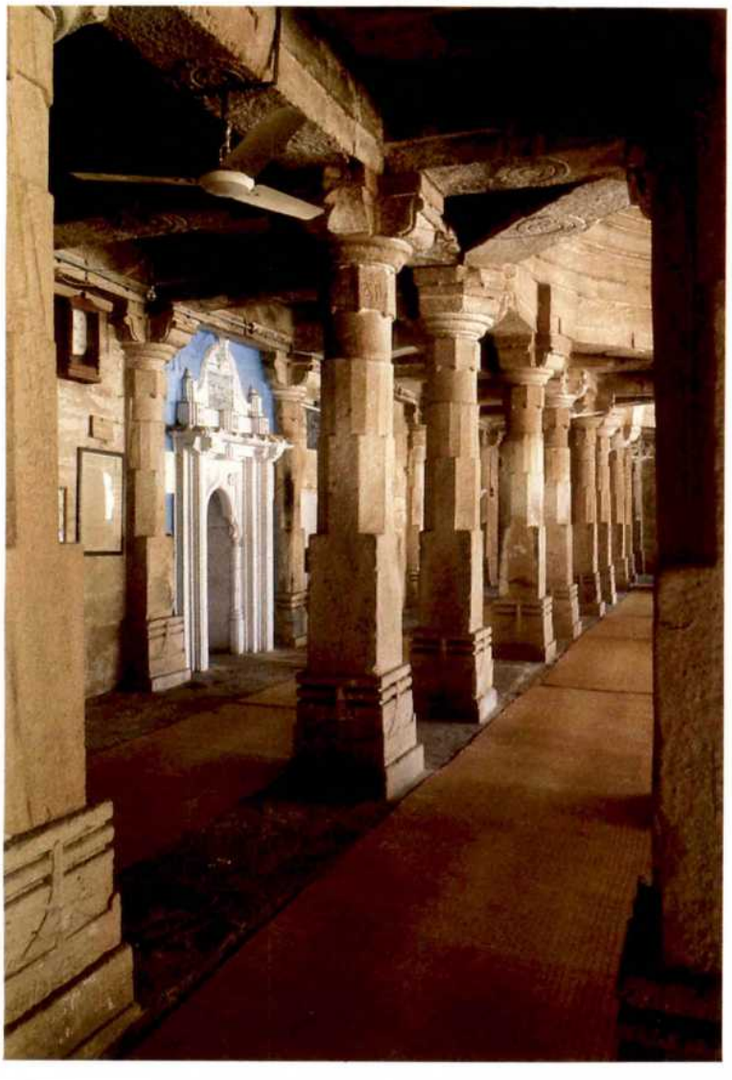
Qutb-i Alam's tomb, entrance gateway **[20]**.

Qutb-i Alam's tomb, general view **[20]**.

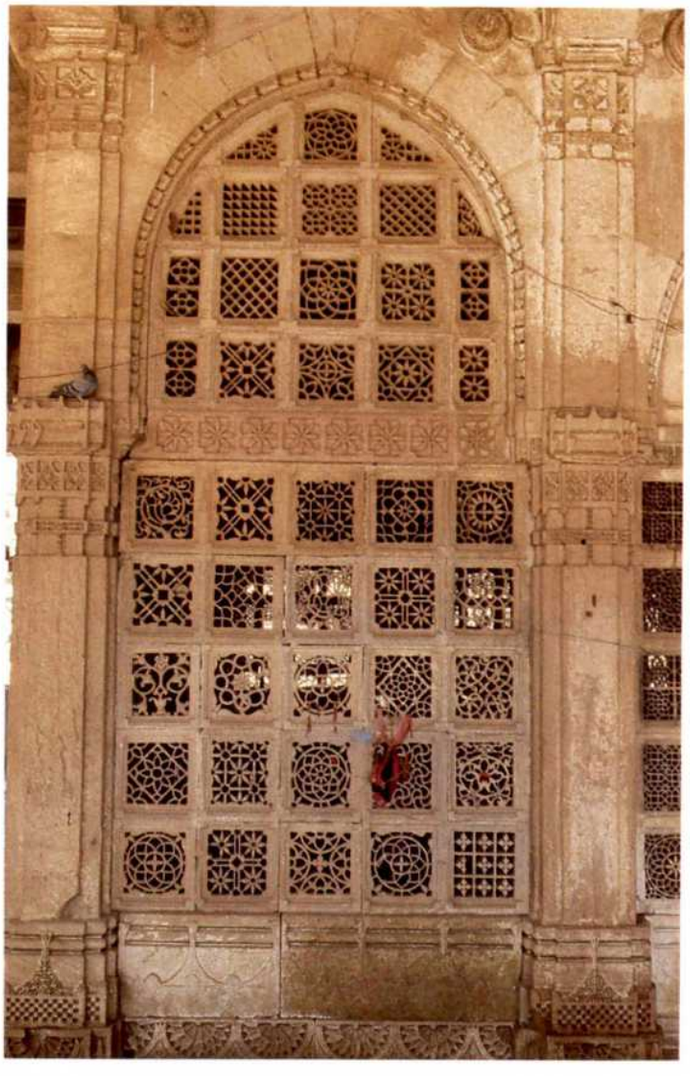


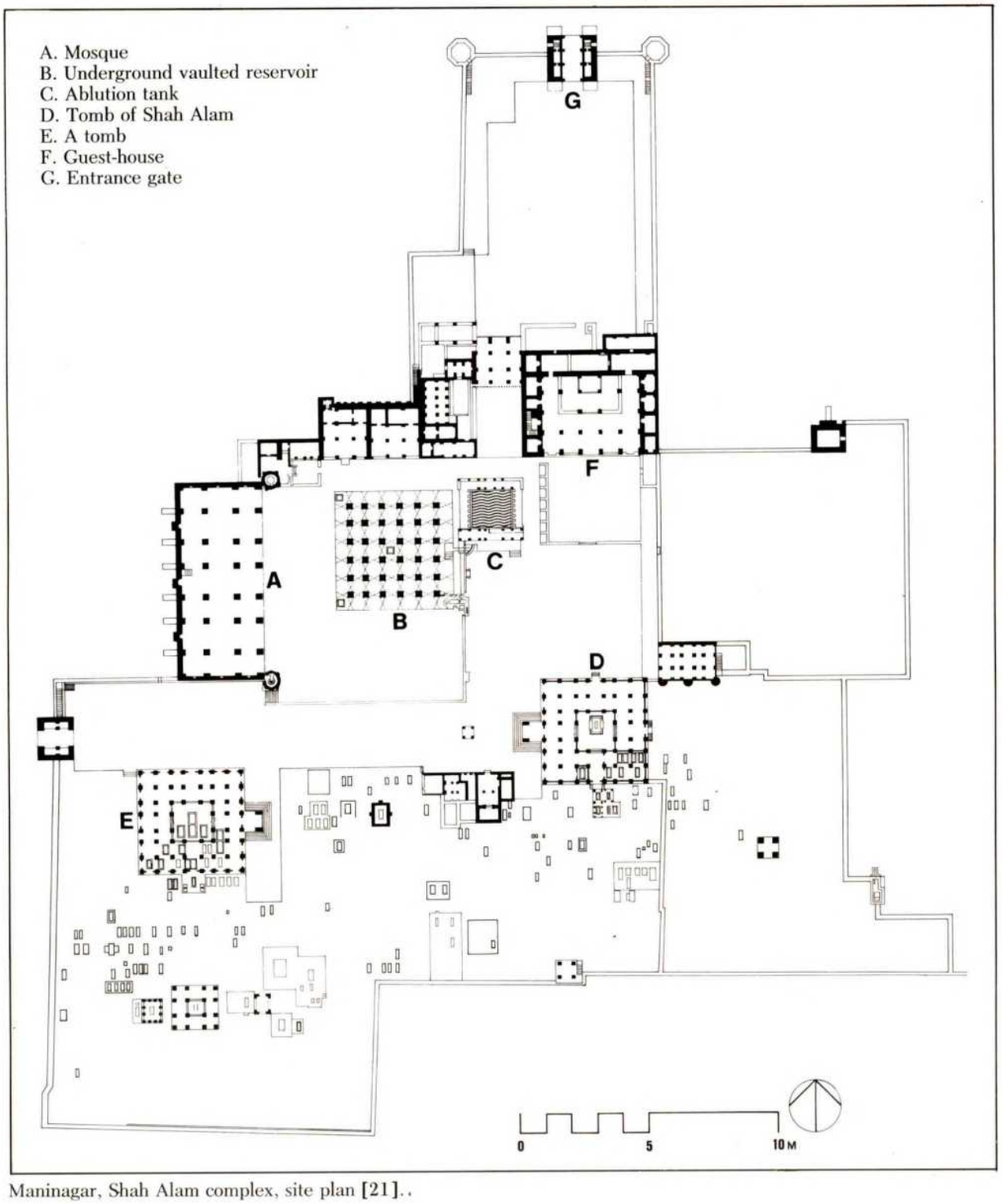
Qutb-i Alam's tomb, interior [20].

Vatva, Qutb-i Alam's mosque, interior [20].

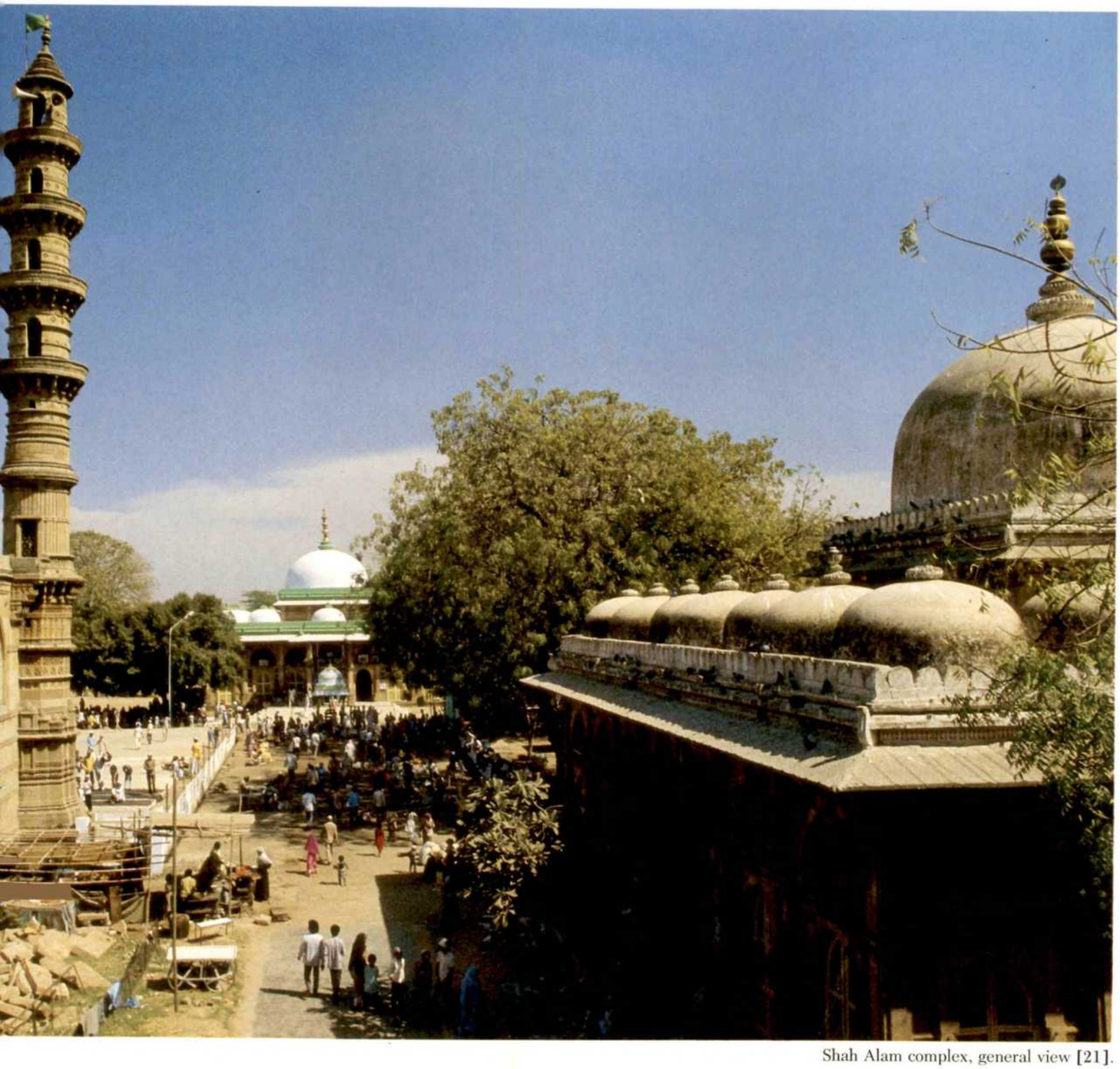


Qutb-i Alam's tomb, jali [20].

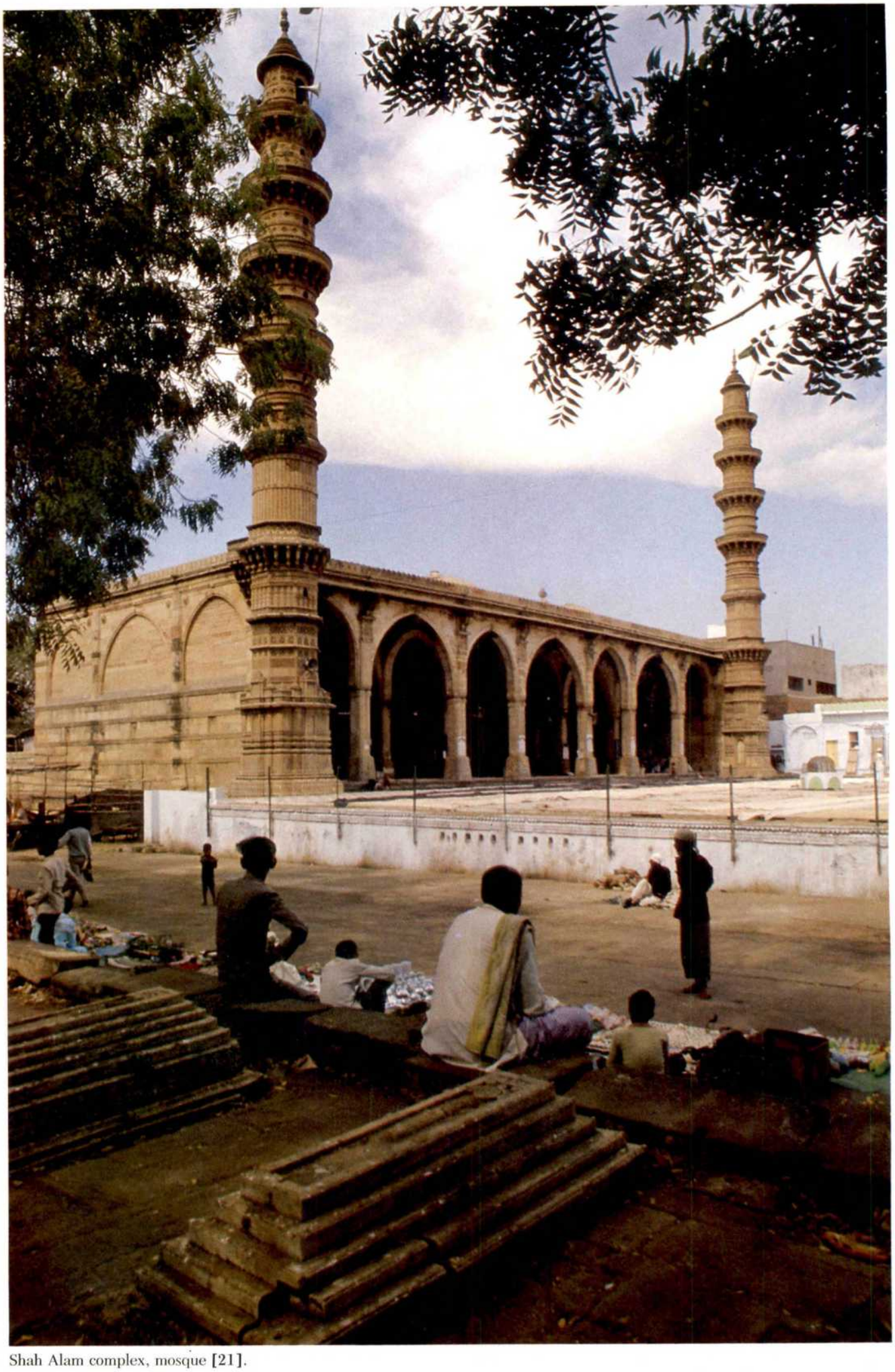




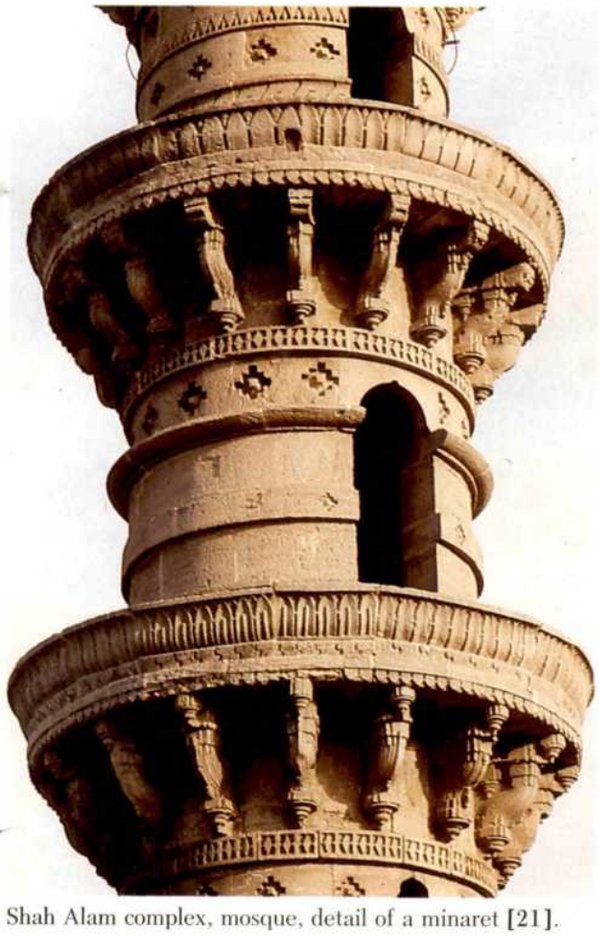
Maninagar, Shah Alam complex, site plan [21]..



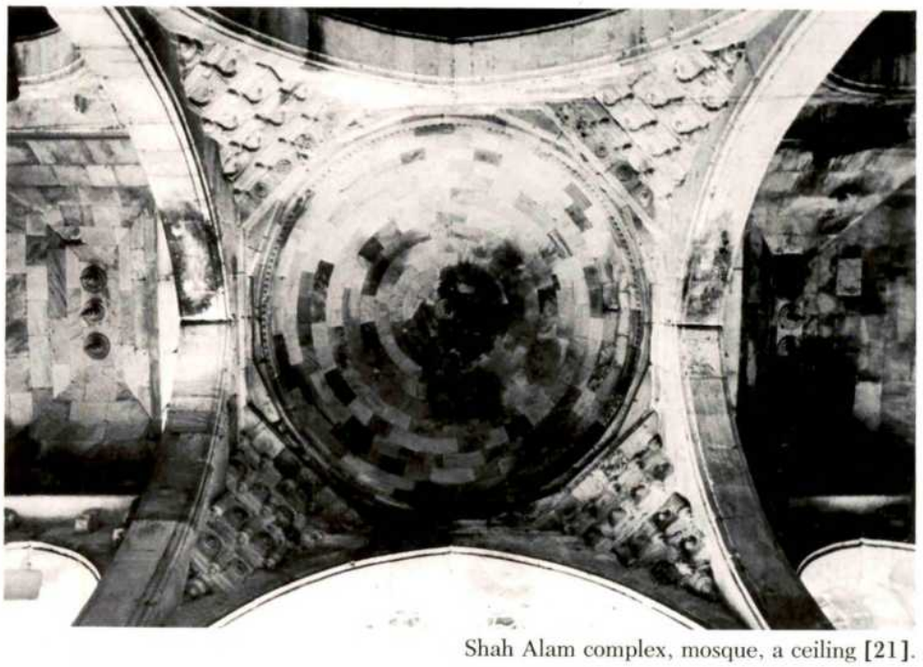
Shah Alam complex, general view [21].



Shah Alam complex, mosque [21].

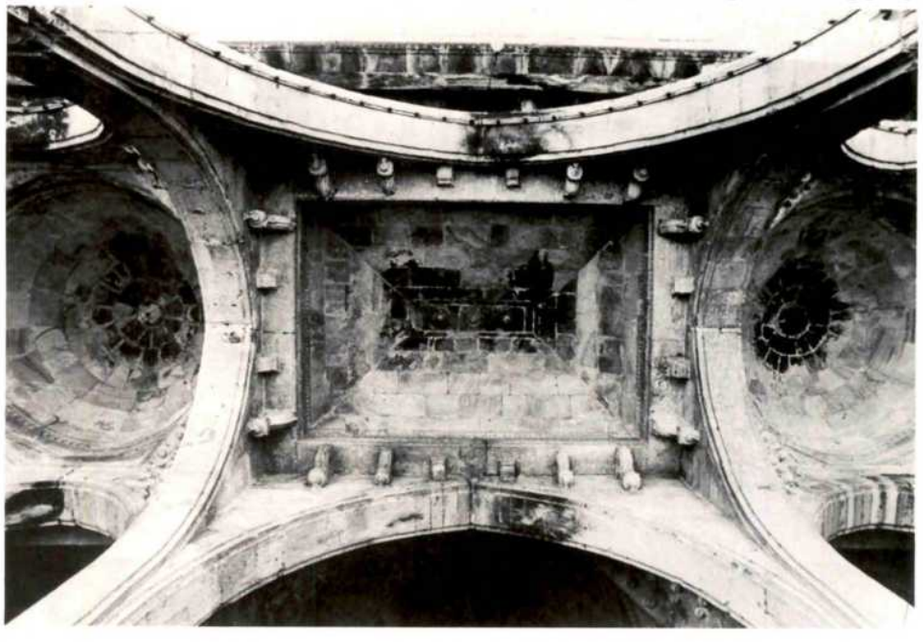


Shah Alam complex, mosque, detail of a minaret [21].

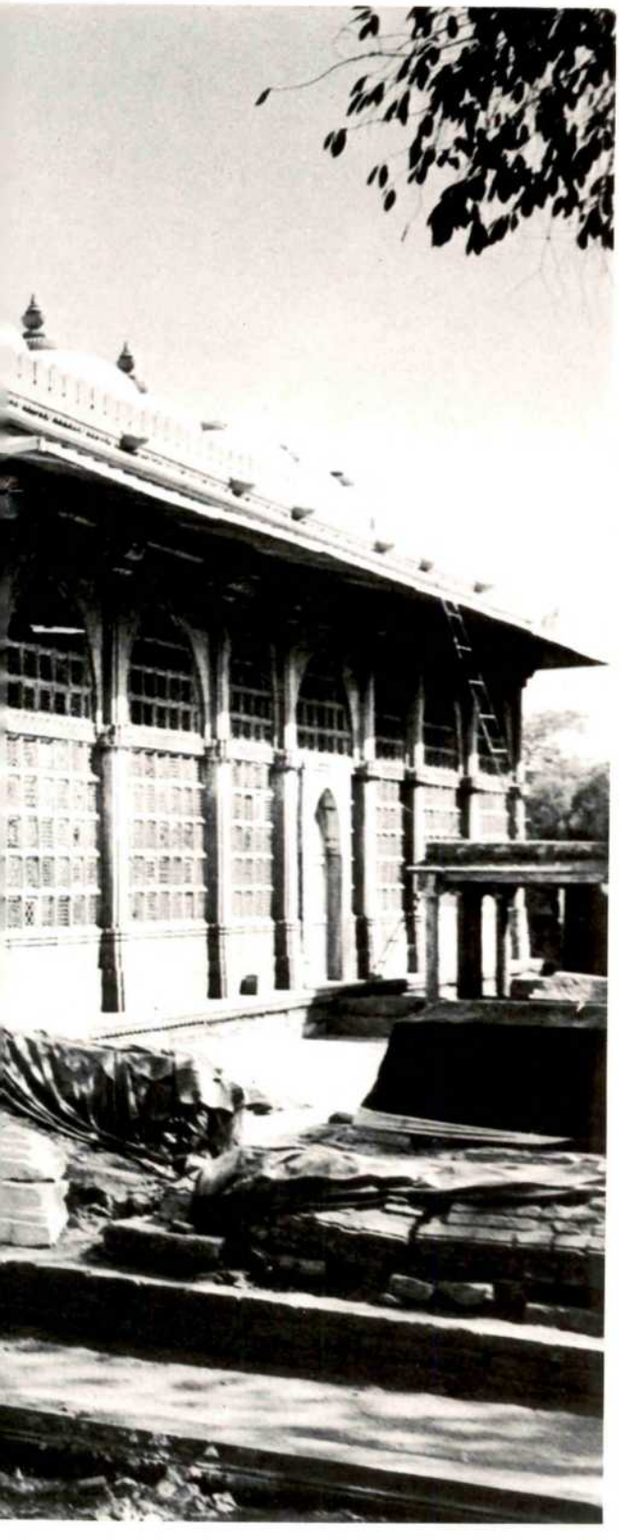


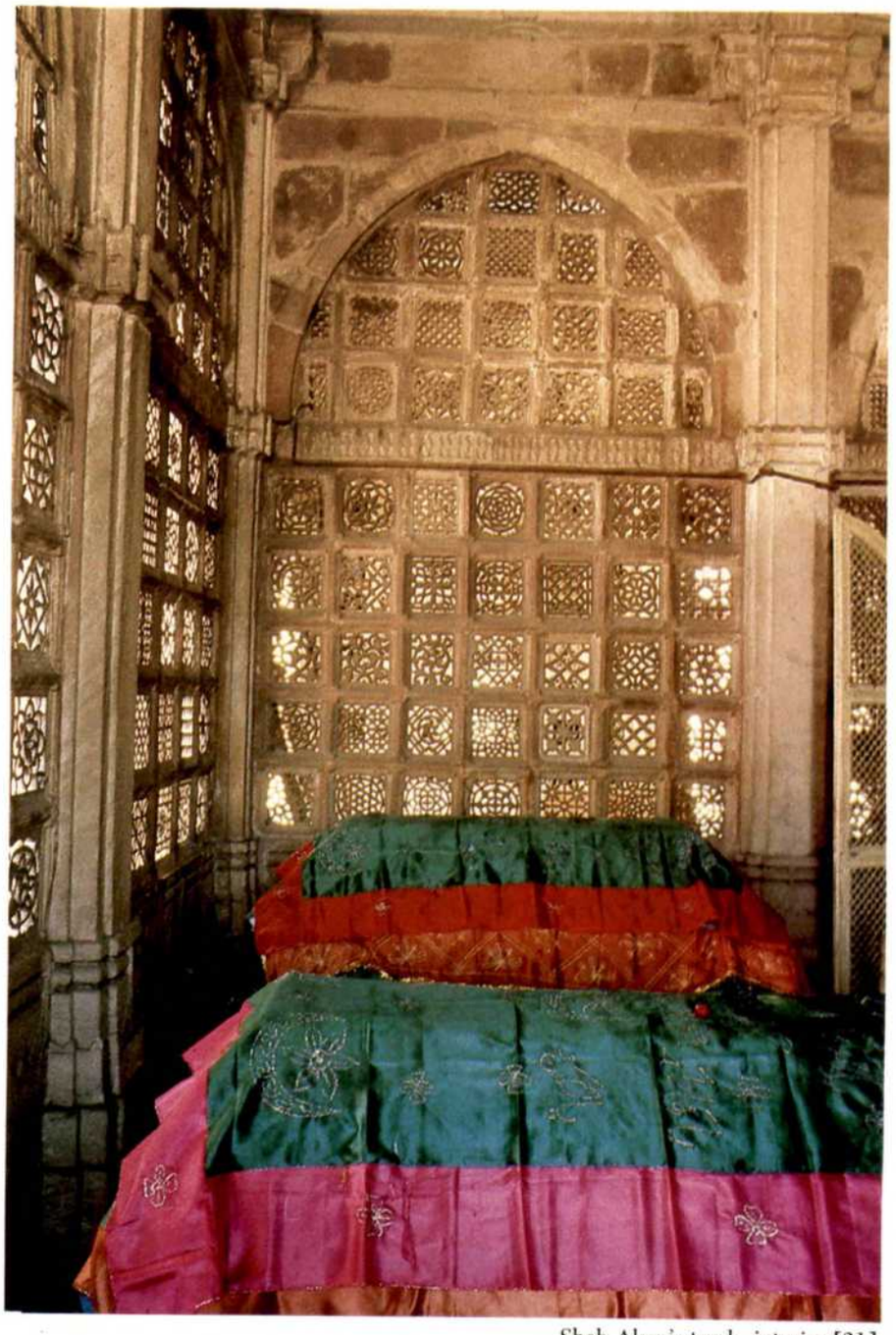
Shah Alam complex, mosque, a ceiling [21].

Shah Alam complex, mosque, a ceiling [21].



Shah Alam's tomb, general view [21].



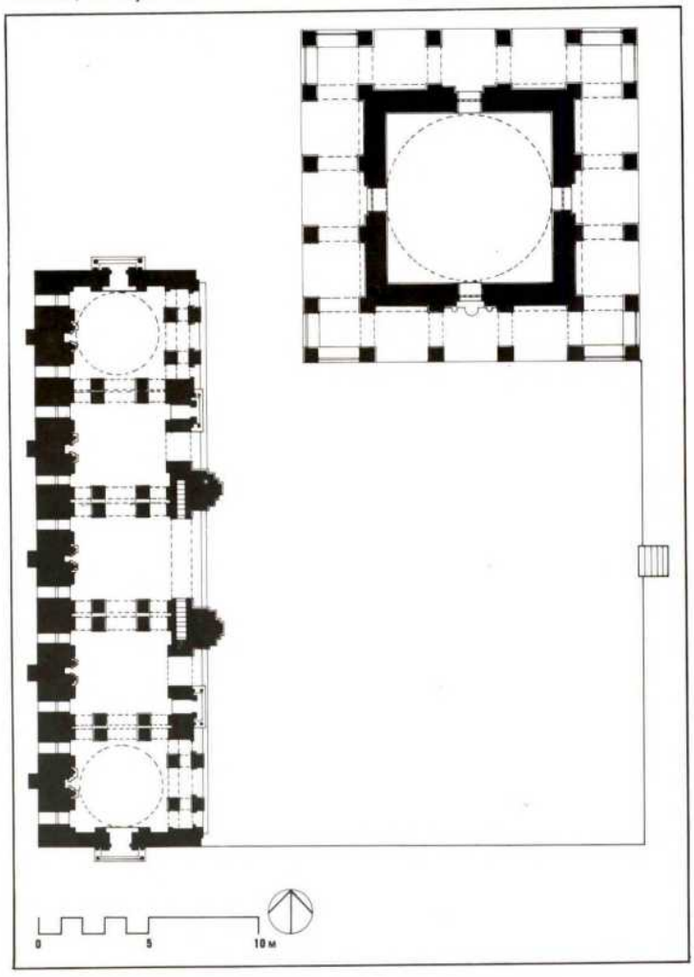


Shah Alam's tomb, interior [21].

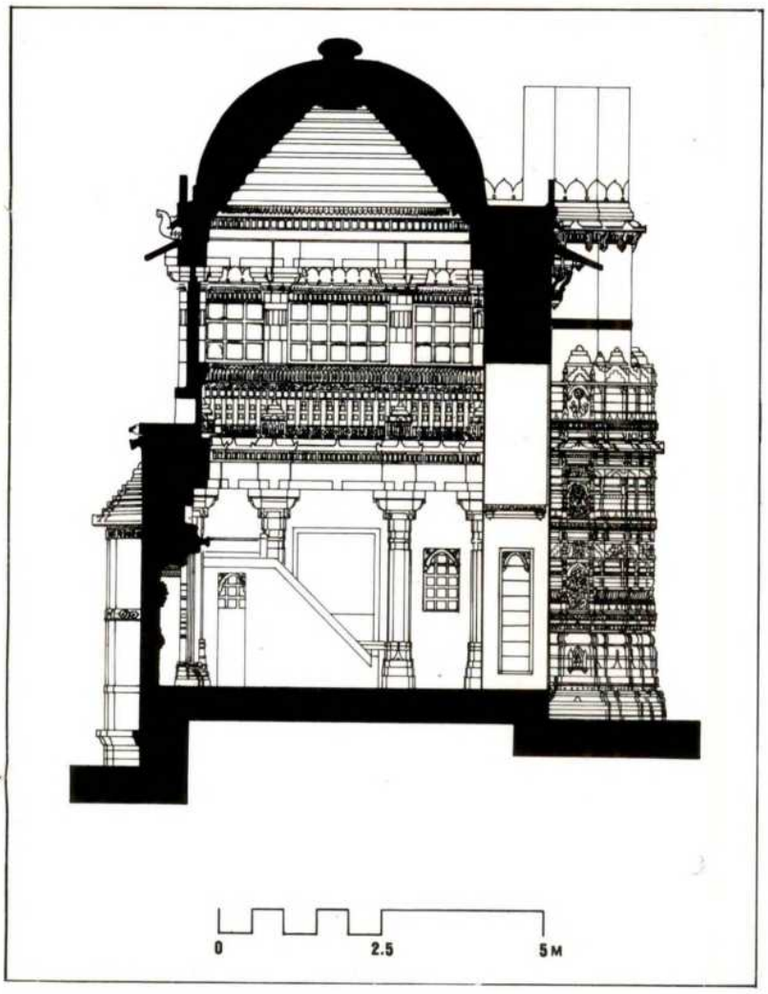
Shah Alam complex, mosque, roof [21].

Gheekanta, Muhafiz Khan's mosque, west facade, 1485 **[22]**.

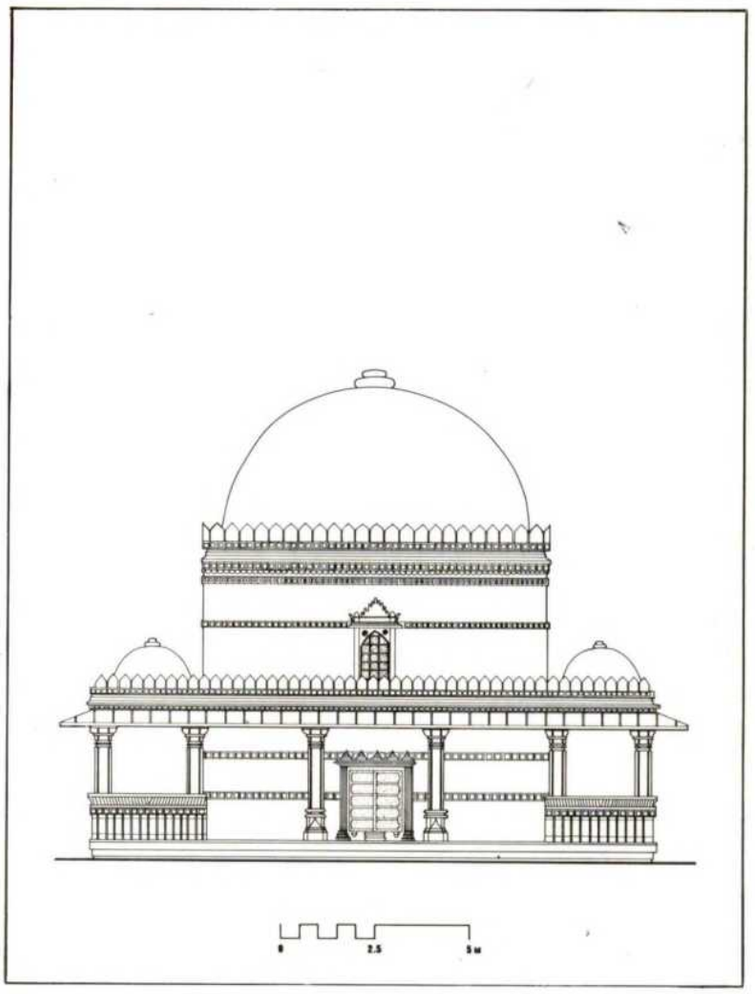
Asarva, mosque and tomb of Bai Harir, plan, 1500 **[23]**.



Mosque and tomb of Bai Harir, general view **[23]**.

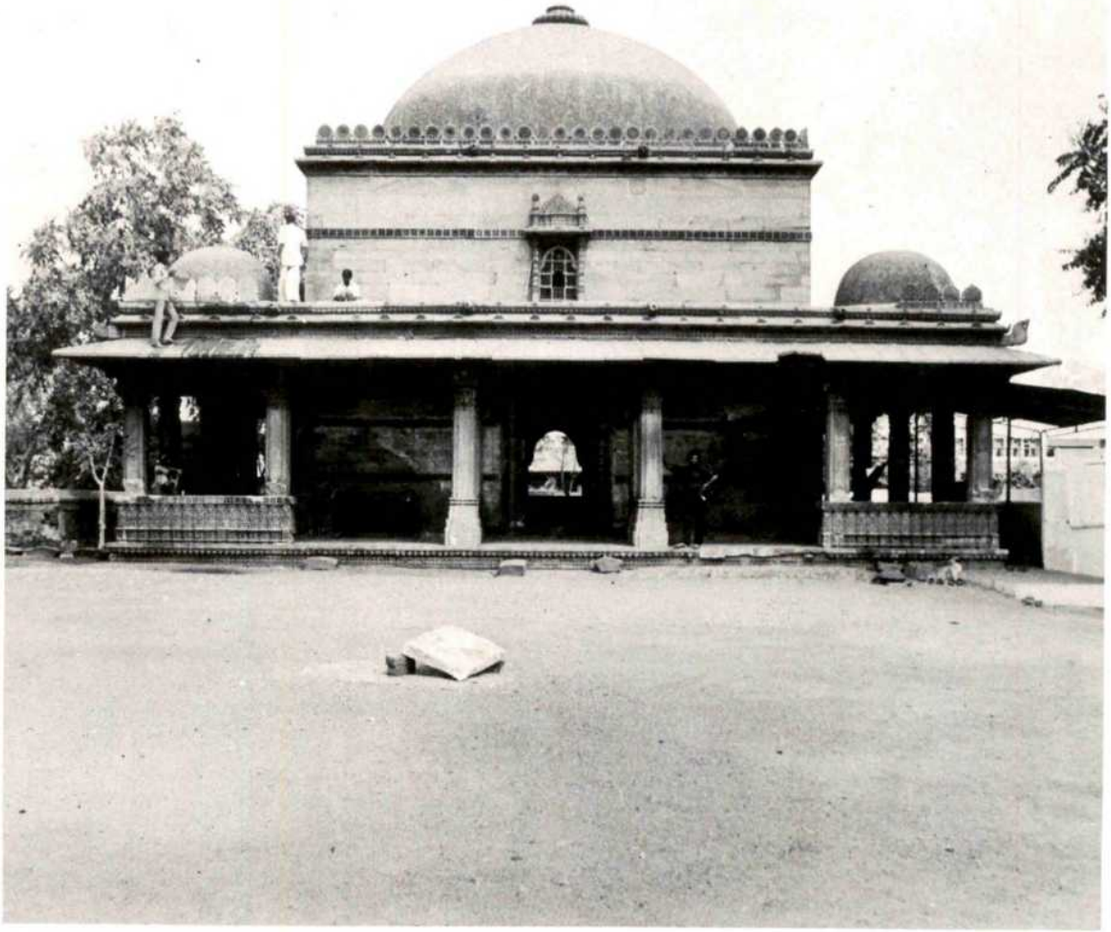


Bai Harir's mosque, section [23].



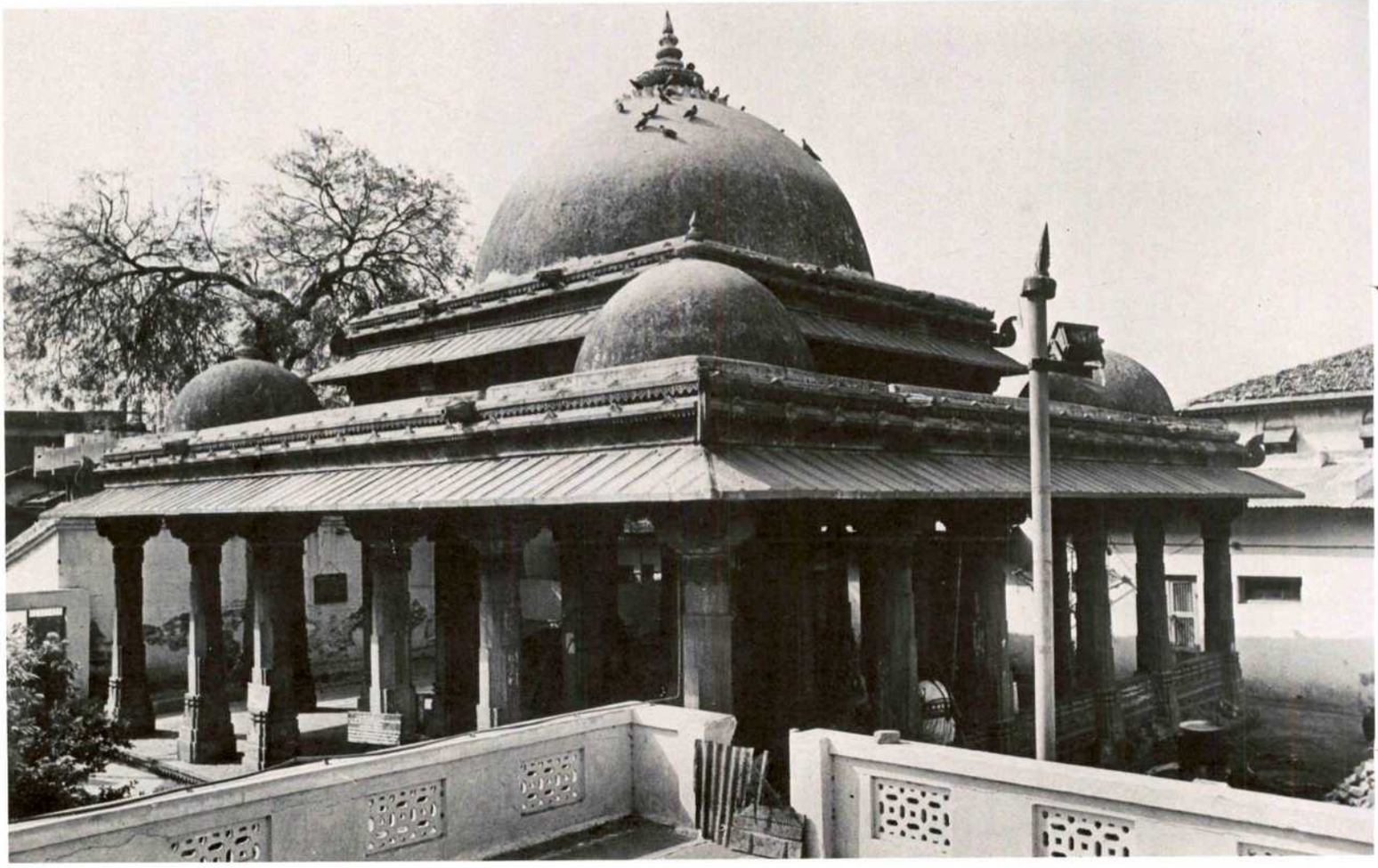
Bai Harir's tomb, south elevation [23].

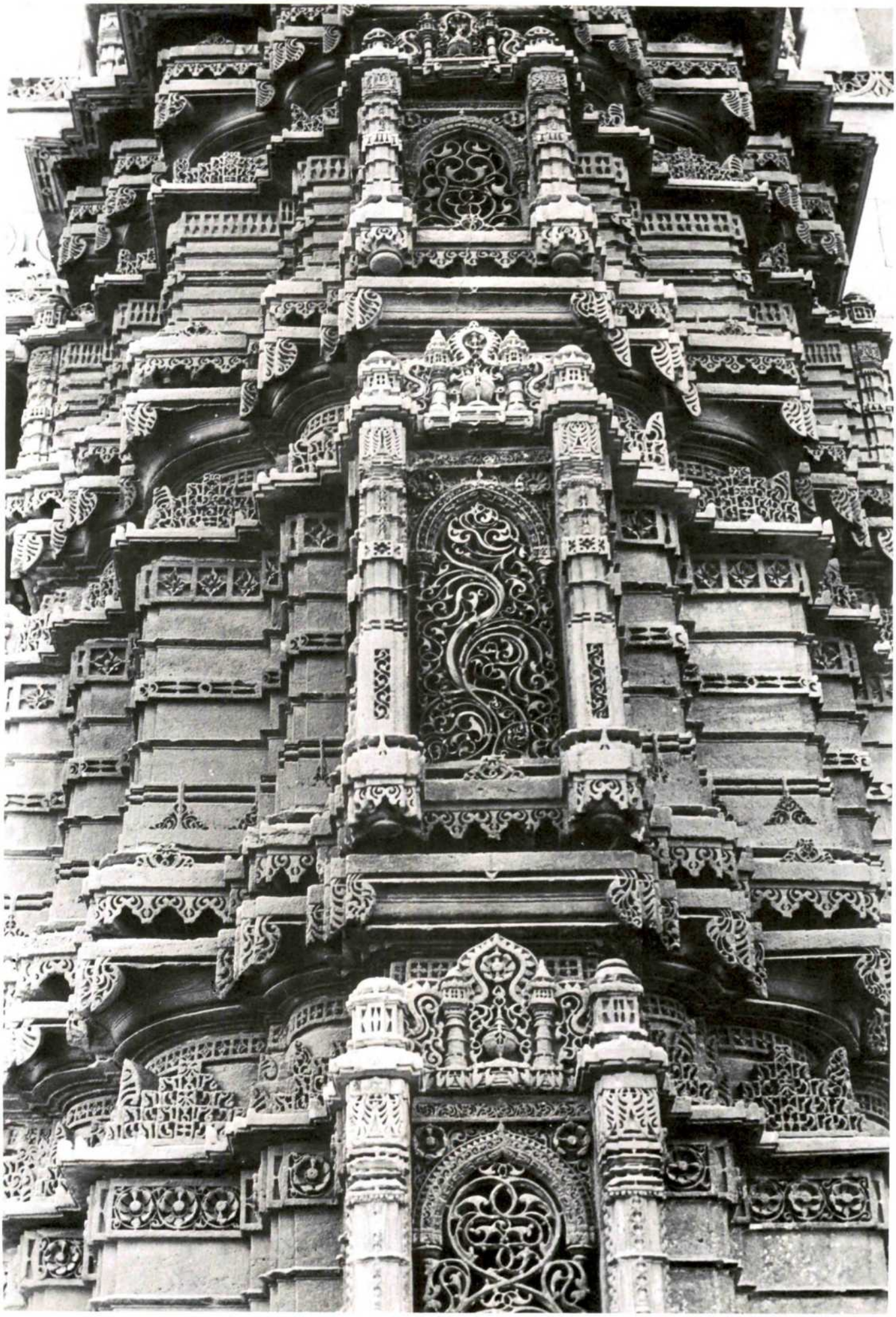
Bai Harir's tomb, south facade [23].



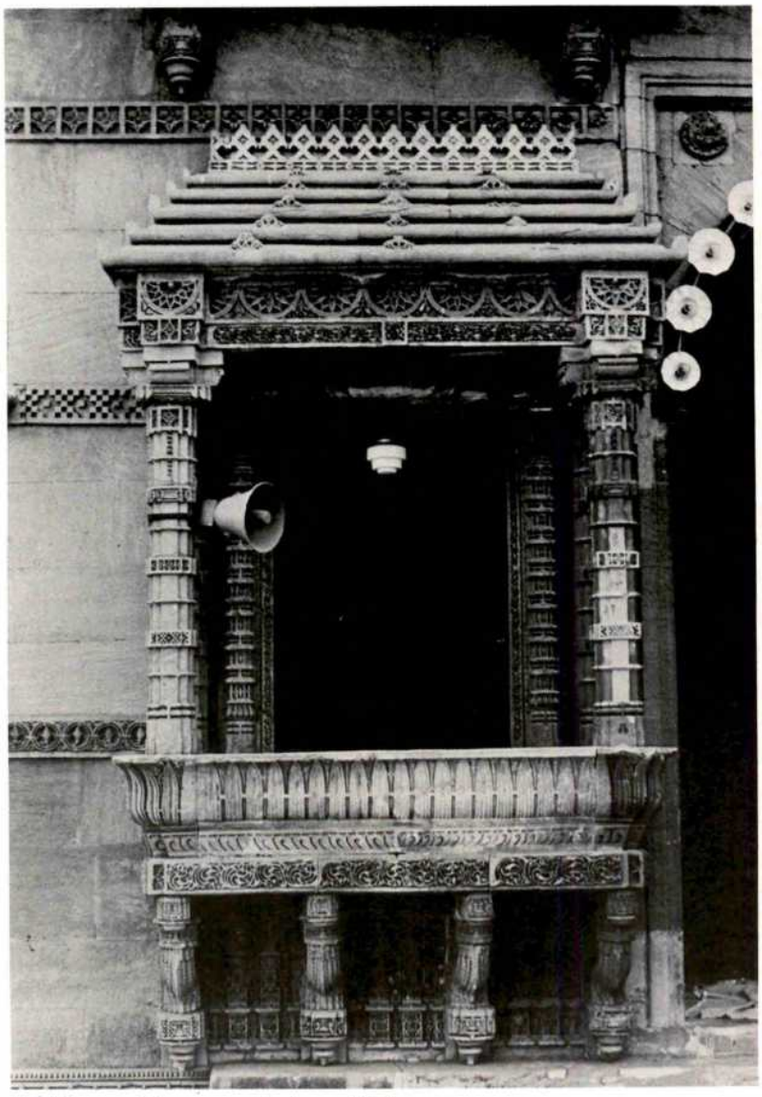
Rani Rupavati's mosque, Mirzapur, west facade [24].

Rani Rupavati's tomb, Mirzapur, general view [24].





Rani Rupavati's mosque, detail of a minaret [24].



Rani Rupavati's mosque, balcony [24].

Rani Rupavati's mosque, detail of west facade [24].

Buildings of the Reigns of Later Sultans

Some very fine buildings continued to be produced in the subsequent reigns, of Muzaffar II, Bahadur and Mahmud III, even if the style in general was losing something of its vigour. Foremost are unquestionably the mosque and tomb of Rani Sabrai **[25]** (commonly but incorrectly called Sipari) of 1514; Fergusson (1876, p. 534) describes the mosque as "the most exquisite gem at Ahmadabad, both in plan and detail." Both are of small scale, the square tomb, with an upper storey above the central chamber, being superbly screened all round, and ornately carved; the mosque is of the open-fronted pillared variety, with no clearstorey, and bearing at the ends of the facade tall slender pillars. These are not functional minarets, for they are solid, sculptured along their entire height. The small Gumti mosque **[26]**, in Isanpur, has similar solid minarets at the ends of the facade, and similar paired pillars at the opening, without the richness of decoration. Other mosques of much the same general design are Ibrahim Sayyid's **[28]**, on the road to the tomb complex of Shah Alam; an elegant small stone mosque in Paldi-Kochrab **[29]**, sometimes known as Bawa 'Ali Shah's, with superb merlons in many patterns of open carved tracery; Shah Khub Sayyid Muhammad Chishti's mosque **[30]**, with an inscription of 1538; Darvesh 'Ali's mosque **[31]**, another architectural gem, with an inscription declaring it to have been built by Bibi Khonja in 1504 (thus making it the earliest of this type), which has an associated tomb; and the Fateh mosque **[32]** in the northeast corner of the city, with a courtyard tomb which appears to be very much older. They would all seem to belong to the first half of the sixteenth century.

Also at, or rather just outside, Isanpur is a large tomb-and-mosque complex, the rauza of 'Imadul-Mulk Malik 'Isan **[27]**, probably from the early years of Muzaffar II's reign, which has a character of its own; for the whole complex lies within an enclosure wall with pillared corridors all round; the north and south corridors lead in to the domed wings of the prayer hall, whose facade is in advance of that of the wings, and is raised above their level to form a clearstorey; the weight and thrust of this superstructure is taken by pairing the front pillars; the three arches of the central chamber soar above the level of the wing roofs, and the central one is cusped; and there are no minarets at all, nor a means of access to the roof. The tomb, entirely trabeate, stands within the courtyard, and the whole presents a harmonious and integrated structure.

Harking back to the older style of, say, the Bai Harir and Rani Rupavati mosques is the mosque of Malik Sarang **[33]** in Sarangpur, a quarter in the east of the walled city, where the malik was governor under Muzaffar II in the 1520s; the mosque may well have been started earlier, but there is no firm evidence for an earlier date. It has a broad facade of five arches, the central one raised above the level of the side bays, and more sumptuously decorated than the remainder, flanked by two massive minaret bases which are decorated with superb carved panels which seem to come from different periods (some, perhaps, since they resemble panels on the Jami' mosque, may have been earlier pieces of Hindu or Jain workmanship reutilized); but whatever the period they show the fluency and plasticity the local artisans were able to achieve in sandstone carving. The minarets terminate at roof level, having been taken down (by inept P.W.D. conservation work) in the nineteenth century; fortunately an old photograph shows the richness of the northern minaret. A short distance opposite the mosque on the east is what remains of what must once have been one of the most splendid pillared mausoleums, now somewhat vandalized.

The complex containing principally the tomb and tank (Mustafa-Sar) of Shah Alam **[21]**, the son of Qutb-i Alam of Vatva, was executed in 1532; the mosque may be later, and the minarets of the mosque may have been added later still. The tomb building, which has been described as one of the most beautiful in Gujarat, is again of the double-screened type: the outer arcade opens to the courtyard by arched openings, of which the tympana are filled with stone screens; on the west front there is also a tall portico. The internal construction is entirely trabeate, an inner square of twenty pillars forming a double corridor around the inner twelve pillars which enclose the tomb chamber itself, above which is the large dome, with a painted interior, supported on a clearstorey. This inner chamber is surrounded by rich pierced marble screens within the twelve pillars; and the sarcophagus itself is further surrounded by a perforated marble screen. The inner door to the tomb chamber, between the marble screens, is itself filled with intricate brass-work panels, of later date but entirely harmonious, and the device over the lintel is worthy of remark here: the sinuous line in fact represents the ancient design of the torana, especially common in Jain building. (This is by no means an innovation, for it is a favourite decorative device in the mihrabs of Gujarat mosques. It is one of the characteristic Gujarati forms to be transported to other regions). The mosque, by contrast, is entirely arcuate; the facade is of seven arches, numbers two, four and six being wider than the other four; this results in a pleasant irregularity in the bays of the prayer hall: the larger square bays are covered by large domes, with smaller domes over the remaining square areas, and pyramidal roofs over the oblong ones. These are all

carried by pendentives between the arches, much in the late Lodi manner of Delhi. At the two ends of the prayer hall are tall minarets, set forward about three metres from the facade, bearing four galleries supported on heavy corbelled brackets. The courtyard is most interesting, for there is a large vaulted reservoir beneath its floor, providing water for the ablution tank in the northeast corner of the mosque courtyard (this also is a Gujarati feature, known from the earliest times, later echoed in other areas of Muslim India). Another large pillared tomb, and hundreds of graves, lie south of the main area; there are many smaller halls, used for the reception of guests and pilgrims at the anniversary celebrations (urs) of the saint's death, and an imposing outer gateway to the site.

An unusual mosque, like that of Shah Alam, constructed on entirely arcuate principles, is that of Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliyari **[34]**, *c.* 1550, with very fine pendentives between the arches; but its extraordinary distinguishing feature, a sort of central propylon of stone with a triple-arched entry, was ineptly dismantled by the P.W.D. in the 1880s. "This entirely changed the appearance of the facade—depriving it of all dignity" (Burgess, 1905). From an old photograph which shows this feature virtually intact, it would appear that the mosque resembled those of Jaunpur, in eastern Uttar Pradesh, rather than anywhere else. But it has also one tall minaret at the north end of the facade, six storeys above the parapet level, and octagonal in cross-section—a shape found in no other Gujarat building; a larger and plainer octagonal buttress at the south end, which contains a stairway to the roof, was apparently never completed. Minarets, however, were never used in the Jaunpur style. All that can be considered typically Gujarati here is the quality of the stonework, and the restrained use of stringcourses; even the interior mihrabs are not of the usual pattern. However, it is worth recalling that Muhammad Ghaus, after his death in Agra in 1562, was buried in Gwalior, in a tomb which displays many Gujarati features.

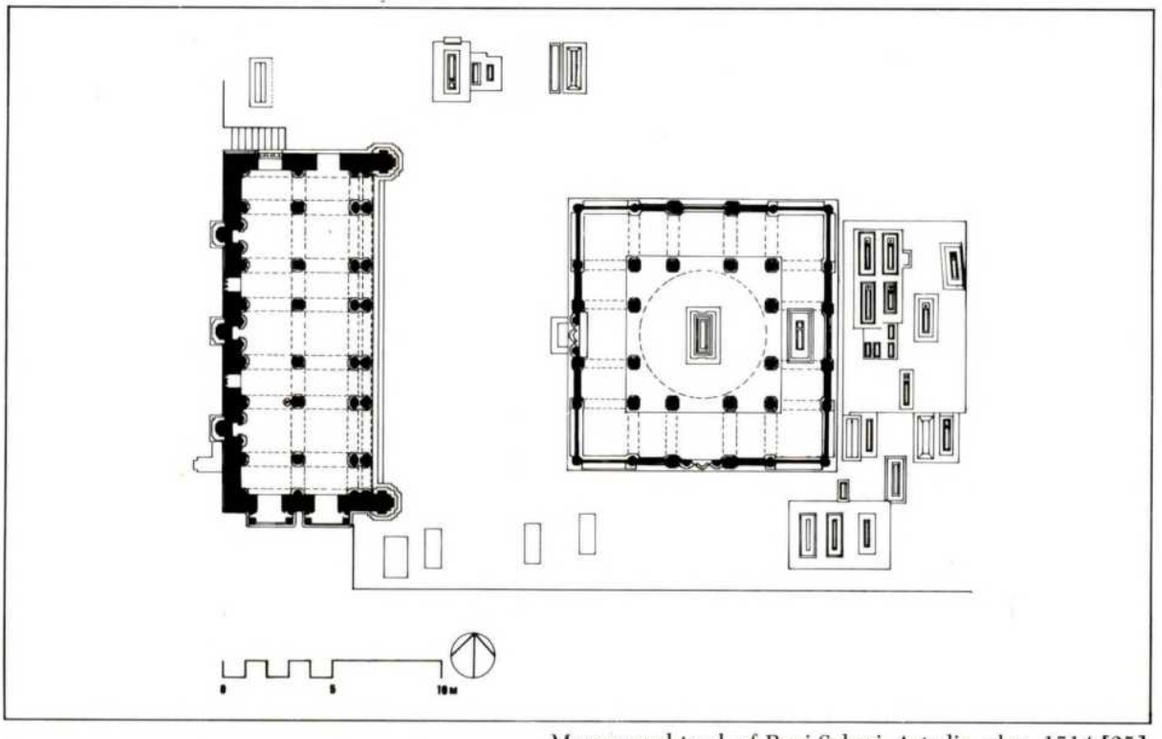
In the Shahpur quarter, in the northwest corner of the walled city, is the imposing mosque built by Shaikh Hasan Muhammad Chishti **[35]** in 1565; his descendants became hereditary qazis of this ward, and the mosque is sometimes called simply the Qazi's mosque. The facade of the prayer chamber, with very fine carving, is of nine tall arches, the two flanking the central arch narrower than the rest, to be in alignment with the arrangement of pillars supporting the dome. Over the central five bays, and running the entire depth of the prayer chamber, is an upper storey of five pillared openings, with a balcony on heavy brackets projecting over the central arch. There are massive minaret bases at the ends of the facade, but it appears that the minarets themselves were never completed. Here Burgess (1905) is worth quoting verbatim: "the minarets, so far as executed, are exuberantly rich in their carvings: in this respect, indeed, they are among the most elaborate in Gujarat, and the traceries of the niches have attracted much attention, as surpassing almost all others." The general design of this mosque closely resembles that of Baba Lulu'i's mosque **[36]** in Behrampur, a kilometre and a half south of the city walls; but here the upper storey is of three pillared openings only on each face, and there are also four smaller domes around it on the roof. The minaret bases are nearly the equal of those of the Shahpur mosque in their carved decoration.

In the village of Sojali, three kilometres outside one of Mahmud I's new cities, Mahmudabad (now called Mehmedabad), is the tomb of Sayyid Mubarak Bukhari **[37]**, built after 1588, a superb example of the arcuate style, although its ground plan is much the same as that of the Shah Alam tomb. The outer row of piers, however, are simply open arches without screens, and screens appear only around the central tomb chamber. This is surmounted by a large dome on a tall drum, where there is the innovation of a clearstorey provided within the drum by pointed arches filled with screens. There are four small chhatris around the dome, and a larger chhatri over the entrance porch, which, with the shallow domes over the bays of the side arcades, provide a lively interest to the skyline; but we have already seen chhatris in use at the Vatva tomb, and they are also freely used over the entrance porches at the Jami' mosque in Champaner. The tomb, standing above the river, was formerly contained in a buttressed enclosure. There is no attached mosque, but a small tomb to the southwest, in a separate enclosure, attributed to a Nizamuddin, is of similar design but in brick throughout; this has a small qanati mosque on the west wall of the enclosure.

During the final decline of the Gujarat Sultanate a faction of Habshis, men of African slave stock, had become powerful in some regions of the state. One prominent member of this community, Sidi Said, caused a mosque **[38]** to be built, in 1572, in Ahmadabad, just outside the northeast corner of the citadel, which can perhaps be counted the last great building in the Gujarati style before the Mughal conquest. Sidi Said's mosque is again in the purely arcuate style, five bays wide and three bays deep, with broad buttresses at the ends of the facade which may have formerly supported minarets. What makes this little mosque so distinguished is its ten window screens which fill in the tympana of the side and rear arches; those in the side walls, and two in the bays of the back wall, are filled with the usual square stone pierced panels in geometrical and vegetal designs, but those of the two bays flanking the central aisle are whole

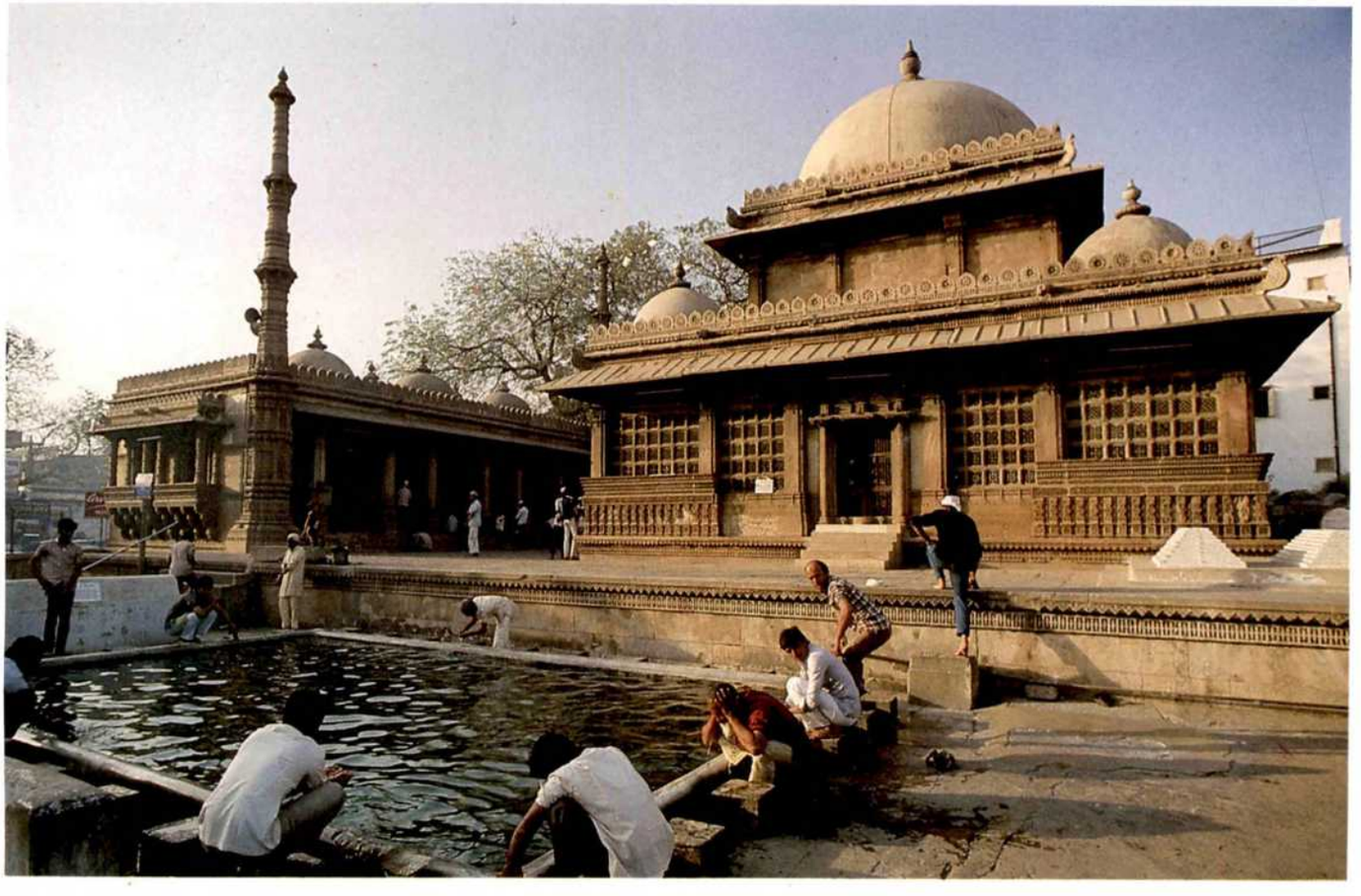
slabs of pierced intertwined tree and foliage designs, in one a "palm and parasite" motif combining the superb sculptural skill of the carvings already seen on some of the minaret buttresses with the flowing form derived from that ancient Islamic device, the arabesque, and a "four palms" device in the other scarcely less elaborate. There are no screens elsewhere in India to compare with these in either skill or beauty, although an imitation of one design occurs in one of Akbar's early buildings at Fatehpur Sikri.

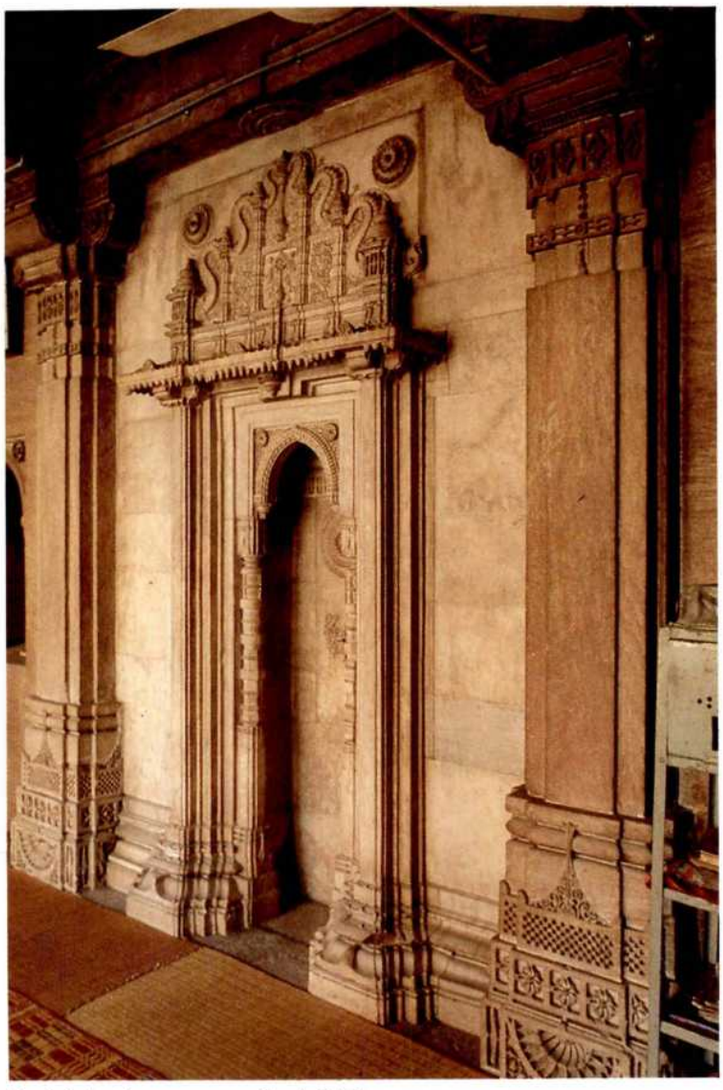
This account of the Gujarat style at Ahmadabad would not be complete without mention of the famous step-wells (vavs), whose origin was certainly pre-Muslim, which are developed in a characteristic way not evinced in the ordinary step-wells or baolis of northern India.



Mosque and tomb of Rani Sabrai, Astodia, plan, 1514 **[25]**.

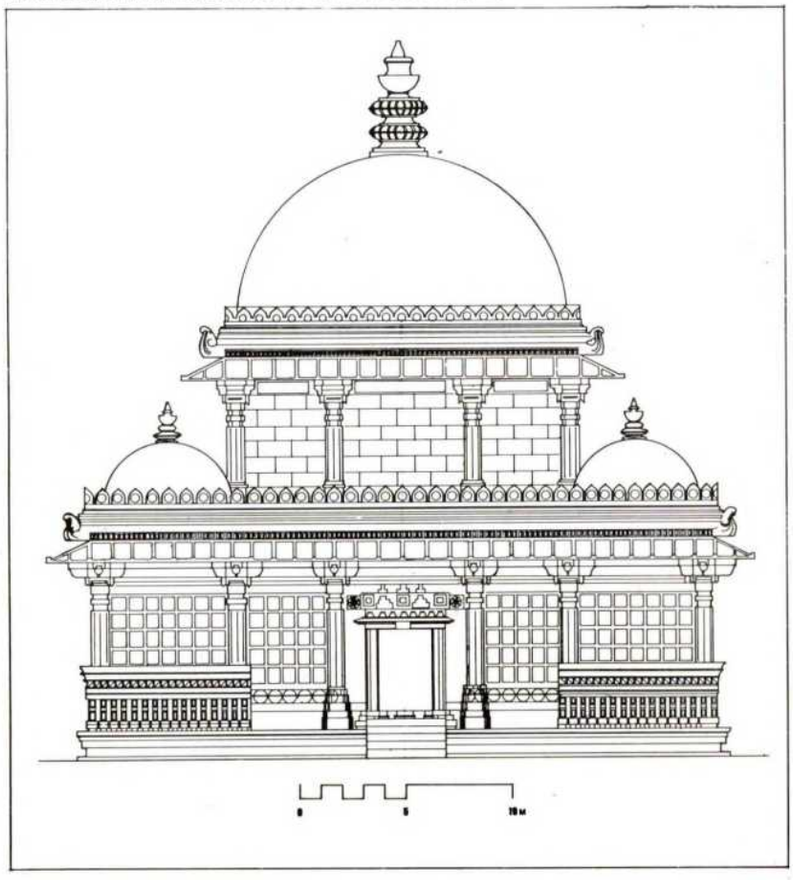
Mosque and tomb of Rani Sabrai, general view **[25]**.



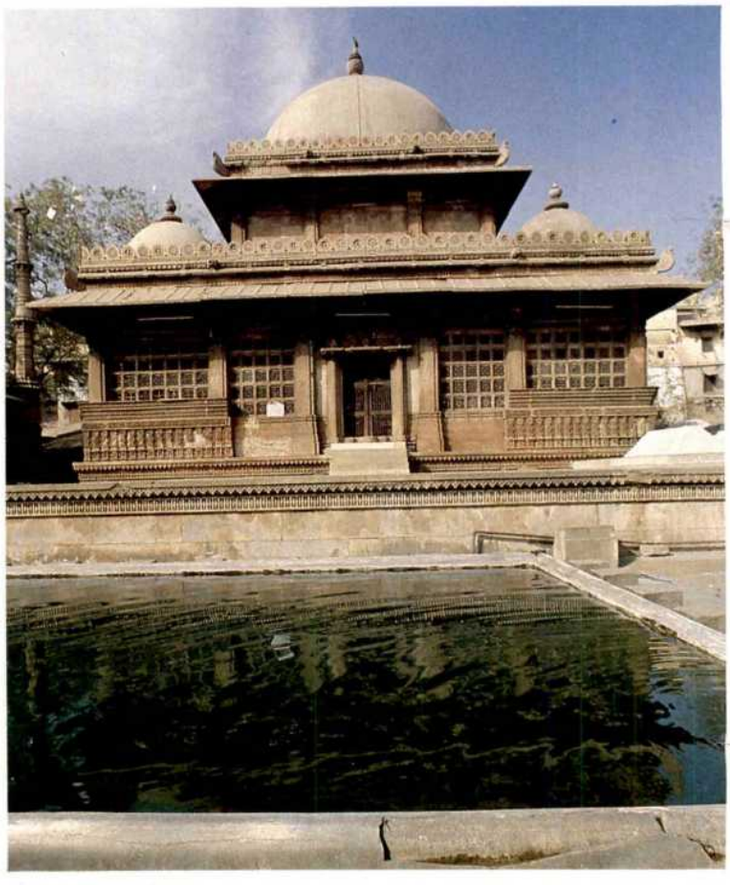


Rani Sabrai's mosque, mihrab [25].

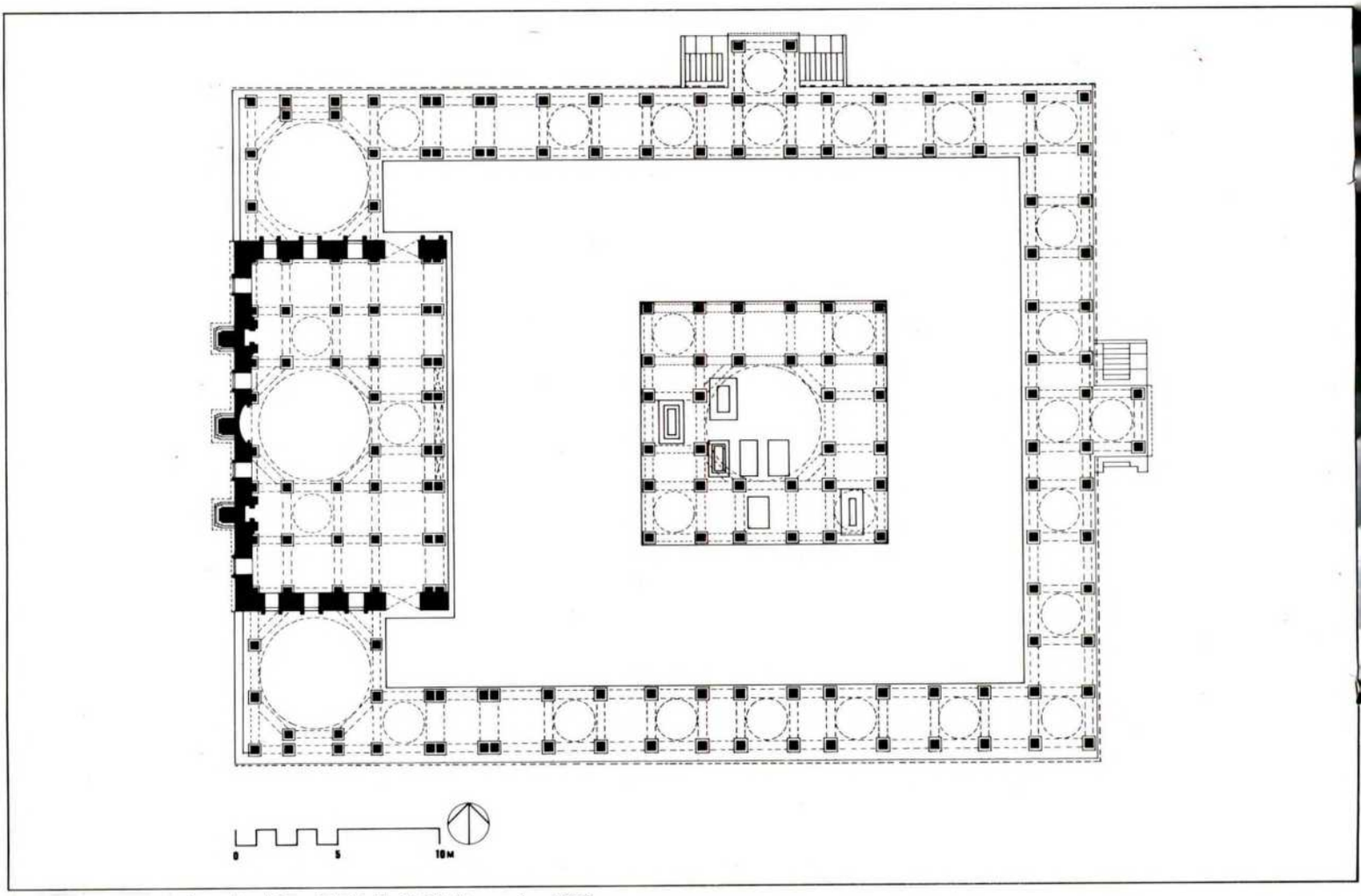
Rani Sabrai's tomb, elevation of west facade [25].



Rani Sabrai's tomb, south facade [25].



Isanpur, Gumti mosque, general view [26].

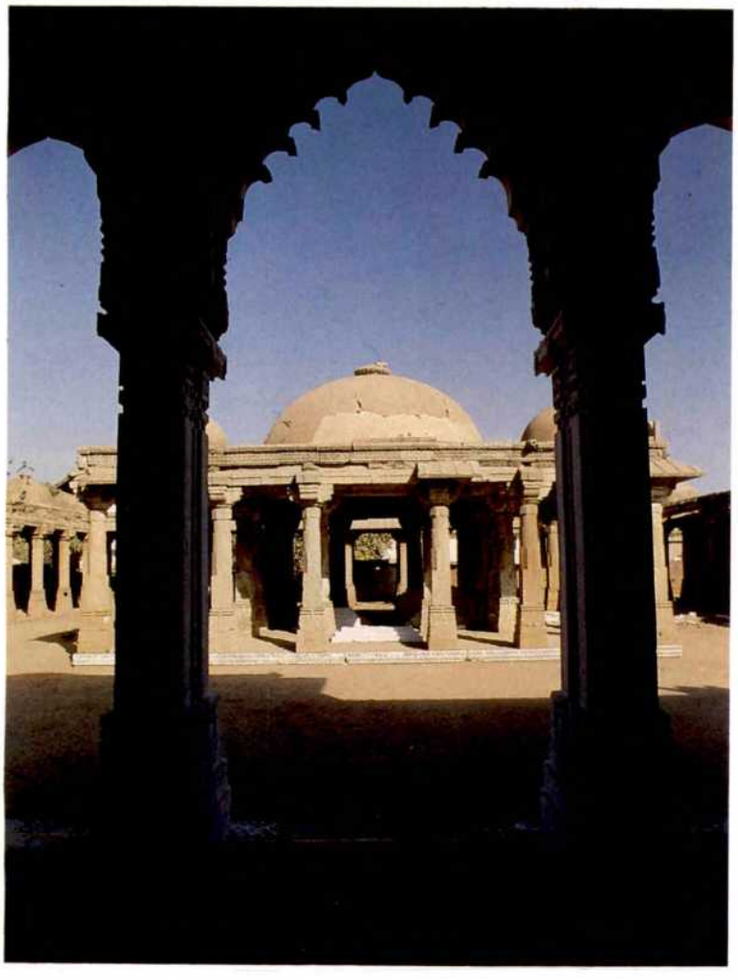


Isanpur, mosque and tomb of 'Imadul-Mulk Malik 'Isan, plan [27].

Mosque and tomb of 'Imadul-Mulk Malik 'Isan, general view [27].

'Imadul-Mulk Malik 'Isan's mosque, detail of west wall facing the courtyard [27].

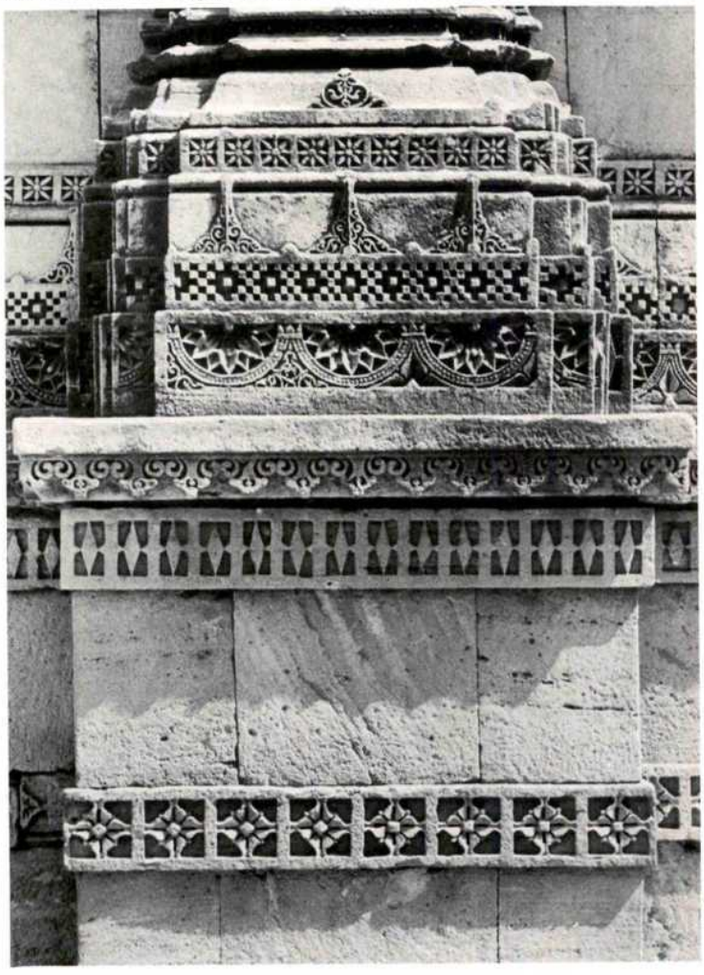
'Imadul-Mulk Malik 'Isan's tomb, general view [27].



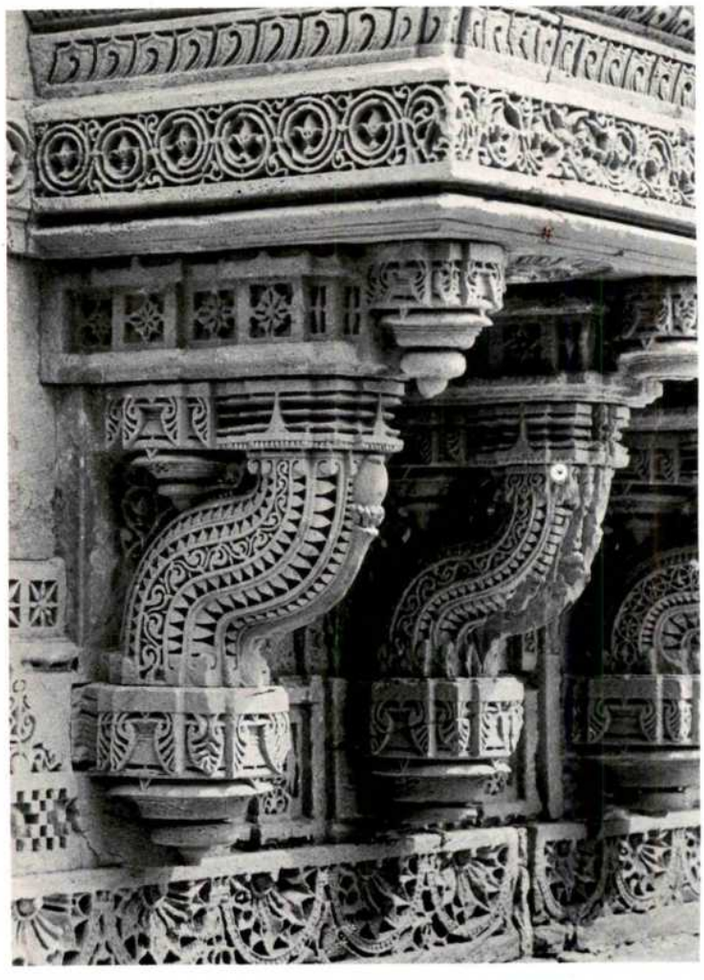
Maninagar, Ibrahim Sayyid's mosque, general view [28].

Paldi-Kochrab mosque, west facade [29].

Paldi-Kochrab mosque, detail of west facade [29].



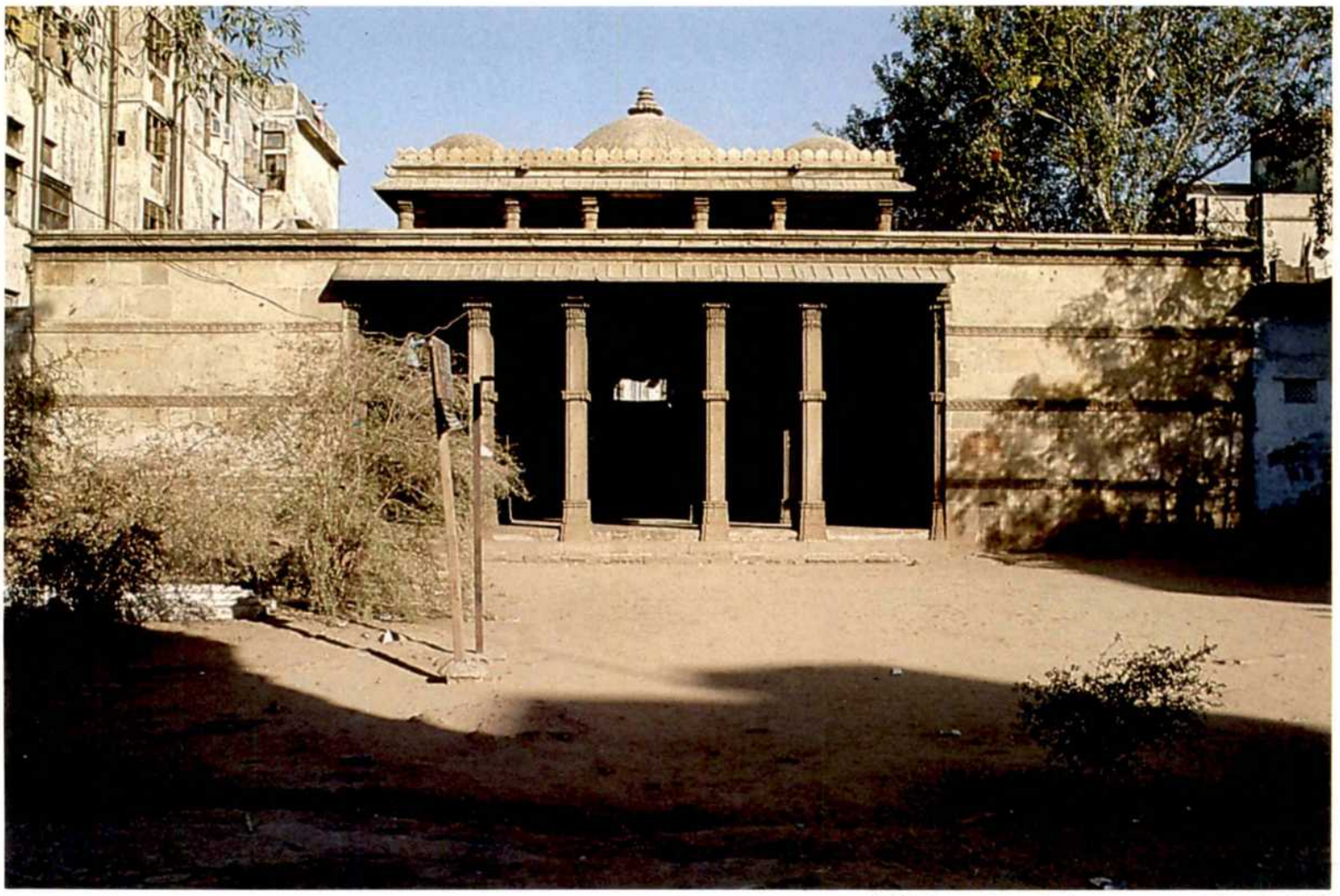
Paldi-Kochrab mosque, brackets [29].



Paldi-Kochrab mosque, south facade [29].

Fateh mosque, Dariyapur, interior [32].

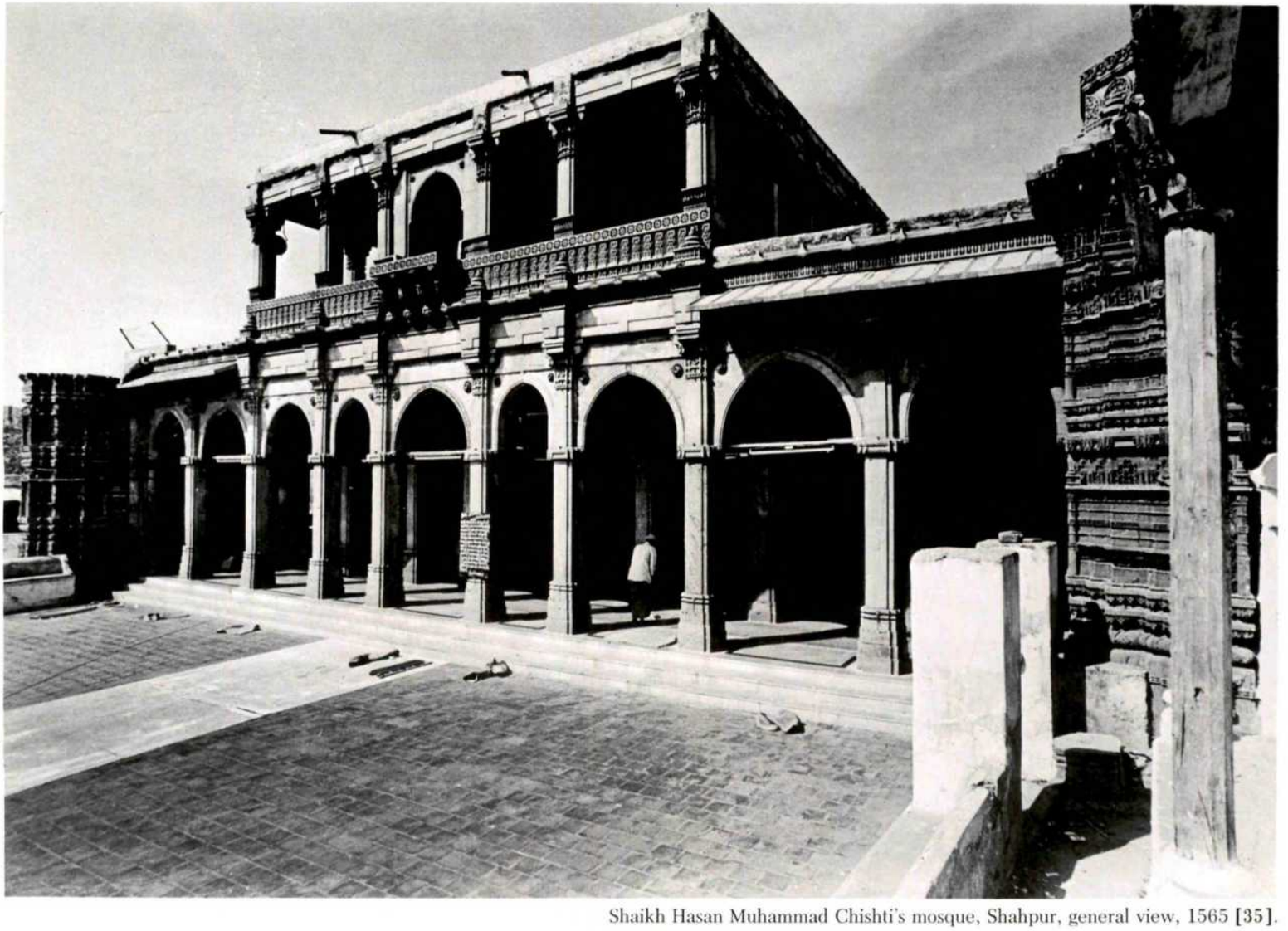
Fateh mosque, pavilion [32].



Malik Sarang's tomb, Sarangpur, west facade **[33]**.

Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliyari's mosque, Sarangpur, ceiling detail, *c.* 1550 **[34]**.

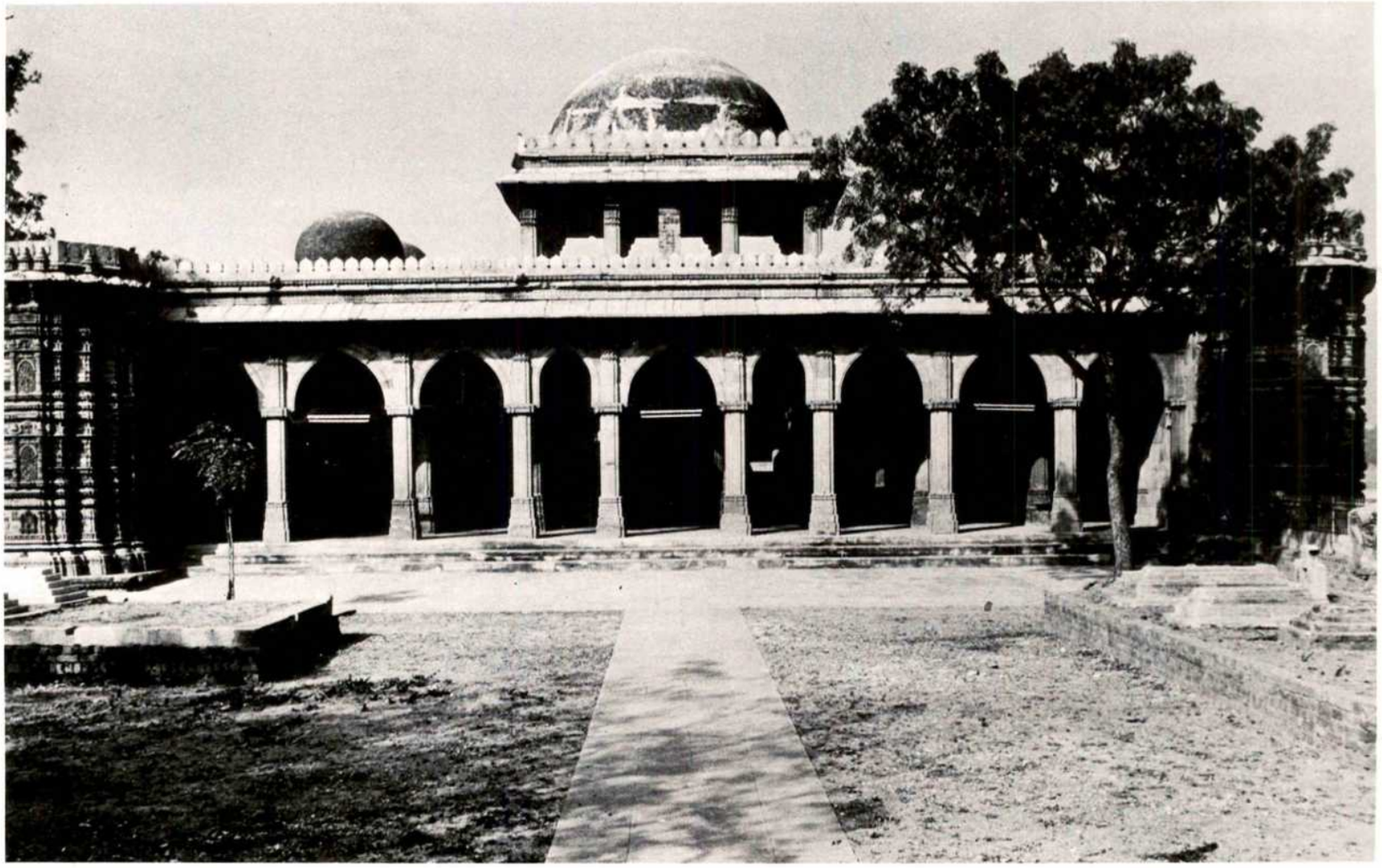
Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliyari's mosque, minaret [34].



Shaikh Hasan Muhammad Chishti's mosque, Shahpur, general view, 1565 **[35]**.

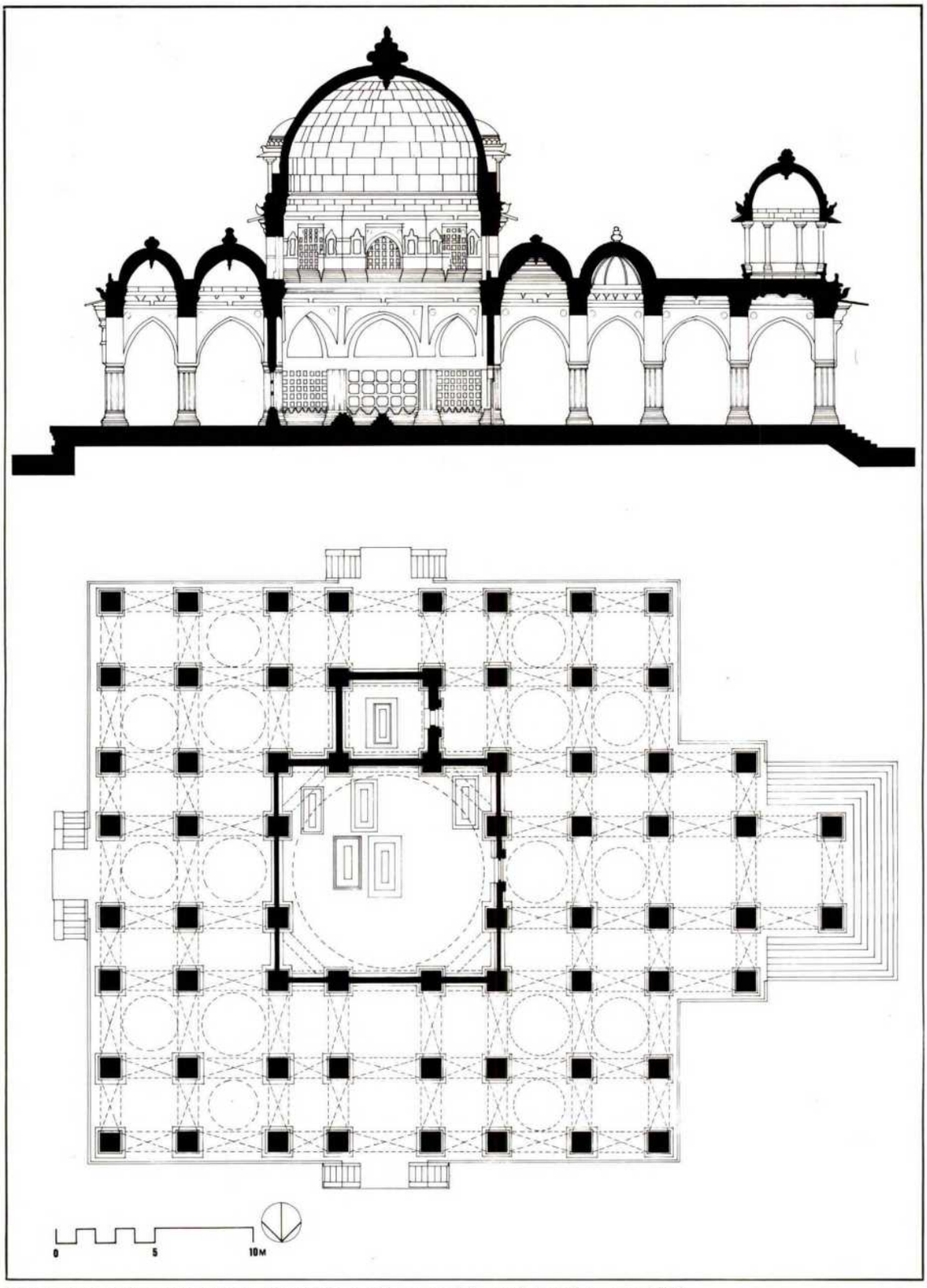
Behrampur, Baba Lulu'i's mosque, general view **[36]**.

Baba Lulu'i's mosque, east facade **[36]**.

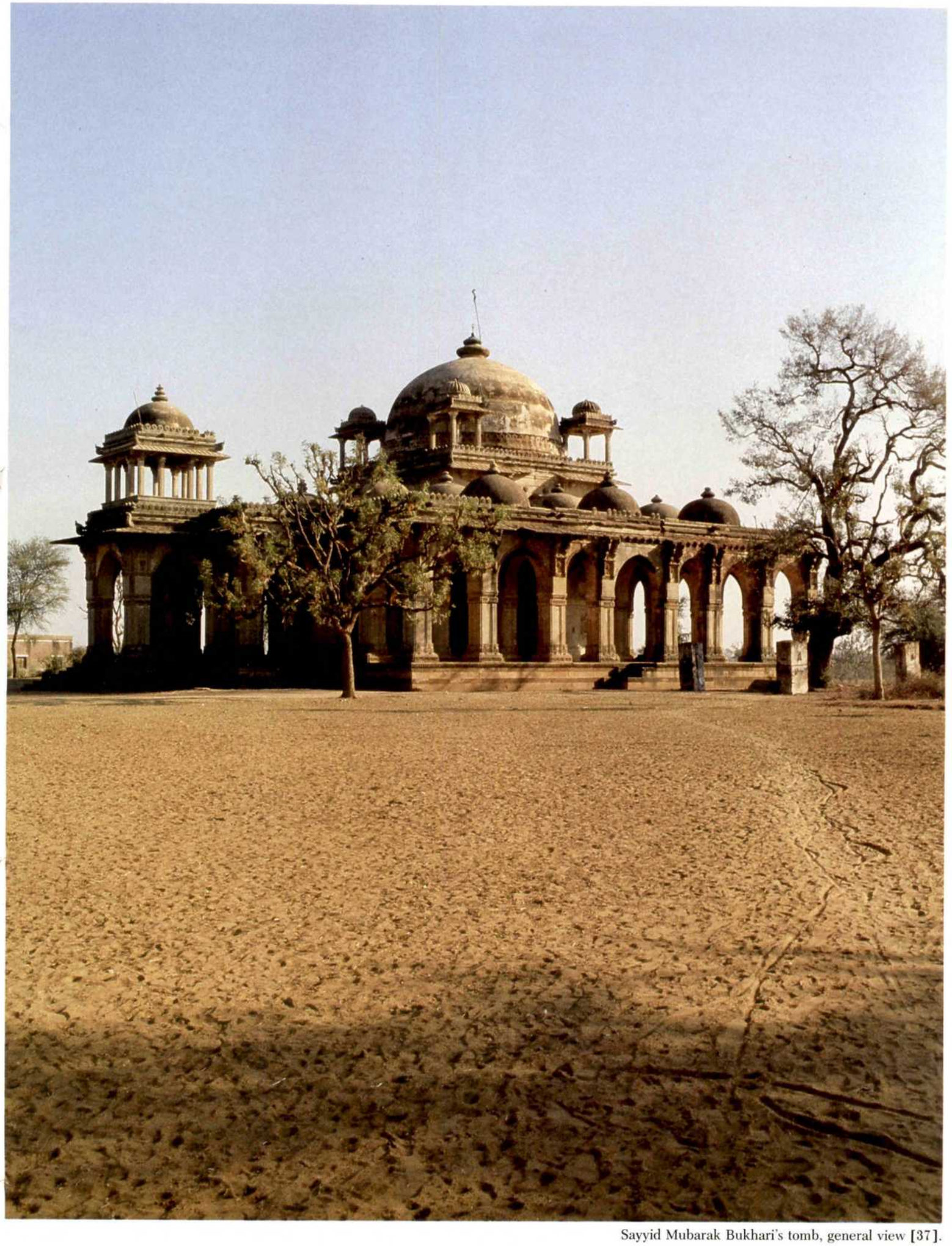


Baba Lulu'i's mosque, minaret **[36]**.

Baba Lulu'i's mosque,
detail of a niche in a minaret **[36]**.

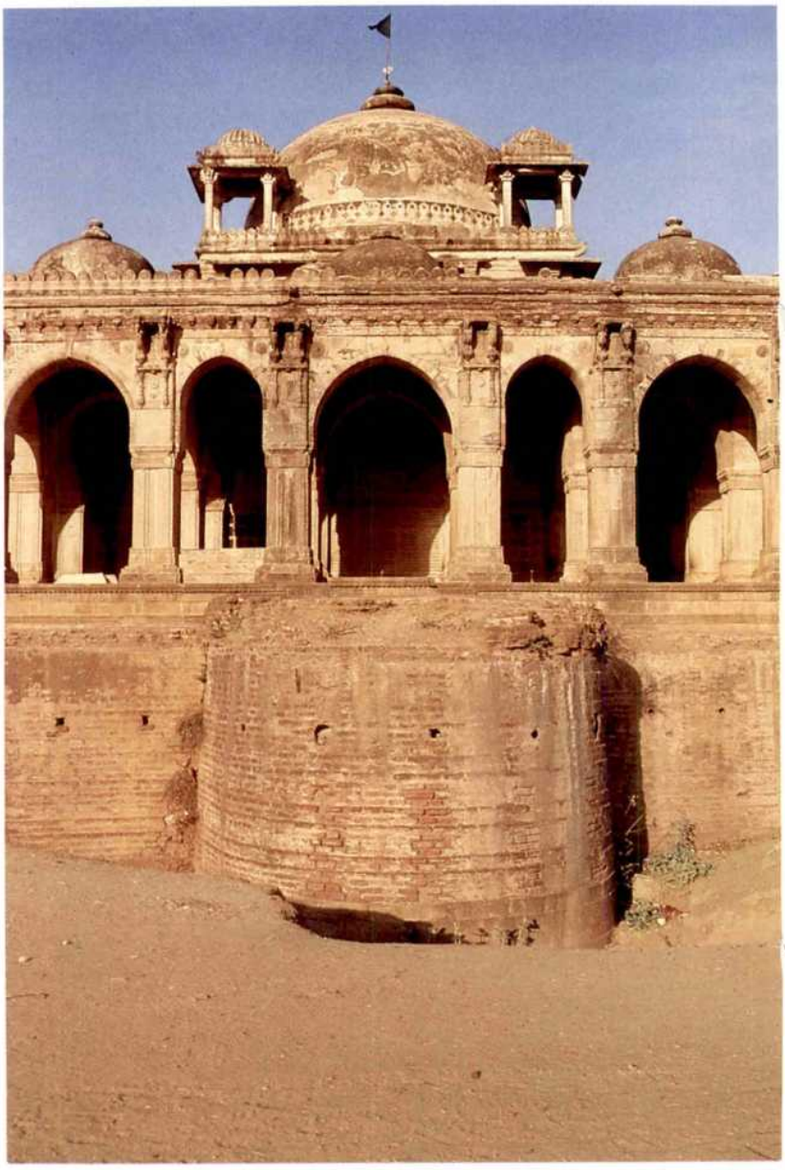


Mehmedabad, Sayyid Mubarak Bukhari's tomb, ground floor plan and section [37].

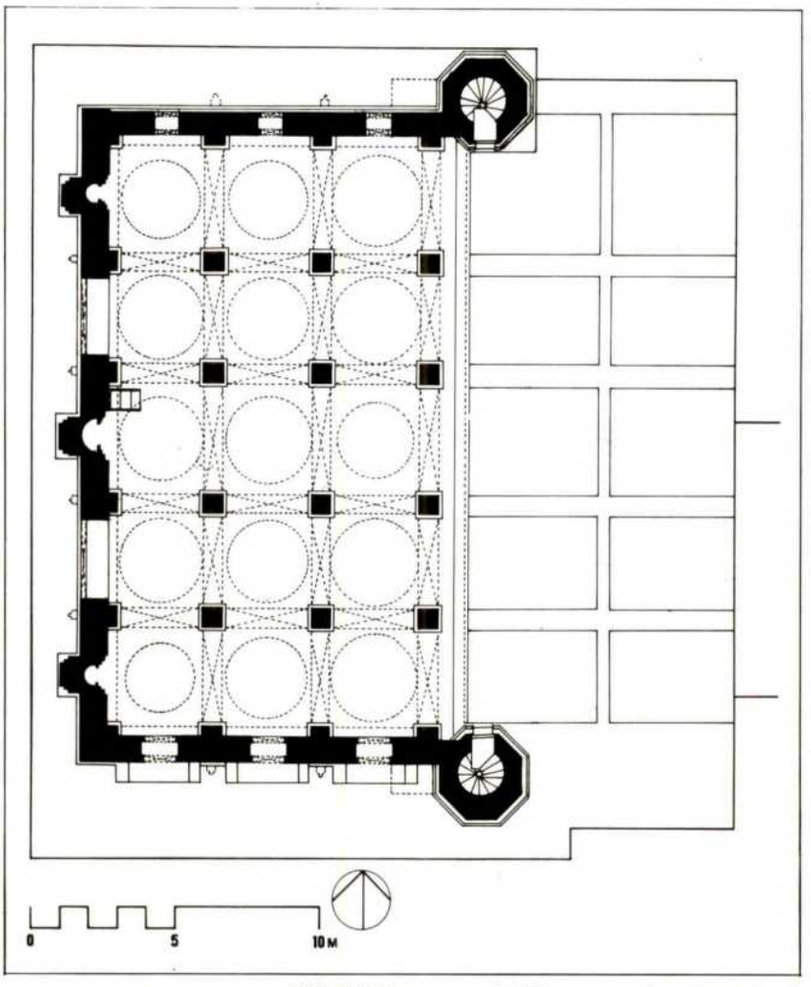


Sayyid Mubarak Bukhari's tomb, general view [37].

Sayyid Mubarak Bukhari's tomb, entrance [37].

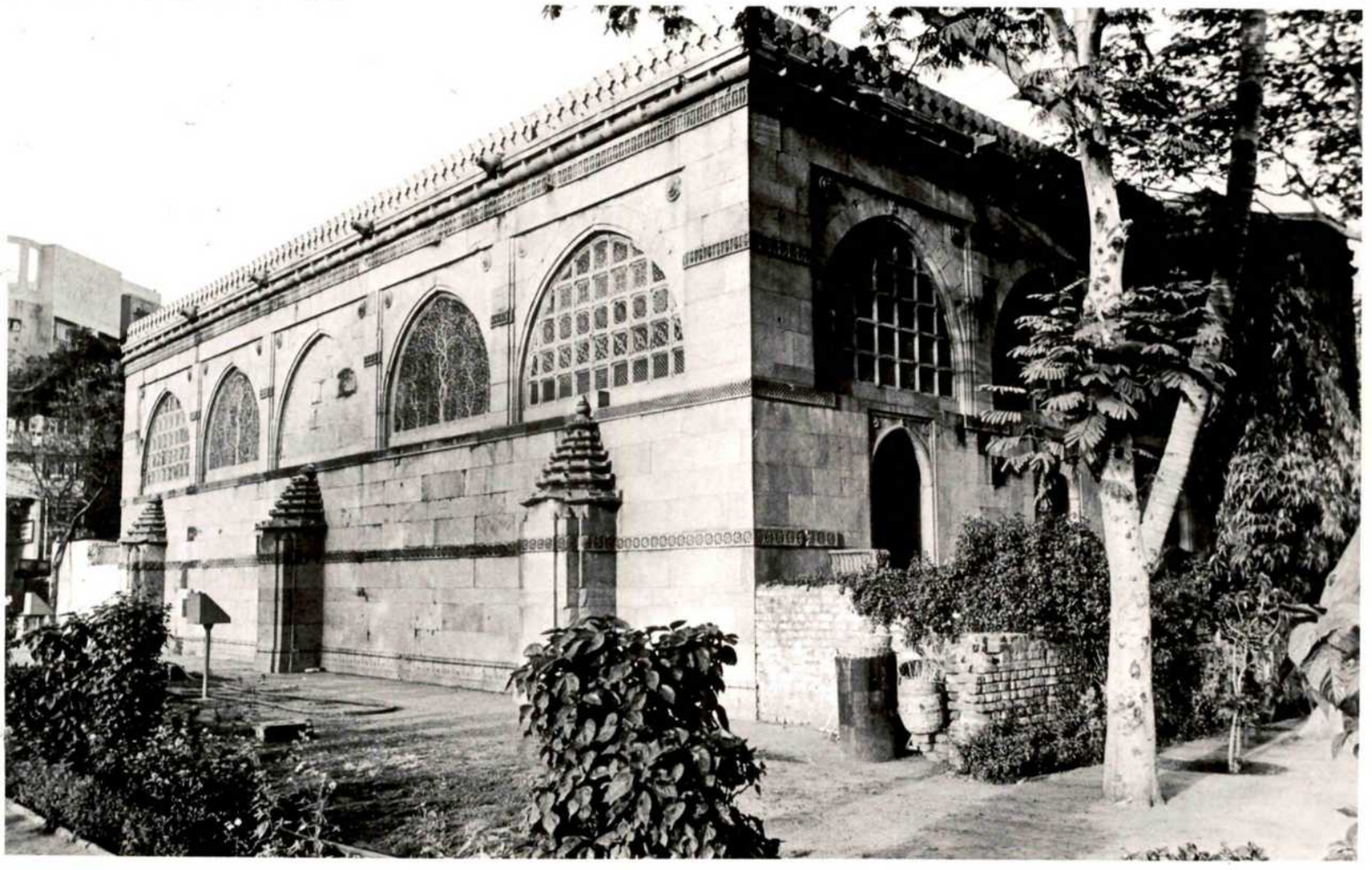


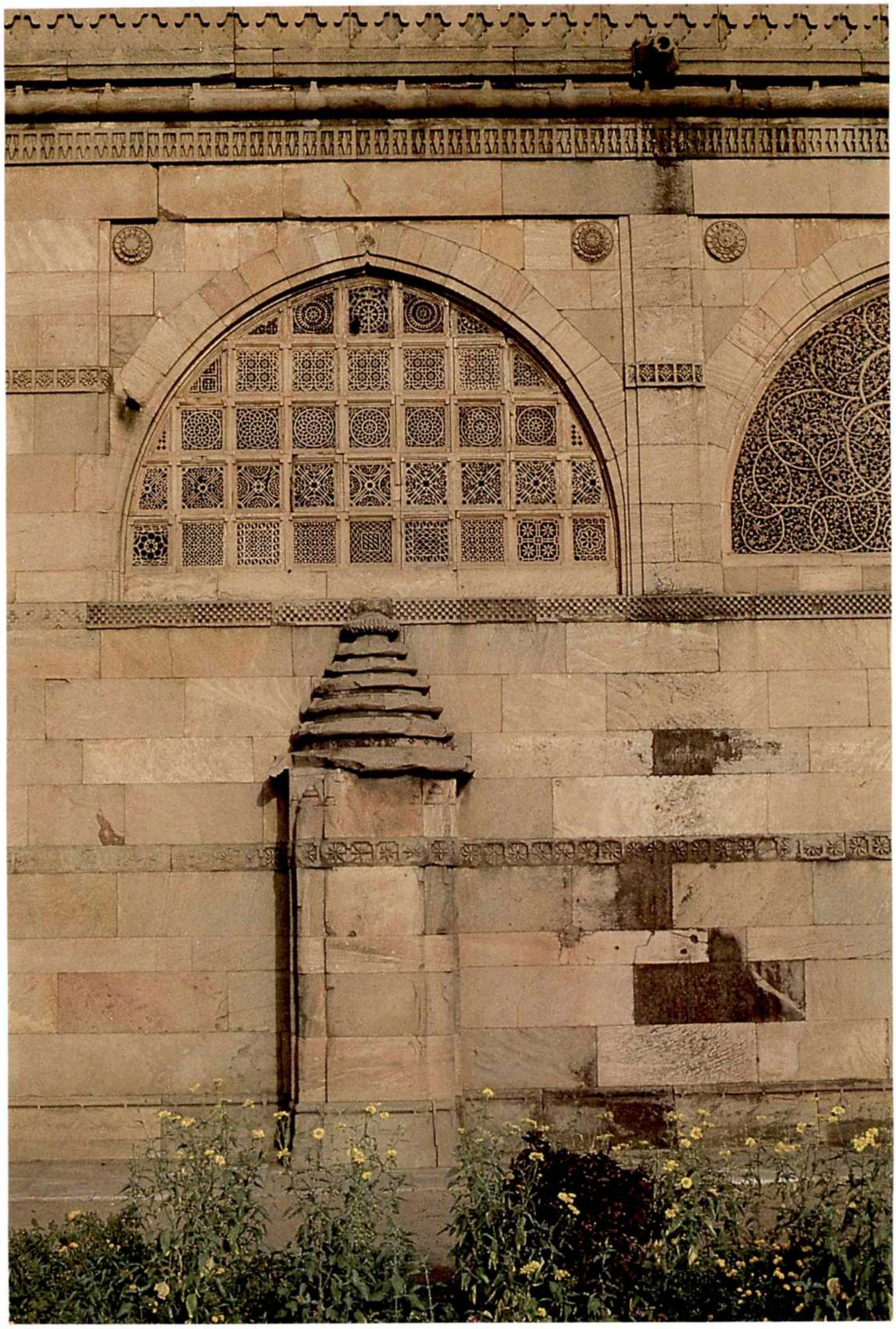
Sayyid Mubarak Bukhari's tomb, detail of east facade [37].



Sidi Said's mosque, Lal Darwaza, plan, 1572 [38].

Sidi Said's mosque, general view [38].





Sidi Said's mosque, detail of west facade [38].

Sidi Said's mosque, interior [38].

Sidi Said's mosque, squinch [38].

Monuments of the Mughal Period

By the time of the Mughal conquest many of the traditional Gujarat stoneworkers had already drifted away, attracted by the wealth and greater prospects of getting work in the Mughal courts of north India. By the time Gujarat was settled under the new regime, the old craftsmen were gone; but buildings were of course still required. So either craftsmen trained elsewhere must have been drafted, or the original Gujarat craftsmen or their descendants returned imbued with new ideals learned in a foreign land. At any rate the essential styles of building underwent a radical change, with just enough of the indigenous traditions persisting to give the Gujarat-Mughal vernacular a local accent. Much of the building is, frankly, ugly and ill-proportioned, and only a selection of the better works is worth considering here.

A fine tomb, not at Ahmadabad but at Baroda (Vadodara), is an early example of an alien style, that of Qutbuddin Muhammad Khan, governor of Baroda under Akbar, murdered by the ex-sultan Muzaffar III after having been promised a safe conduct to a peace conference in 1583. Qutbuddin was the uncle of Mirza 'Aziz Kokaltash, Akbar's foster-brother, and it would seem that Delhi architects were involved in its planning, for it is a massive octagonal stone structure on a lofty base, with an arched opening in each side and a single stilted dome above, reminiscent of the mid-sixteenth-century Delhi style. This is the only octagonal tomb of any consequence in Gujarat, in spite of the not infrequent occurrence of this type in neighbouring Malwa and Khandesh as well as in north India and the Deccan.

In Ahmadabad itself the first major Mughal monument is the tomb of Mir Abu Turab **[39]**, a leading noble who had conveyed the invitation to Akbar to invade the ailing Gujarat Sultanate in 1572, and who died in the imperial service in 1597. The tomb is of modest size, about twelve metres square, and entirely arcuate; a central chamber carries a dome on a square clearstorey; the surrounding arcade roof carries smaller fluted domes, as does a small southern entrance porch. The clearstorey walls still bear perforated screens, and there were originally screens around the tomb chamber which have long since been carried off (as has the marble of the tomb). It thus had considerable affinities with the late Sultanate style, as exemplified in Baba Lulu'i's or Shaikh Hasan's mosques.

Within the walled city, a little north of the citadel wall, is the rauza of Shaikh Wajihuddin **[40]**, a Sufi scholar and teacher of great eminence, at one time a disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliyari, consisting of a mausoleum with an attached mosque and tank. Wajihuddin died in Ahmadabad in 1589, and the mausoleum was built a few years later during the time of Murtaza Khan Bukhari, who was governor of Gujarat between 1606 and 1609. In the mausoleum the tomb chamber does not occupy the usual central position, but rather a square area at one end, covered by a square tower surmounted by a bulbous dome on a cylindrical drum; the rest of the roof area bears thirteen small low domes. The surrounding solid walls distinguish door and window openings (the latter come down to floor level) by the window openings being simple pointed arches, while the door openings have square heads, thus adding interest to the facade. The window openings are filled with screens, and the ensemble, in spite of its bulbous dome (seen in Gujarat here for the first time), is interesting and harmonious. It has been suggested that the tomb was originally square, with a central dome, and that the other end was added later. If this is so, the builders have been most competent in concealing any joint.

About two and a half kilometres north of the Delhi gate of the city, on the left bank of the Sabarmati river is the Shahi Bagh **[41]**, a royal garden-palace, built in 1622 by Prince Khurram, the future Emperor Shah Jahan, when he was viceroy of Gujarat. The garden fell into decay and was reduced in size, but it is obvious from the accounts of travellers (for example Thevenot) that it must have been a typical Mughal "four-square" garden, or char-bagh, a square area divided into four parts by crossing central walks. The palace was (before modern additions) a large square block two storeys in height, standing over a sort of lower ground floor, or half-basement, intended to be a cool retreat in the hot weather. A large square room ("darbar hall") in the centre of the ground floor has a splendid ceiling of moulded stucco, of a type familiar in the Mughal buildings of north India; the octagonal rooms adjoining it are continued on the upper storey with their shape emphasized by setting the central space back from the parapet of the ground floor. The builders have produced an interesting interplay of the shapes of the openings: on the river front there are four-centred arches, with a surface decoration of half-sized blind four-centred arches, while the upper storey has three central openings spanned by beams of a shape again familiar enough in Mughal north India; on the garden front, however, this arrangement of the shapes of openings on the two storeys is reversed. The building has suffered much after the decline of the Mughal power by being modified for use as the residence of various officials, but the essential nobility of the main block is still apparent.

A modest but attractive building, in the middle of the walled city, is the rauza of Shaikh bin

'Abdullah al-Aidrus **[42]**, who died in 1623, a square structure with three arches on each side, with perforated stone panelled screens and a single dome above, whose base is decorated with a ring of cusped merlon shapes; a heavy eaves course, supported by carved brackets, surrounds the chamber.

Azam Khan, perhaps the most efficient and industrious of the viceroys of Gujarat (1636-42), has many building projects to his credit throughout Gujarat, whence his nickname of Udhai, "white ant". In 1637 he built in Ahmadabad an extensive caravanserai and qaisariya (market) **[43]** (this is often referred to as his "palace", but was not in fact his residence) adjacent to the entrance to the citadel (the massive round towers flanking the citadel gate are also attributed to him). The caravanserai has a fine eastern gateway leading to a large court, some forty-seven by forty-four metres, with two storeys of open-fronted rooms on three sides for the accommodation of travellers; a Persian wheel within the courtyard brought water from the river for the travellers' needs. The entrance gate, five and a half metres high, has a great central arch occupying half the frontage, leading to an open half-dome; a smaller arch at the rear of that dome leads to an octagonal hall within, where there was a projecting gallery with a low balcony, with cut-stone screens, in front of it. The central arch of the facade is flanked by walls carrying a covered balcony supported on heavy brackets in the upper part of each side, with a blind arch below, and the whole entrance, set forward of the face of the whole building, has its sides chamfered off to produce an octagonal shape. The result is that the whole gateway looks as though it could have come from a Mughal palace in north India – very similar, in fact, to that of the so-called Jahangiri Mahal in Agra Fort. In one corner of the building is a tah-khana (basement) chamber with an ornamental cistern and fountain. This may have been supplied by the underground water-system mentioned above as supplying the Maidan-i Shah. The interior arrangements of the caravanserai were much modified in the British period, after 1817, when the building was converted into the central jail.

Of a totally different style are the mosque and tomb of Nawwab Sardar Khan **[44]**, in the Jamalpur quarter of the walled city. He was a court noble of the time of Aurangzeb who had earned that emperor's gratitude by refusing to admit the unfortunate Prince Dara Shukoh into Ahmadabad in 1659; he was later for twenty years governor of Saurashtra, where he laid out his beautiful Sardar Bagh in Junagadh where there is an exactly similar mosque. He was finally sent to Thattha in Sind, where he died in 1685; his body was brought back to lie in the tomb he had built himself, which formerly bore an inscription dating it to 1684. Tomb and mosque lay within a high walled enclosure with a high gateway, but are now closely surrounded by habitation. The mosque, built of brick covered with lime-plaster, is of three arched bays, with two pseudo-minarets at the ends (they are solid, with no means of access to the mosque roof), and the prayer chamber is surmounted by three domes of a somewhat exaggerated onion shape, capped by heavy finials above a ring of foliation. The tops of the pseudo-minarets are similarly treated, with even heavier foliations, and the whole building looks top-heavy. The tomb is in much the same style, even more open to the charge of top-heaviness by having its large central onion-shaped dome surrounded by eight smaller ones of similar shape. Even the high gateway had two chhatris on top, with slender pillars but similar domes. The tomb is of the common Gujarat plan of two concentric squares, the inner one filled with fine geometrical screens which do something to relieve the mediocrity of the group as a whole.

More pleasing to the eye are the mosque and tomb of Shuja'at Khan **[45]**, viceroy, 1685-1701, where the mosque carries an inscription of 1695-96 (the date of completion, as Shuja'at Khan died in 1701). Here the five-bayed facade of the mosque has the bases carrying the pseudo-minarets between bays one and two, four and five, rather than at the ends, the prayer chamber has three shallow domes, only slightly bulbous, resembling those over the tomb of Atga Khan in Delhi, with a polychrome band of merlon shapes on the drum below the swelling of the dome, and the wide piers flanking the central arch bear small blind cusped arches; the walls were of marble below and finely polished chunam above, and the floor of white and yellow marble in the pattern of musallas, compartments resembling prayer-mats for individual worshippers. The tomb, on an adjacent platform, is a square structure with an arcade around the tomb chamber, without the characteristic Gujarati screens, covered with a similar dome. The mosque (in a courtyard surrounded by arcuate rooms which once formed a madrasa) of Hidayat Bakhsh **[46]**, *c.* 1699, is again of five bays, separated only by slender piers, more modest pseudo-minars at the ends of the facade, and with three shallow domes, a felicitous composition. The former madrasa has been so distorted by later settlement that its original plan is now obscure.

An even more extraneous element is seen in a couple of late eighteenth-century tombs **[47]** near the tomb of Darya Khan (there are a few more elsewhere in the city). These are square structures where the roof cornices curve downwards at every corner of the building, so that each facade presents an arched face. This is the Bengali chau-chala roof, introduced into north India only in Shah Jahan's reign and taken over subsequently into Mughal building, whence it was

largely copied in Rajasthan palaces and Sikh buildings; but the style—with such marvellous exemplars from the high days of the Gujarat Sultanate in the architectural history of the region—seems singularly inappropriate here. We shall not attempt to go further, because it is most depressing to catalogue the works of decadence.

Note
The writer would like to express his gratitude to Snehal Shah and George Michell, who took him on many excursions and, by doing everything possible to make his stay in Ahmadabad enjoyable, enabled him to recapture his enthusiasm of thirty years before; and to Dr. Ziyauddin A. Desai, for his advice, for their discussions together, and for his suggestions and corrections which have been incorporated above.

Further Reading
Gujarat building has been well served by three publications of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series: *Muhammadan architecture in Gujarat: Bharoch, Cambay, Dholka, Champanir and Mahmudabad,* vol. xxiii, 1896; *The Muhammadan architecture of Ahmadabad,* vol. xxiv, part i, 1900, and part ii, 1905, by James Burgess. These are all well illustrated, with good collotype plates and with many plans of monuments, and together form an invaluable corpus, incorporating as they do many monuments which are now lost. But Burgess was no oriental scholar, and in consequence much of the purely historical information in his works is not reliable. For those who do not read Persian, there is a good corrective account in M. S. Commissariat's first two of three volumes, cited in the Historical Context; Commissariat was, fortunately for his followers, aware of the potential contribution to history of the evidence afforded by buildings and other artistic works, and his accounts of architectural monuments in these two volumes are always well contextualized (good and detailed accounts from European travellers for Azam Khan's sarai and for the Shahi Bagh, for example).

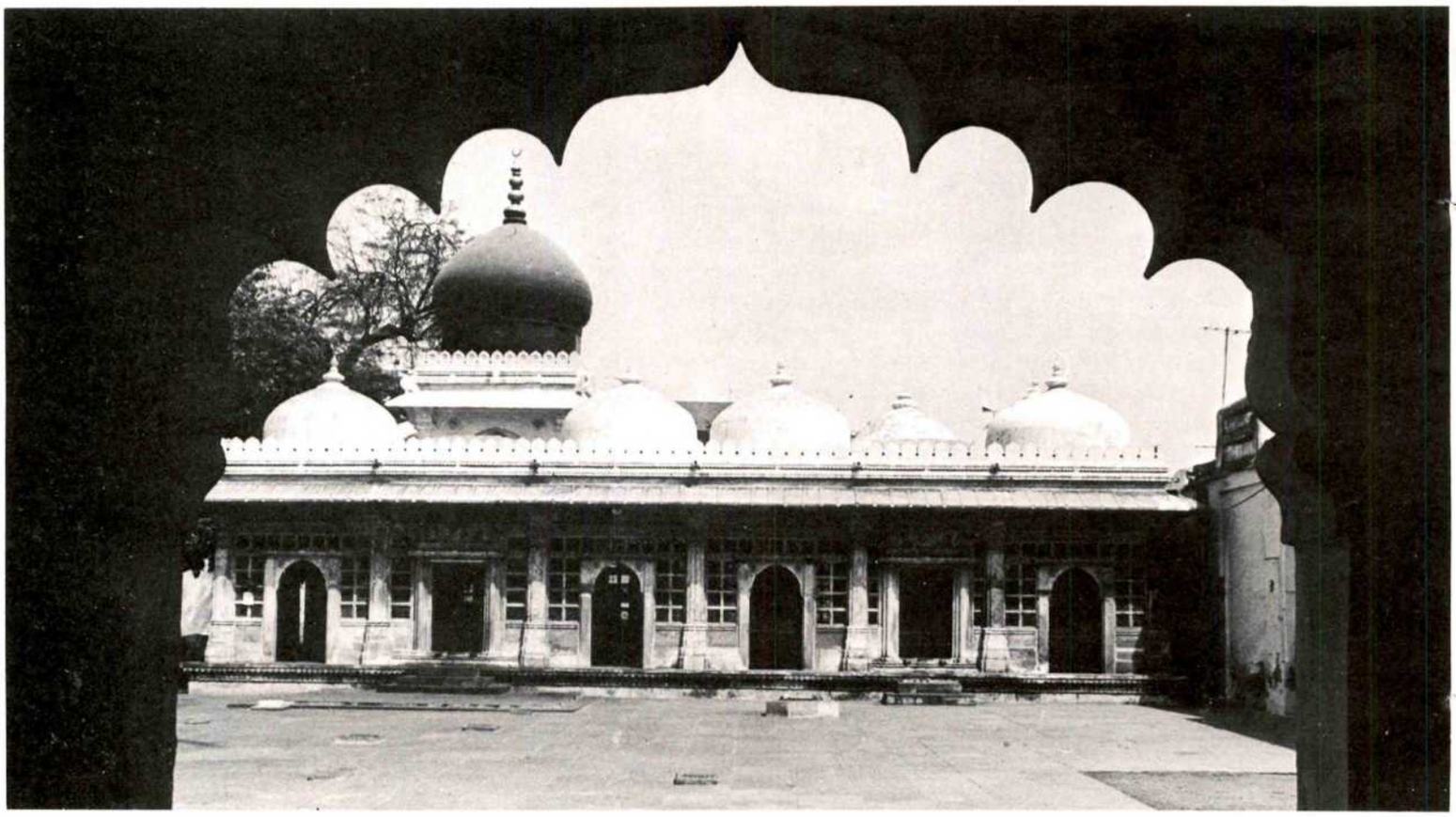
A pioneer account of Gujarati architecture was given in James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture,* London 1876, the edition quoted in the text, in Book VII (Indian Saracenic Architecture), chapter V, "Gujerat". (A two-volume version, revised and edited with additions by James Burgess, was issued in 1910; the additions are sometimes not for the better, although the Gujarat section was well treated).

Valuable for the specialist is M. A. Chaghatai, *Muslim monuments of Ahmadabad through their inscriptions,* Poona 1934. A comprehensive treatment of the city in Gujarati, unfortunately not translated, is Ratnamanirao Bhimrao Jote, *Gujarat-nun-Patnagar Amdavad,* Ahmedabad 1928.

There are general accounts of Gujarati architecture in Percy Brown, *Indian architecture: Islamic period,* Bombay n.d. (1st edition 1942?), where the artistic appreciation is valuable, but the dates and dimensions given are frequently unreliable; by Sir John Marshall, chapter xxiii, "The monuments of Muslim India", in *Cambridge History of India,* vol. iii, Cambridge 1936; and (with more insight and imagination) by S. K. Saraswati, ch. xix, "Art", in *History and Culture of the Indian People,* vol. vi, *The Delhi Sultanate,* Bombay 1960. An excellent account, set against the legacy of Indian Muslim architecture in general, in Z. A. Desai's booklet for the Publications Division of India, *Indo-Islamic Architecture,* 2nd edition, New Delhi 1987. There is also the A.S.I. guidebook pamphlet *Ahmadabad,* New Delhi 1980, text by K. V. Soundara Rajan, with 16 plates. See also list for Further Reading in the Historical Context.

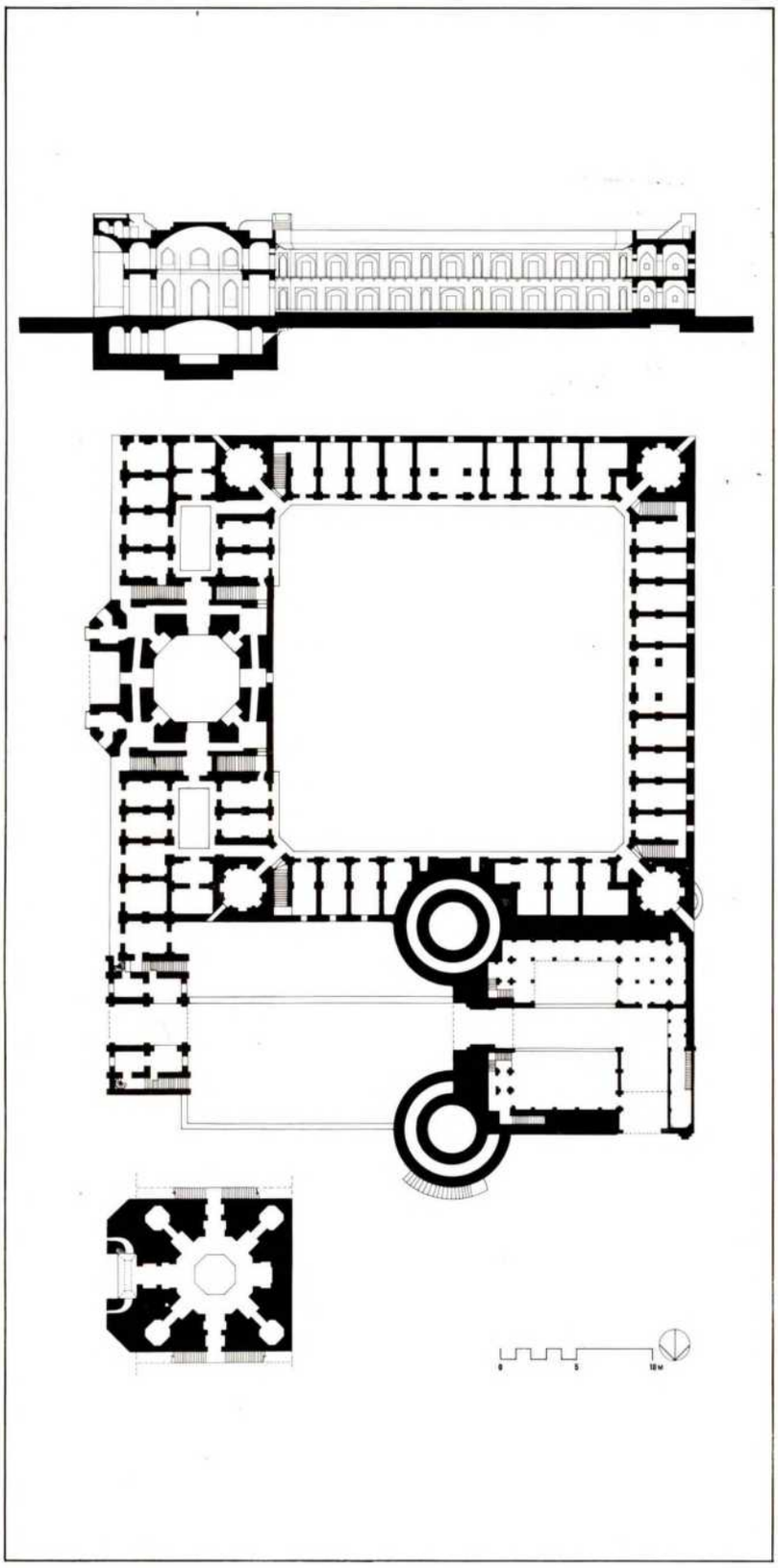
Photo Credits
Courtesy Snehal Shah: Pages 40, 43 (below), 50 (below), 54, 58 (above, left), 82 (below, right), 83 (below), 93 (below, right), 97, 98, 103, 104, 111 (below).

Shaikh Wajihuddin's tomb, Khanpur, general view **[40]**.

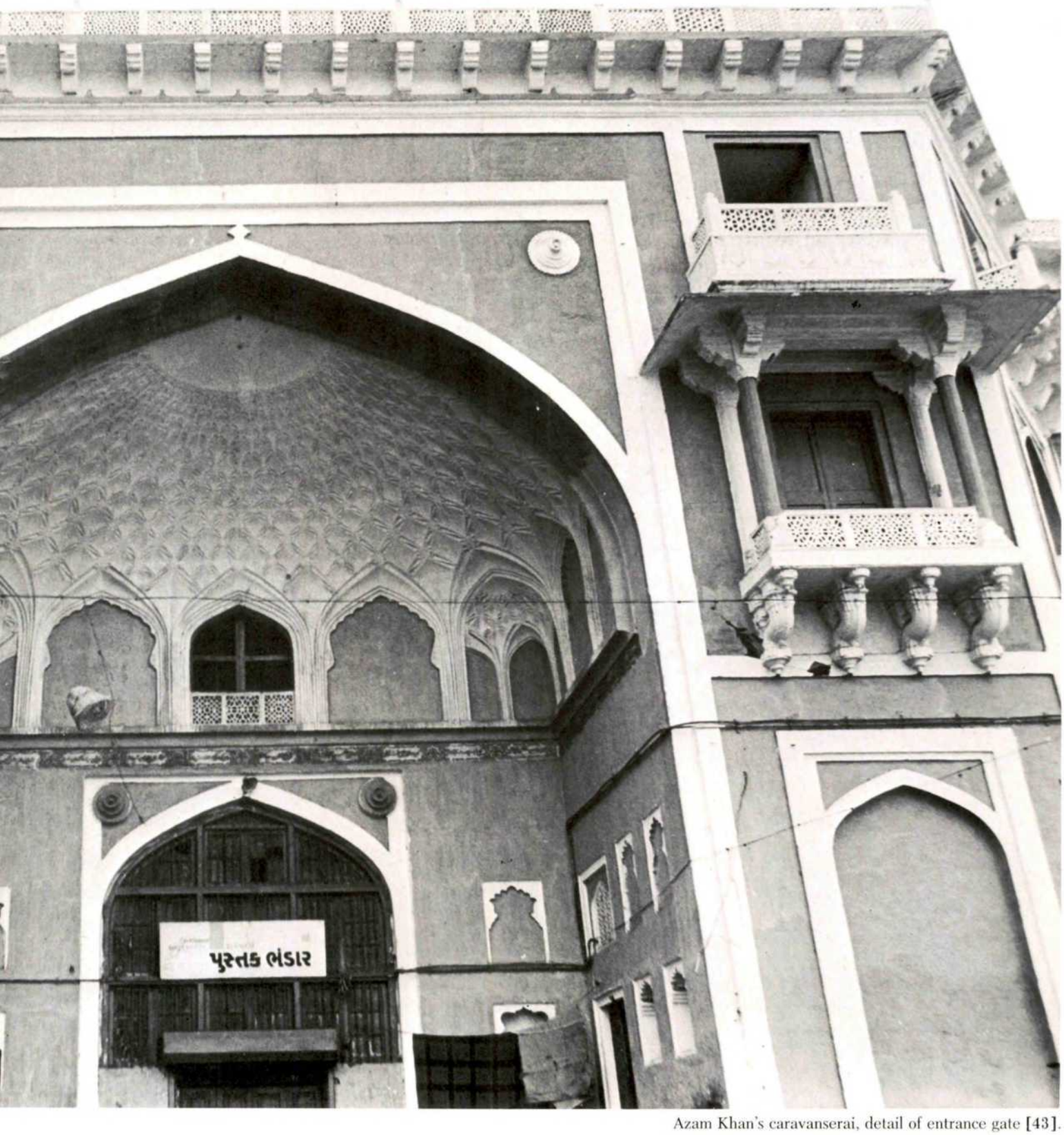


Shahi Bagh, general view, 1622 [41].

Gheekanta, tomb of Shaikh bin 'Abdullah al-Aidrus, general view [42].



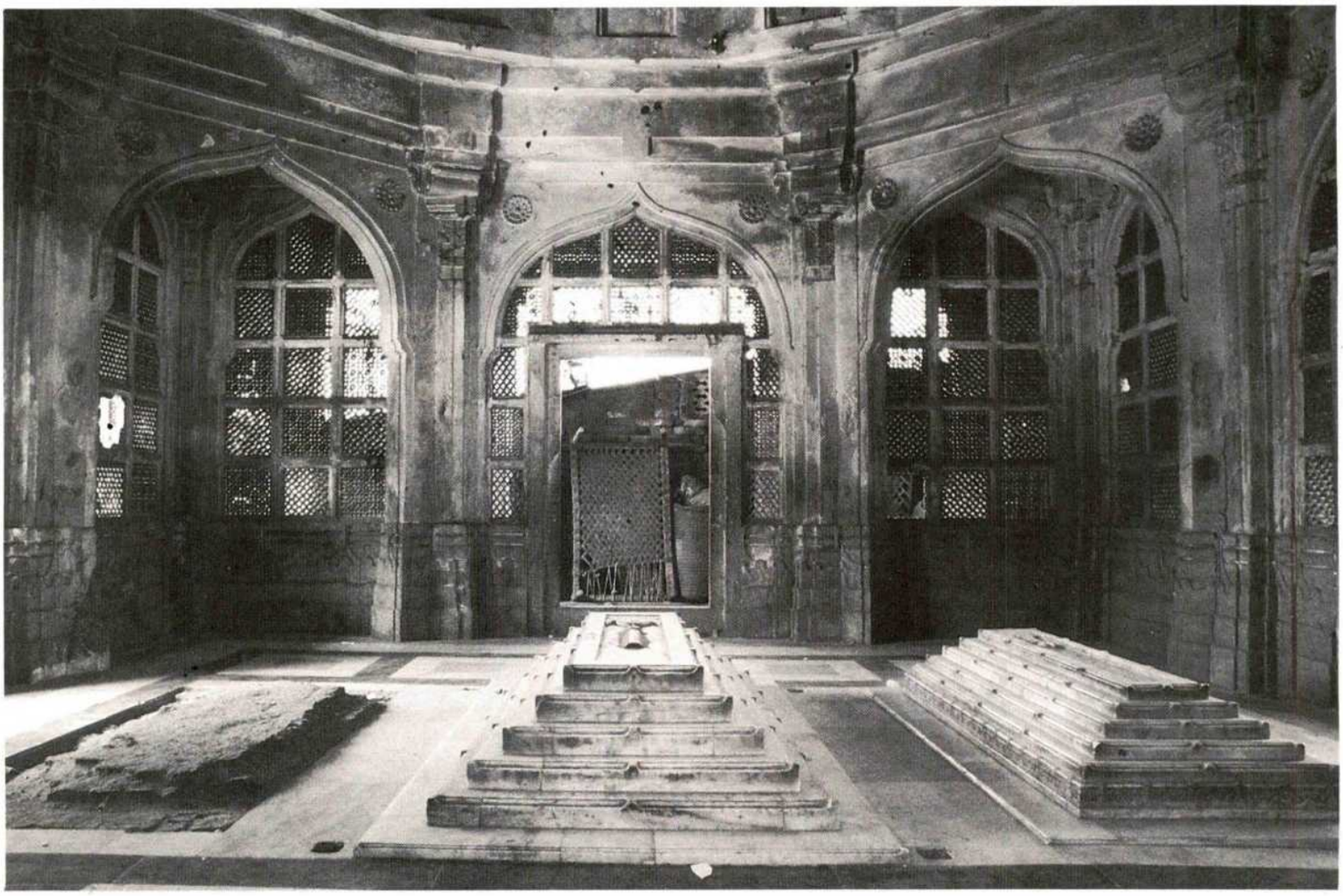
Azam Khan's caravanserai, Bhadra, ground floor plan and section, 1637 **[43]**.
Inset: Basement of entrance gate.

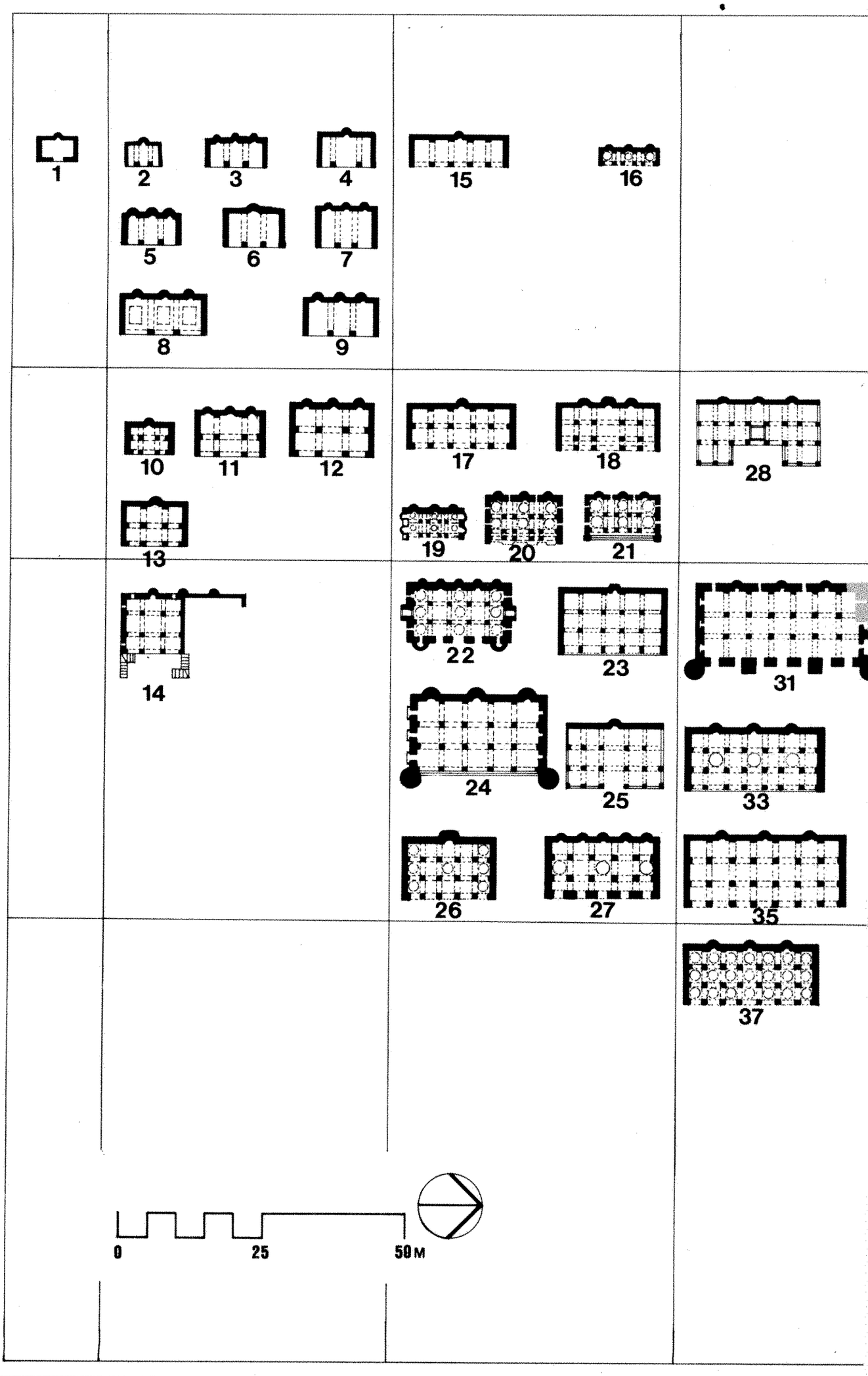


Azam Khan's caravanserai, detail of entrance gate [43].

Mosque and tomb of Nawwab Sardar Khan, Jamalpur, general view [44].

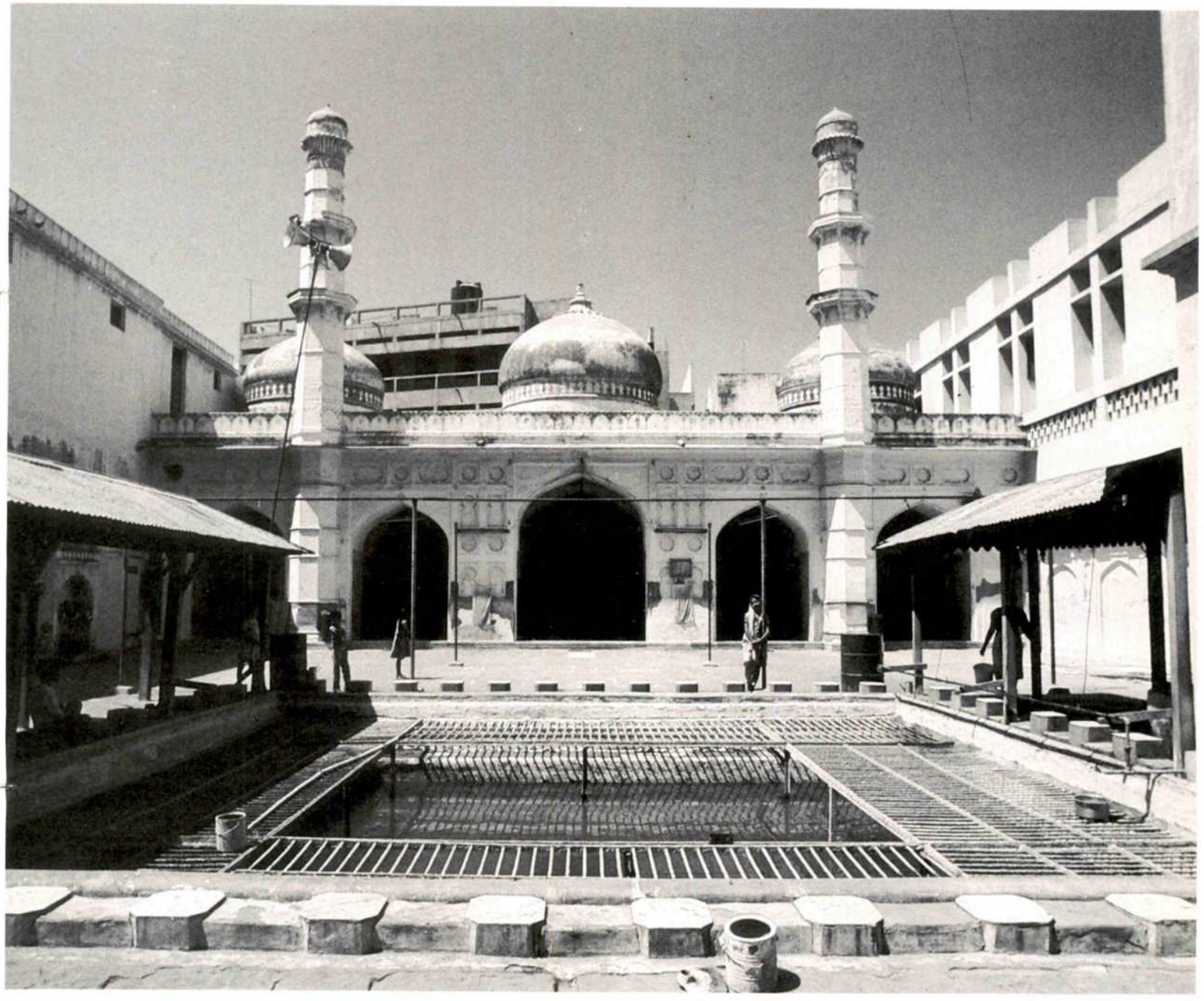
Nawwab Sardar Khan's tomb, interior [44].



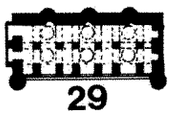

1
2
3
4
15
16
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
17
18
28
13
19
20
21
14
22
23
31
24
25
33
26
27
35
37
0
25
50 м

Hidayat Bakhsh's mosque, Astodia, general view, *c.* 1699 **[46]**.

Dudheshwar, anonymous Bengali-style tombs **[47]**.

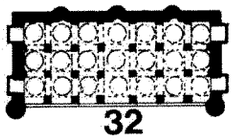


Shuja'at Khan's mosque, Mirzapur, general view, 1695-96 **[45]**.

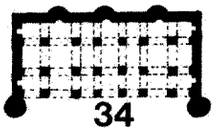


29

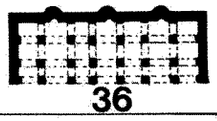
30



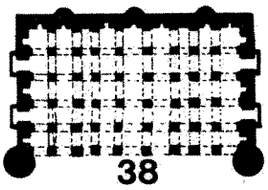
32



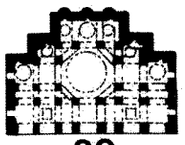
34



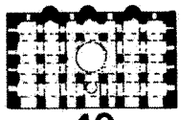
36



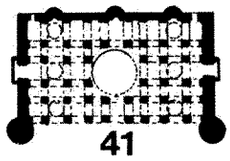
38



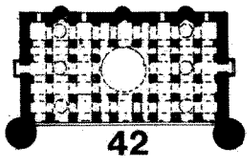
39



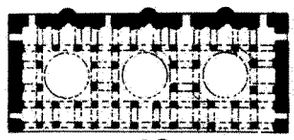
40



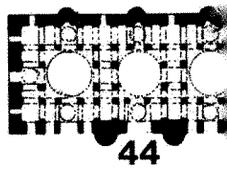
41



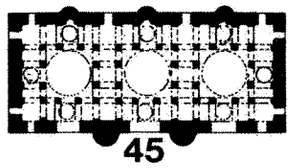
42



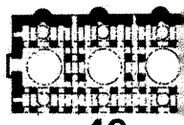
43



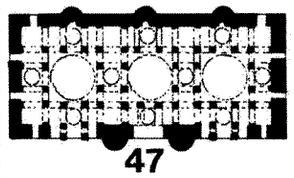
44



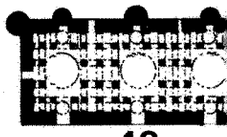
45



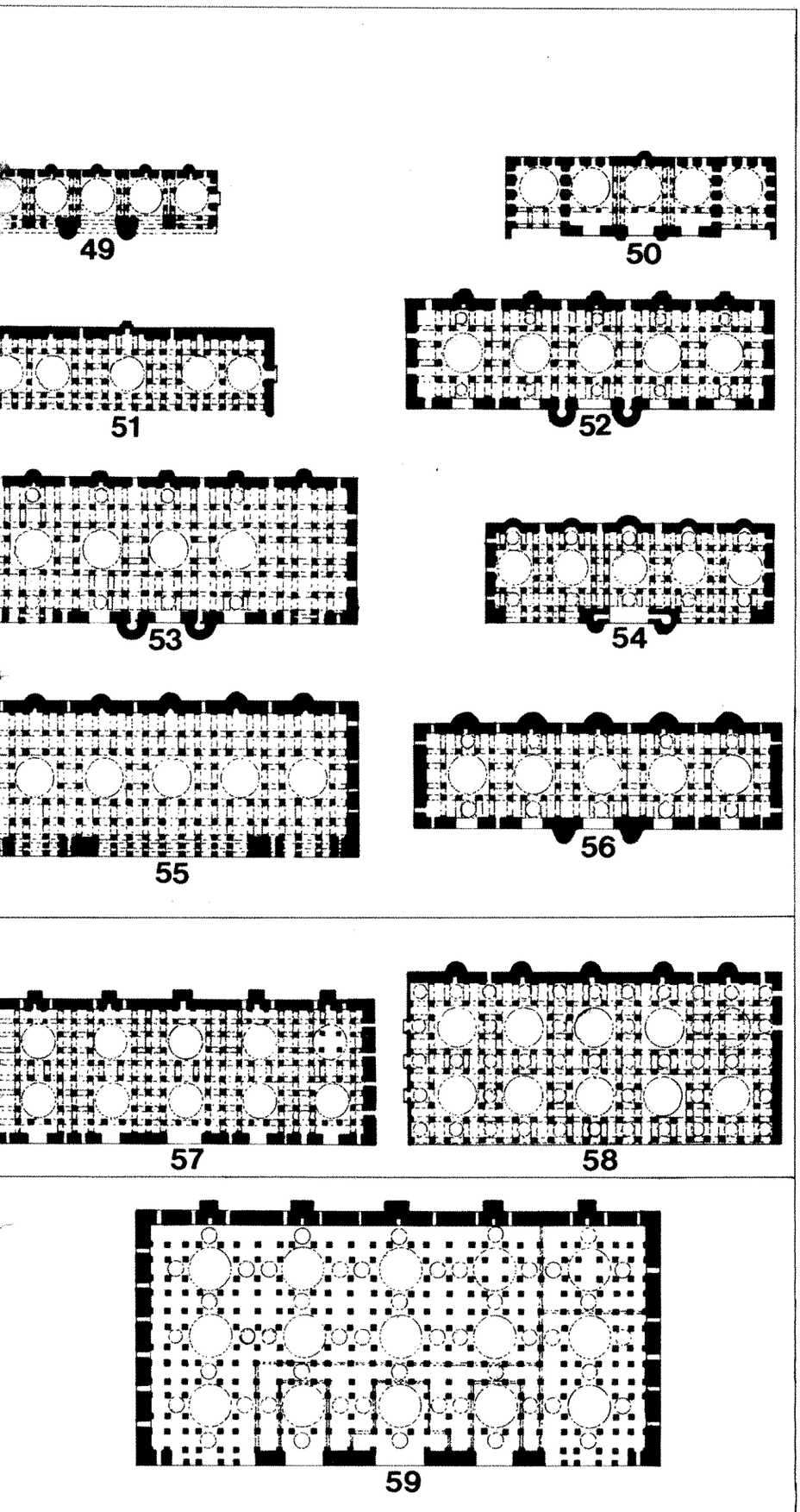
46



47



48



Typology of mosque plans in Ahmadabad and environs. The plans are arranged in the chart so that the number of interior bays increases from left to right, and from top to bottom. The plans with regularly repeating square bays are distinguished from those in which the square bays are interrupted by enlarged domed chambers.

KEY

1. Shah Fatah	Shahpur
2. Ambli	Raipur
3. Badshah Saiyed	Dariyapur
4. Miyan Muhammad Hussain	Dariyapur
5. Babi	Raikhad
6. Saiyed Ali	Raipur
7. Shah Aliji Ahmed	Raikhad
8. Badami	Shahi Bagh
9. Khub Saiyed	Karanj
10. Mira Saiyed Ali	Dariyapur
11. Murdhawad	Karanj
12. Mukhtam Saheb	Jamalpur
13. Sheikh Muhammad Zahir	Gheekanta
14. Nana Aidrus	Gheekanta
15. Shiraji	Astodia
16. Mosque	Paldi-Kochrab
17. Badashahi	Karanj
18. Muhammad Ali Saheb	Jamalpur
19. Bibi	Rajpur
20. Darvesh 'Ali	Pankor Naka
21. Gumti	Isanpur
22. Muhafiz Khan	Gheekanta
23. Dhatti	Gheekanta
24. Sidi Said	Lal Darwaza
25. Sidi Bashir	Kalupur
26. Hidayat Bakhsh	Astodia
27. Shuja'at Khan	Mirzapur
28. Alef	Karanj
29. Rani Sabrai	Astodia
30. Muhammad Ghaus	Sarangpur
31. Shah Khub	Bhadra
32. Pirmad Shah	Pankor Naka
33. Shah Alam	Maninagar
34. Ahmed Wafas	Shahpur
35. Chhota Aidrus	Gheekanta
36. Nawwab Sardar Khan	Jamalpur
37. Dastur Khan	Astodia
38. Sayyid 'Usman	Usmanpur
39. Malik Sha'ban	Rakhiyal
40. Shaikh Hasan Muhammad Chishti	Shahpur
41. 'Imadul-Mulk Malik 'Isan	Isanpur
42. Baba Lulu'i	Behrampur
43. Mosque at	Vatva
44. Rani Rupavati	Mirzapur
45. Bibi Achyut Kuki	Dudheshwar
46. Shah Fazil	Raikhad
47. Miyan Khan Chishti	Shahi Bagh
48. Haibat Khan	Jamalpur
49. Bai Harir	Asarva
50. Sayyid 'Alam	Shahpur
51. Fateh	Dariyapur
52. Queen	Sarangpur
53. Bibiji	Rajpur
54. Malik Alam	Alimpur
55. Shakar Khan	Kalupur
56. Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah	Dariyapur
57. Ahmad Shah	Bhadra
58. Mosque at	Sarkhej
59. Jami'	Pankor Naka

(This drawing was prepared from Sohan Nilkanth's unpublished thesis, written for the School of Architecture, Ahmedabad).

Glossary of Terms

agasi, flat portion of a roof
amir, nobleman
Amir-i Sada, Commander of a Hundred (centurion)
arabesque, stylized foliation with stalks and leaves.
arcuate, arched mode of construction
Ariz-i Mamalik, title of the Paymaster-General of the kingdom
aro, bathing ghat
baithak, reception room
baoli, step-well
blind arch, arch-like recess, not an opening
burj, fort
caravanserai, structure for travellers
chamfered, with the corners cut off
char-bagh, garden design with four squares
chau-chala, with four curved roof cornices, a typical Bengali feature
chhatri, small domed pavilion with pillars
chowk, courtyard of a house; name of a market street
chunam, lime plaster
clearstory, upper part of a multi-storeyed space to admit light
coffered, flat ceiling divided into square or diamond-shaped patterns
corbel, an outward projection
corbelled dome, created by projecting successive rings of horizontal stone courses
cusped, composed of repeated part-circles
darwaza, gateway
diwan, high ranking minister
dodecagon, twelve-sided figure
farman, grant, often by the king himself
faujdar, army commander, military governor
fluted dome, with external bulbous projections
four-centred arch, with double-curves on each side
gajadhar, building artisan
garbhagriha, temple sanctuary
ghat, bathing place
ghazal, lyrical poetry
hamam, bath-house
harem, female quarters of a palace
haveli, large house or mansion
hypostyle, composed of columns only
iwan, monumental portal
jagir, grant of land to a noble
jali, pierced screen
jamb, side portion of a doorway
Jami' Masjid, Friday Mosque, principal place of worship for a Muslim community
kakshasana, sloping back rest, usually in a porch
kalasha, pot-like motif
khutba, Friday sermon which rehearses the name and title of the sultan
kos, distance of about three kilometres
Kufic, form of Arabic script
kumbhi, stone pillar base
linga, phallic emblem of the god Shiva
lintel, beam over an opening
madrasa, school of theology
makara, aquatic beast
mandapa, columned hall in a temple
merlon, parapet element or ornamental motif derived from battlements
mihrab, niche in the wall of a prayer chamber indicating the direction of Mecca
minaret, slender tower from which the call to prayer is given
musalla, a floor marking which indicates the space for a single worshipper
Naskh, calligraphic style in which the straight and round parts of letters are in 2:1 proportion
Nastaliq, calligraphic style in which the curved portions of letters are fully rounded
oriel window, window carried on a projecting balcony
otla, front verandah of a house
parapet, wall rising above the roof
parasal, room opening off a chowk
pendentive, corner element supporting a dome
pishtaq, monumental portal
pitha, pedestal for an image
pol, urban residential unit with a single street
pseudo-minaret, non-functional minaret
Pura, city quarter or neighbourhood
qaisariya, market
qanati, temporary mosque created with screen walls
qazi, Muslim judge
qibla, rear wall of prayer chamber containing one or more mihrabs
rauza, enclosure containing a tomb and usually a mosque
riqa, calligraphic style in which the straight and round parts of letters are in 1:2 proportion
roof cornice, bottom roof line
rotunda, domed chamber
sarai, enclosed area with facilities for travellers
satrap, governor
sayyid, lineal descendant of the Prophet Muhammad
shaikh, shaykh, Muslim holy man or saint
squinch, arch-like corner element supporting a dome
stilted dome, elevated on straight sides
stringcourse, horizontal decorative feature on a wall
stucco, polished plaster
subah, province
subahdar, governor of a province
sutradhar, artisan
tah-khana, basement
talav, reservoir or tank
tanka, underground cistern
Thulth, calligraphic style resembling Naskh, but with thicker letters
tirtha, sacred place or shrine
torana, gateway consisting of two pillars supporting a sinuous arch-like element
trabeate, pillar and lintel mode of construction
Tughra, monogram in which one letter is written upon another
tympanum, upper interior of an arch
umro, threshold of a house
urs, anniversary celebration of a saint's death
vav, step-well
wazir, chief minister of a sultan
zanana, female quarters of a palace
Zoroastrianism, religion of the Parsis

Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliyari's mosque, minaret, Ahmadabad
Photo Courtesy Snehal Shah

Subscribe to **Marg** and share the splendour of Indian art and culture—every quarter. Get (and gift) an annual subscription:—

Marg magazines and books are available on an annual subscription basis. The saving is considerable as against the single copy prices—approximately 15 per cent on the magazine and over 35 per cent on the de luxe hard cover edition.

For your convenience, use the attached envelope to confirm your order. The subscription rates for the magazines and books are given below.

MARG SUBSCRIPTION RATES

	Magazine	Book
INDIA	Rs. 295.00	Rs. 650.00
OVERSEAS		
Sea mail	U.S. $ 40.00	U.S. $ 85.00
Airmail	U.S. $ 73.00	U.S. $ 135.00

For more information, contact or write direct to:

MARG Publications,
Army & Navy Building,
148, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay 400 023, INDIA.
Tel.: 242520.

or to:

1. Regional Offices

c/o Tata Services Limited,
"Jeevan Bharati",
Tower No. 1, (10th Floor),
124, Connaught Circus,
New Delhi 110 001.
Tel.: 3327072-76.

c/o The Tata Iron and Steel Company Limited,
Tata Centre, (12th Floor),
43, Chowringhee Road,
Calcutta 700 071.
Tel.: 291981 (Ext. 321).

2. Overseas Offices

U.K.: Tata Limited,
18, Grosvenor Place,
London SW1X 7HS.
Tel.: 01-235 8281-8

U.S.A.: Tata Incorporated,
101, Park Avenue,
New York, N.Y. 10178.
Tel.: (Area Code 212) 557-7979

Art Publications

- **Books**
- **Magazines**
- **Portfolios**

and Culture
Every Quarter—
within your reach

MARG, as its name implies, is a 'pathway' which leads the reader through forgotten vistas of the 5000-year-old culture of India and of its neighbouring countries. In each successive publication, MARG reveals facets of these rich and vibrant civilisations.

Now published every quarter in two formats:

The Marg Art Book:
A de luxe library edition of over 150 pages, handsomely cloth-bound and dust-jacketed, profusely illustrated with more than 40 colour plates and 130 black and white photographs.

The Marg Art Magazine:
An abridged edition, it provides a glimpse of Indian culture for all those interested but with a slender budget. On the same theme as the book, the soft-cover magazine edition contains 60 per cent of the articles of its hard-cover counterpart; plus regular features: a notes and book reviews section and advertisements that are specially designed to match the theme of the volume.

Some of the eminent authorities on art who have been regular contributors to Marg:

C. Sivaramamurti
Karl Khandalavala
Douglas Barrett
P. Pal
Stella Kramrisch
John Irwin
J. Cary Welch
Pupul Jayakar
George Michell
B. N. Goswamy
S. K. Srinivasan
Jyotindra Jain
M. D. Sankalia
Catherine Asher
M. L. Nigam

LATEST BOOK
Ahmadabad
pp. 188 + iv

Never before have the architectural masterpieces been presented to the reader in such a superb manner. Informative articles appear with illustrations of imposing structures.

Edited by Dr. George Michell and Snehal Shah.

The Mughals And The Medici

ARTISTS TODAY

Islamic Heritage of the Deccan

Brings alive in print—for the very first time—the fortresses, mosques and tombs at the Moslem Deccan capitals of Daulatabad, Gulbarga, Bidar, Bijapur and Golconda-Hyderabad. Also focuses on the intricate miniature paintings, metalwork and carpets produced at these centres. Edited by George Michell. pp. 130 + viii

American Collectors of Asian Art

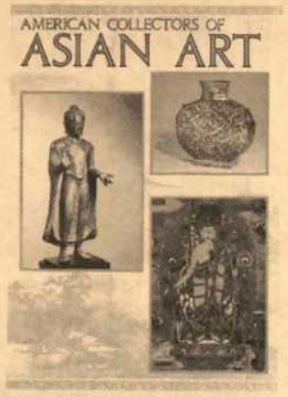
Features the collections of Charles Lang Freer, Avery Brundage, John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, Nasli M. Heeramaneck, Edwin Binney, 3rd, Norton Simon, Samuel Eilenberg, the Zimmerman Family Collection, John Gilmore Ford, Paul F. Walter. Edited by Pratapaditya Pal. pp. 224 + iv

A Mirror Of Princes
The Mughals And The Medici

The reader will explore the affinities between two great dynasties—the Mughals and the Medici—who, different by birth and culture, showed impeccable taste in the choice of art objects in their collections illustrated in this volume. Edited by Dalu Jones. pp. 156 + iv

Artists Today

A cross-section of contemporary Western and Indian art is represented in this culturally significant and generously illustrated publication. The provocative texts include the credos of the artists. From these the reader is likely to get new insights into the aesthetics and the total ethos of our global village today. Edited by Ursula Bickelmann and Nissim Ezekiel. pp. 142+vi



Focusing on the character of the patrons and their diverse reasons for building shrines and commissioning images. Edited by Vidya Dehejia. pp. 144 + iv

Detach this portion. You may enclose your cheque in the order envelope below, which should be sealed and sent to the address overleaf. TEAR HERE

MARG ORDER FORM FOR SINGLE TITLES

I wish to obtain the following Marg Publications:
Please send ☐ Proforma Invoice
Enclosed is payment by ☐ Cheque ☐ Demand Draft
☐ Postal Order ☐ International Money Order
Name.....
Address.....
.....
Signature.....
Remittances to be made in favour of **Marg Publications.**

		Rs.	U.S. $
AVAILABLE MAGAZINES			
☐☐☐	(Vol. 39 No. 3) – Medieval Ahmadabad	85.00	12.00
	(Vol. 39 No. 2) – Monarchs and Temples	85.00	12.00
	(Vol. 39 No. 1) – Patrons of Art The Mughals and The Medici	85.00	12.00
☐	(Vol. 38 No. 4) – Contemporary Art Syntheses & Polarities	65.00	10.00
☐☐☐	(Vol. 38 No. 3) – Treasures of Indian Art	65.00	10.00
	(Vol. 38 No. 2) – Akbar and Fatehpur-Sikri	65.00	10.00
	(Vol. 38 No. 1) – Three American Collections of Asian Art – Heeramaneck, Binney, 3rd and Simon	65.00	10.00
☐	(Vol. 37 No. 4) – Three American Collections of Asian Art – Freer, Brundage and Rockefeller, 3rd	65.00	10.00
☐	(Vol. 37 No. 3) – Masterpieces of the Deccan Sultanates	65.00	10.00
☐	(Vol. 37 No. 2) – Hind and Hellas	65.00	10.00
☐	(Vol. 37 No. 1) – Maharashtra – Religious and Secular Architecture	65.00	10.00
☐	(Vol. 36 No. 4) – Maharashtra – Traditions in Art	65.00	10.00
	Postage extra per copy (in India)	8.00	
	Overseas (sea mail)		3.50

AVAILABLE BOOKS

		Rs.	U.S. $
☐	Ahmadabad	495.00	41.00
☐☐	Royal Patrons and Great Temple Art	475.00	40.00
☐☐☐	A Mirror of Princes	485.00	55.00
☐☐	Artists Today	375.00	42.00
☐☐	Fatehpur-Sikri	300.00	40.00
☐☐	American Collectors of Asian Art	500.00	50.00
☐☐	Islamic Heritage of the Deccan	250.00	33.00
☐☐	India and Greece	270.00	36.00
☐☐	Splendours of Kerala	225.00	30.00
	Postage extra per copy (in India)	12.00	
	Overseas (sea mail)		5.00

ALSO AVAILABLE

		Rs.	U.S. $
PORTFOLIO			
☐	Images from the Wonder House – Raja Dinkar Kelkar Museum	20.00	2.50
	Postage extra per copy (in India)	8.00	
	Overseas (sea mail)		1.00

Detach this order form and send it with your remittance to our offices mentioned under:

U.K.: Tata Limited
18, Grosvenor
London SW1
U.K.

Remittance to be made in favour of Tata Limited

U.S.A.: Tata Incorporated
101, Park Av
New York, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Remittance to be made in favour of Tata Incorporated

Alternatively, you may send your remittance to our offices mentioned under:

Paste on markings to secure flap to envelope

SLM-MANEKLAL INDUSTRIES LIMITED
NOW A MUNSHAW GROUP OF INDUSTRIES

Manufacturers Of:
Industrial Air Compressors/Vacuum Pumps/Blowers/Plastic Injection & Blow Moulding Machines/CI & SGI Castings/Textile Machines—Stenters, Jiggers/Rubber Blankets/High Pressure Hoses Etc.

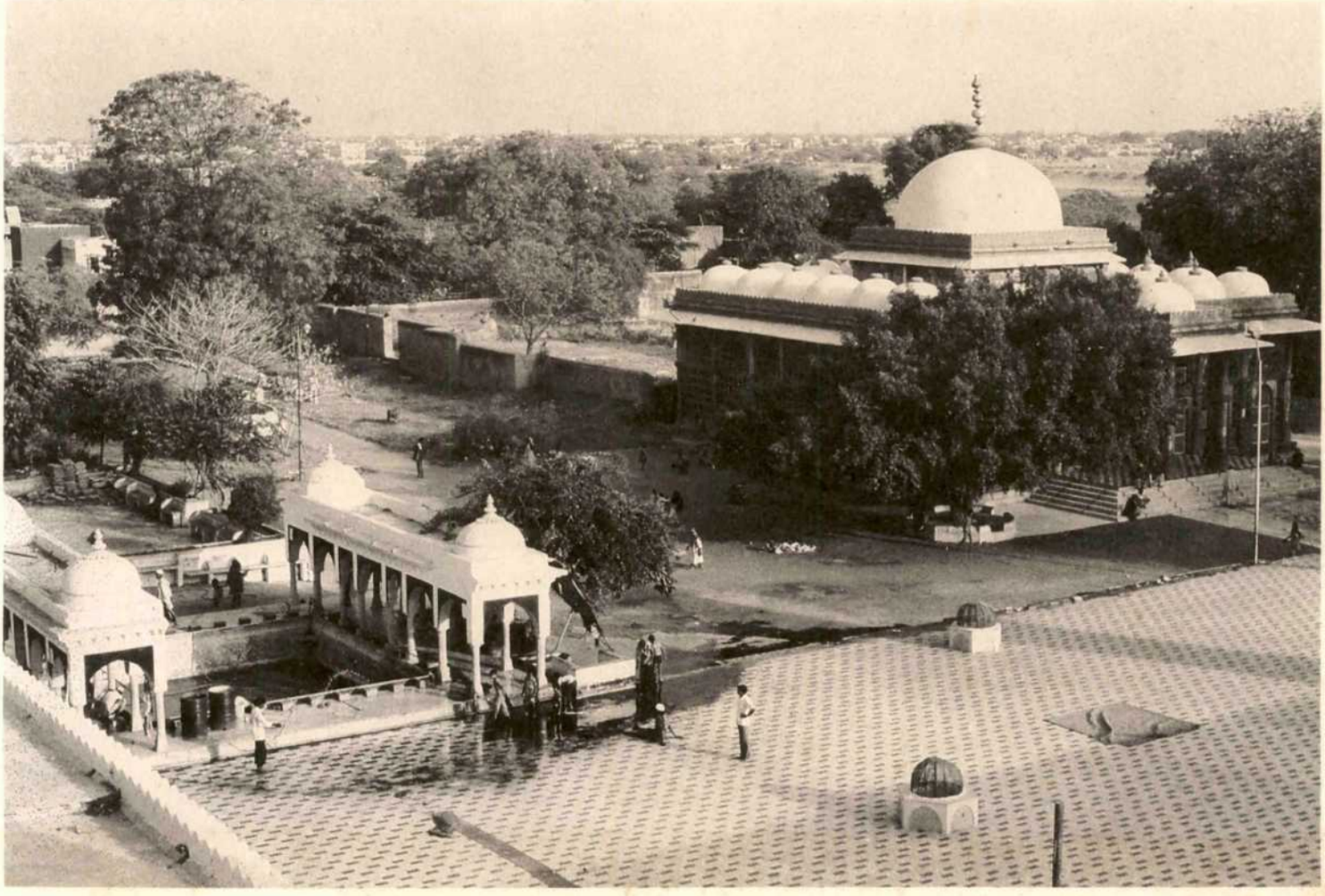
REGISTERED OFFICE:
Shafi Manzil, Ashram Road, Ahmedabad-380 009.
Telephone: 448028/448121/448977 • Telex: 121-6414 TMML IN • Telegram: TEXRUBBER

HEAD OFFICE:
Vaswani Mansions, Dinshaw Vachha Road, P.B. No. 11066, Bombay-400 020.
Telephone: 221114 • Telex: 011-2513 TMML IN/011-6278 SLMM IN • Telegram: TEXRUBBER.

WORKS:
(1) Vatva, Taluka Dascroi, Ahmedabad.
Telephone: 52081-85 • Telex: 121-6263 SLMM IN • Telegram: SWISSDISEL.
(2) Saki Naka, Kurla-Andheri Road, Bombay-400 072.
Telephone: 5121931-35 • Telex: 011-72199 TMML IN • Telegram: SWISSDISEL.
(3) 180-B, GIDC Estate, P.B. No. 18, Kalol (Panchmahals)-389 330, Gujarat.
Telephone: 220, 236, 252, 253, 254 Derol Exchange • Telex: 177-205 SLM IN • Telegram: SWISSDISEL.

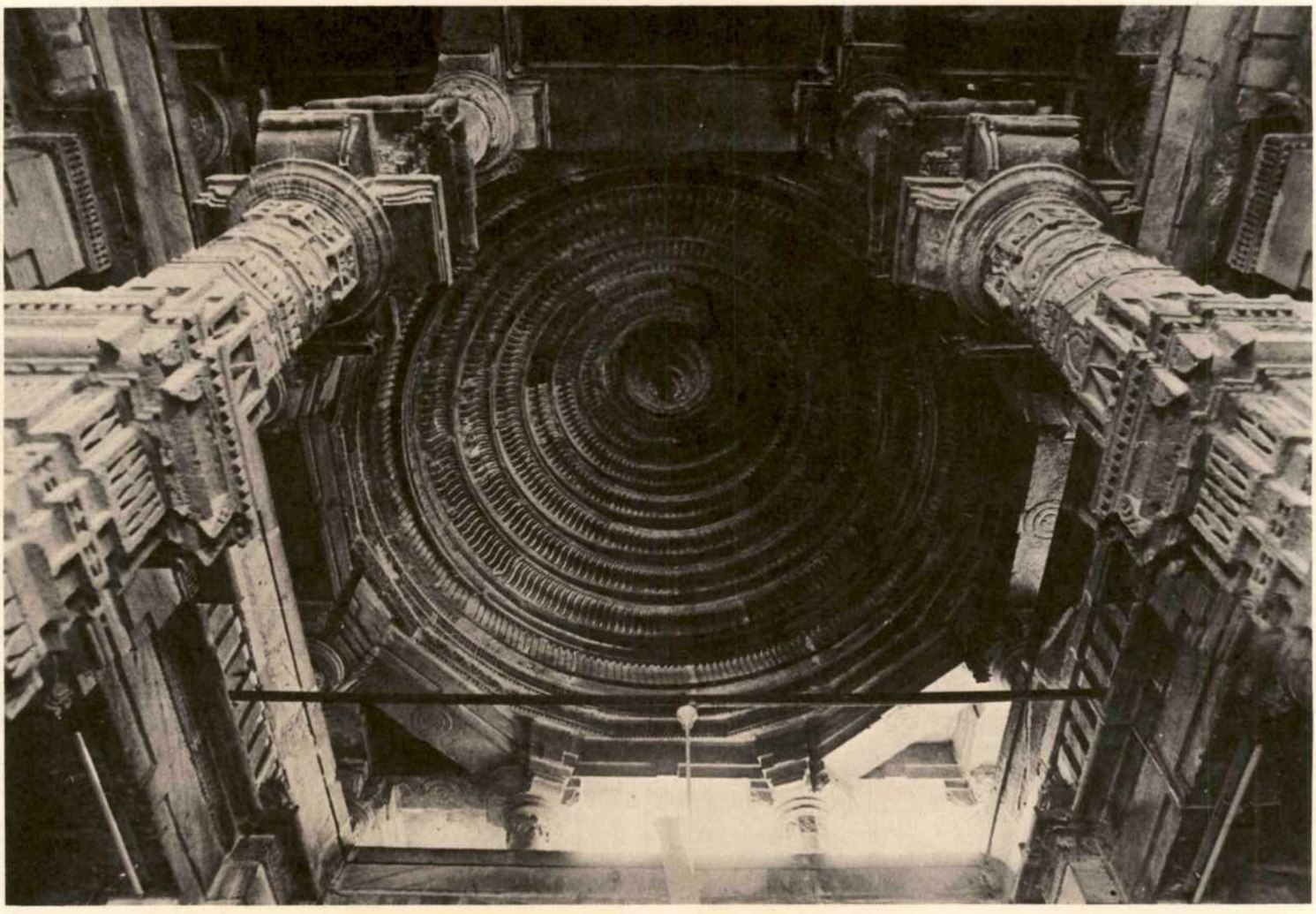
BRANCHES:
(1) 804, Ansal Bhavan, Kasturba Gandhi Marg, New Delhi-110 001.
Telephone: 3316809, 3316810, 3312164, 383351 • Telex: 031-2982 TMML IN • Telegram: SWISSDISEL.
(2) Raja Subodh Mullick Square, 3rd Floor, Calcutta-700 013.
Telephone: 263909, 267721 • Telex: 021-4381 SLMM IN • Telegram: SWISSDISEL.
(3) 21-11, Craig Park Layout, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bangalore-560 001.
Telephone: 575979 • Telex: 845-2421 SLMM IN • Telegram: SWISSDISEL.

Maninagar, Shah Alam complex.



THE Raymond WOOLLEN MILLS LIMITED

Shahi Bagh, Miyan Khan Chishti's mosque, ceiling, *c.* 1465.

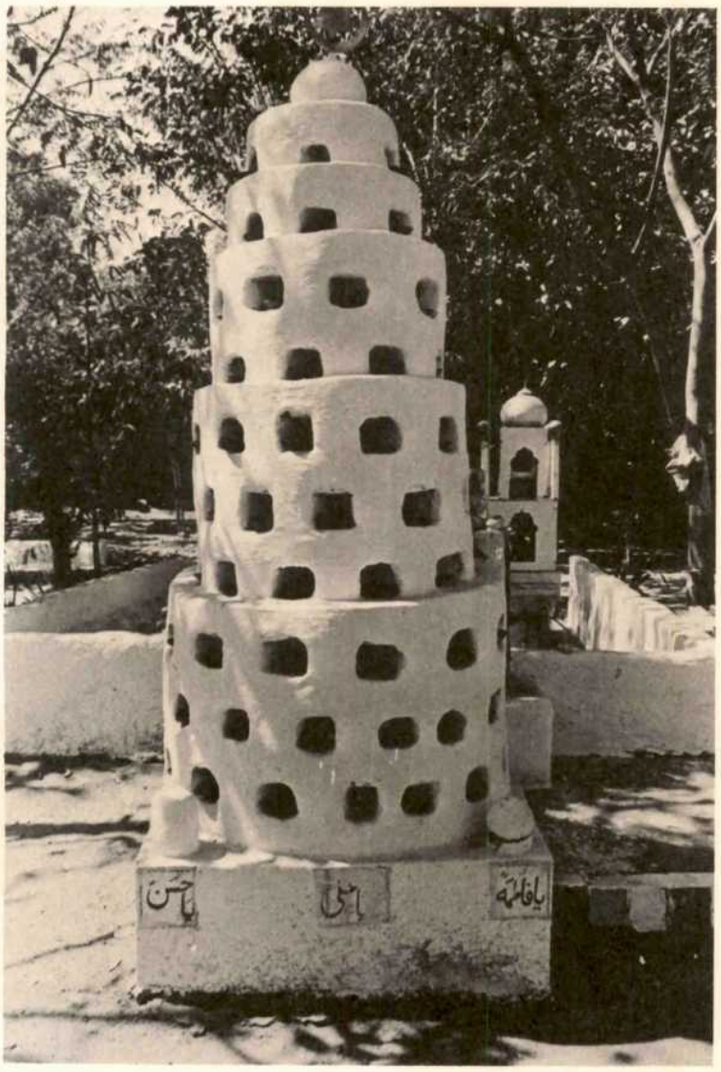


AIRFREIGHT
PRIVATE LIMITED

ELECTRONIC INDUSTRIES OF INDIA
Manufacturers & Exporters Of:
TAPE DECK MECHANISM FOR
Cassette Tape Recorders, Stereo Tape Decks
and Radio Cassette Recorders

Branch Office:
ELIN HOUSE, 4771, Bharat Ram Road,
23-Darya Ganj, New Delhi-110 002.
Phones: 276406, 276708 • Grams: ECTRON, New Delhi.
Telex: 031-3022 ELIN IN.

Lamp tower.



Asarva, Dada Harir's step-well, niche, 1499.
(Courtesy Snehal Shah).

TATA EXPORTS LIMITED

Block A, Shivsagar Estates, Dr. Annie Besant Road, Worli,
Bombay-400 018.
Tel. No.: 4920300, 4920404 • Telex: 1173691, 1173858, 1173716.
Tele. Fax No. viz. (22) 4926379 • Cable: TATAEXPORT.

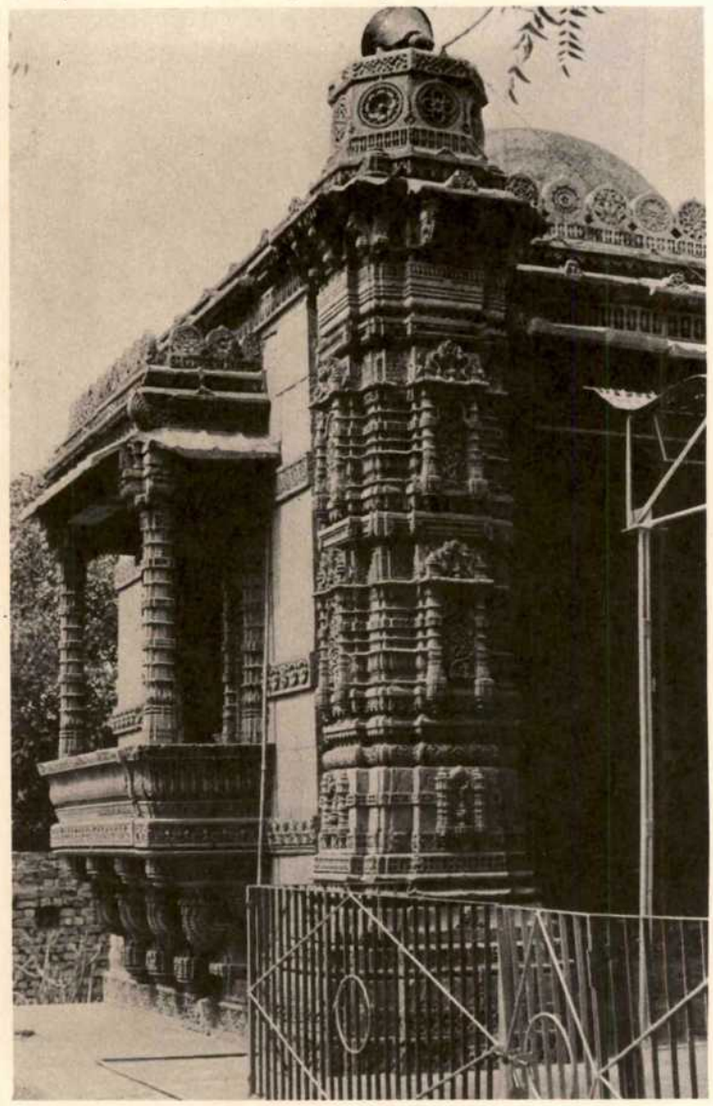
R. MEHTA & CO.

Organisers & Builders

"People's Plaza", Near Memnager Fire Station, Memnager,
Ahmedabad-380 052.
Phone: Off.: 464870 Res.: 461545.

Dudheshwar, Achyut Kuki's mosque,
upper part of minaret, 1469.

Mosque at Paldi-Kochrab, balcony and minaret.



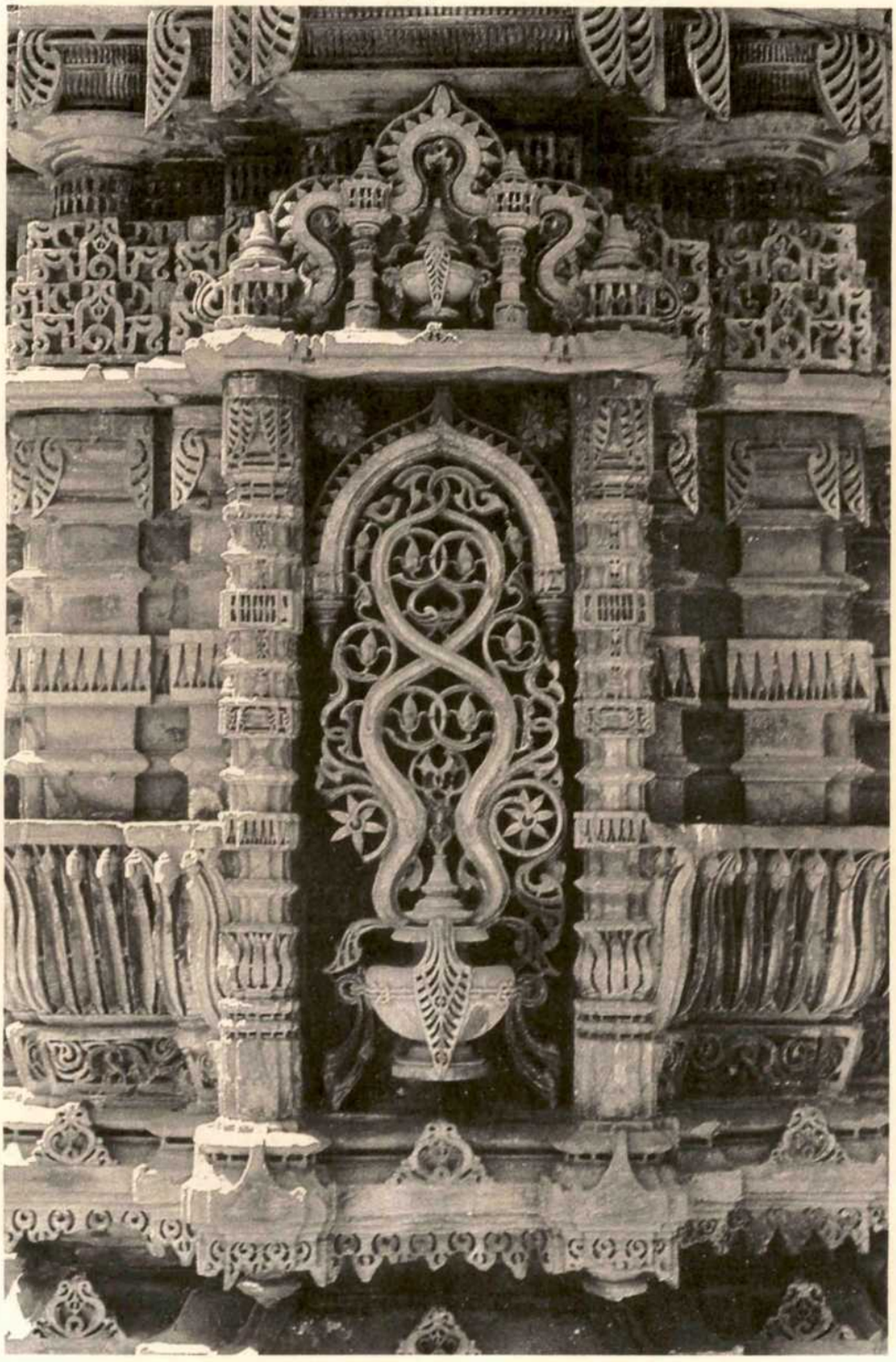
G&C

THE GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY OF INDIA LIMITED

Furnace Division, 1 Taratalla Road, Calcutta-700 024.
Post Box No. 307, Calcutta-700 001.
Tel.: 49-1678, 49-1801, 45-9546, 45-9547, 45-9548, 49-1702.
Gram: Mainfactor, Calcutta. Tlx.: (021)-7947 GECF,—2102 AEI.

Registered Office: Magnet House, 6 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta-700 072.
Tlx.: 021-5033 GECL. Gram: Kilowatt, Calcutta. Tel.: 27-8500/27-2880.

Qutbuddin Ahmad Shah's mosque, Dariyapur, niche in a minaret.



AJIT INDIA PRIVATE LIMITED

The Pioneers
(Aluminium Architecturals)
Offer a New Concept in Economy,
Simplicity & Durability in Weathertight
Windows, Doors, Curtain Walling,
Patent North Light Glazing and
Staircase & Balcony Railings
Partitions, Shelving, Grills &
'EEZILOCK' Patent False Ceiling Grid System.

Head Office: 'Ramon House', 6th floor, 169, Backbay Reclamation,
Bombay 400 020.
Tel: 221714 (4 lines) Telex: 011-2802.

Branches: Madras, Bangalore, Calcutta, Hyderabad, Ahmedabad.

PLEASE WRITE OR VISIT

TO HAVE THE BOOKS & JOURNALS OF
YOUR CHOICE ON THE FOLLOWING

WE SPECIALISE IN:—
* Archaeology, Anthropology and Architecture
* Art Dictionaries and Encyclopaedias
* European and Indian Art
* Fine Arts and Modern Art
* History of Art
* Interior Decoration and Photography
* Painting, Drawing and Sculpture
* Packaging, Designing, Calligraphy, Typography & Graphic
* Pottery, Porcelain, Silver, Glass & Furniture
* Textile
* Conservation and Museology

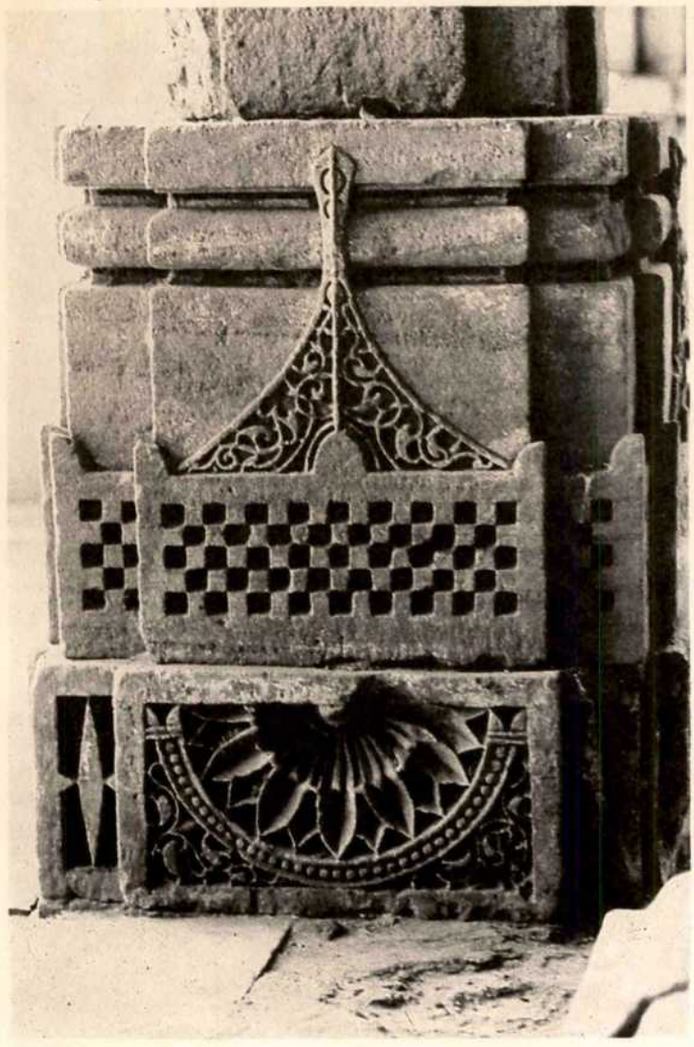
STANDARD BOOK AGENCY

11, Darya Ganj,
Behind Employment Exchange,
New Delhi-110 002.

Phone Office: 279440/266580 Res: 526447/770844.

Malik Sarang's mosque, Sarangpur, detail of minaret.
(Courtesy Snehal Shah).

Vatva, Qutb-i Alam's mosque, detail of a column base.



RAJFAB PRIVATE LIMITED
Telephone: Office: 409666, 442129.

RAJESTER TEXTURISERS PRIVATE LIMITED
Telephone: 409309 • Telex No: 0121 6318 AMA IN.

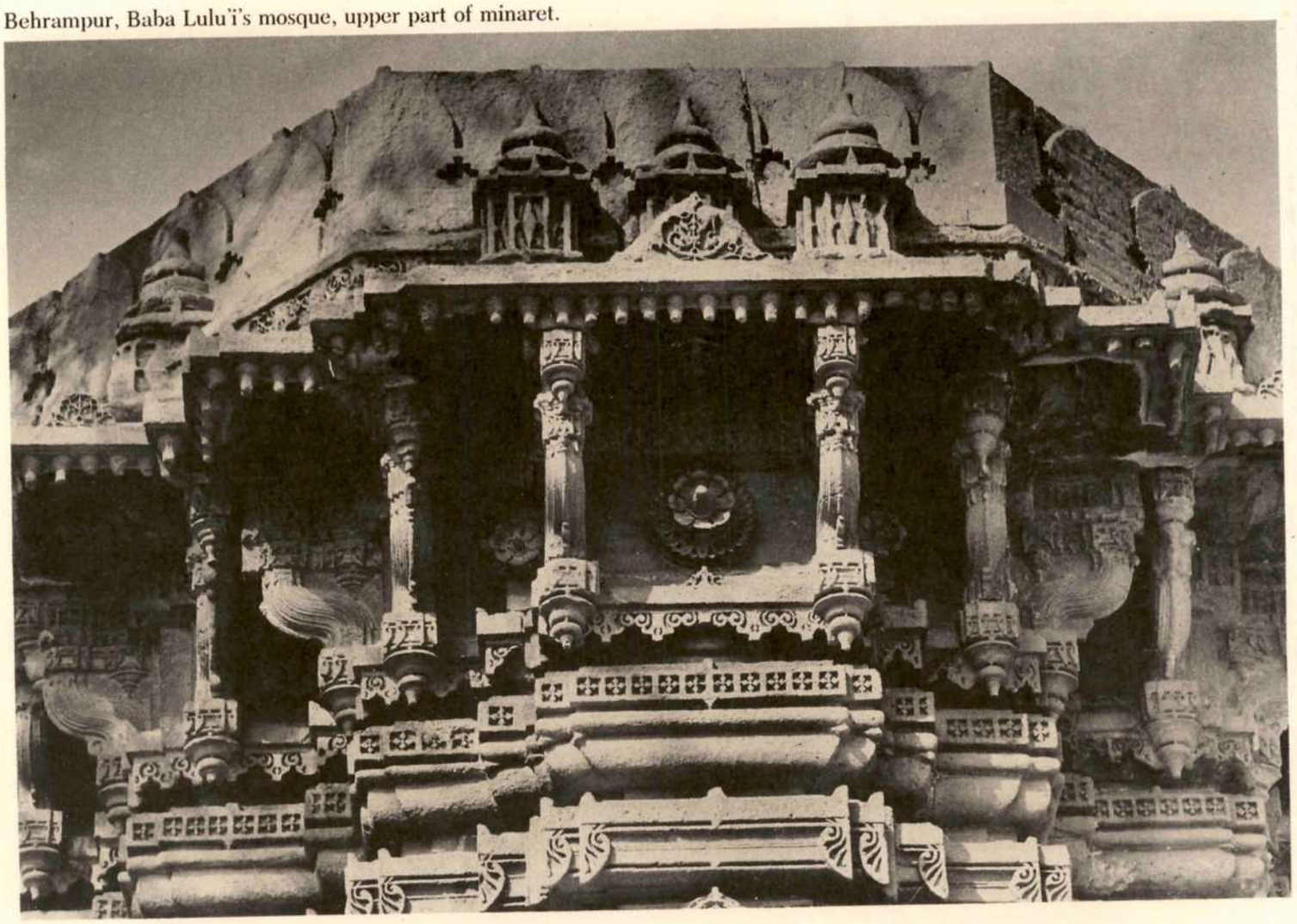
HI-REL POWERNETICS PRIVATE LIMITED
Telephone: 409309 • Telex No: 0121 6318 AMA IN.

REGISTERED OFFICE:
'Shanti Chambers', Opp. Dinesh Hall, Navrangpura,
Ahmedabad-380 009.

Sidi Said's mosque, Lal Darwaza, 1572.

TEXTILE TRADERS CO-OPERATIVE BANK LTD.
Textile Bank Chambers, Ahmedabad-380 002.
Telephone: 380208 • Telegram: TEXTAB.

Behrampur, Baba Lulu'i's mosque, upper part of minaret.



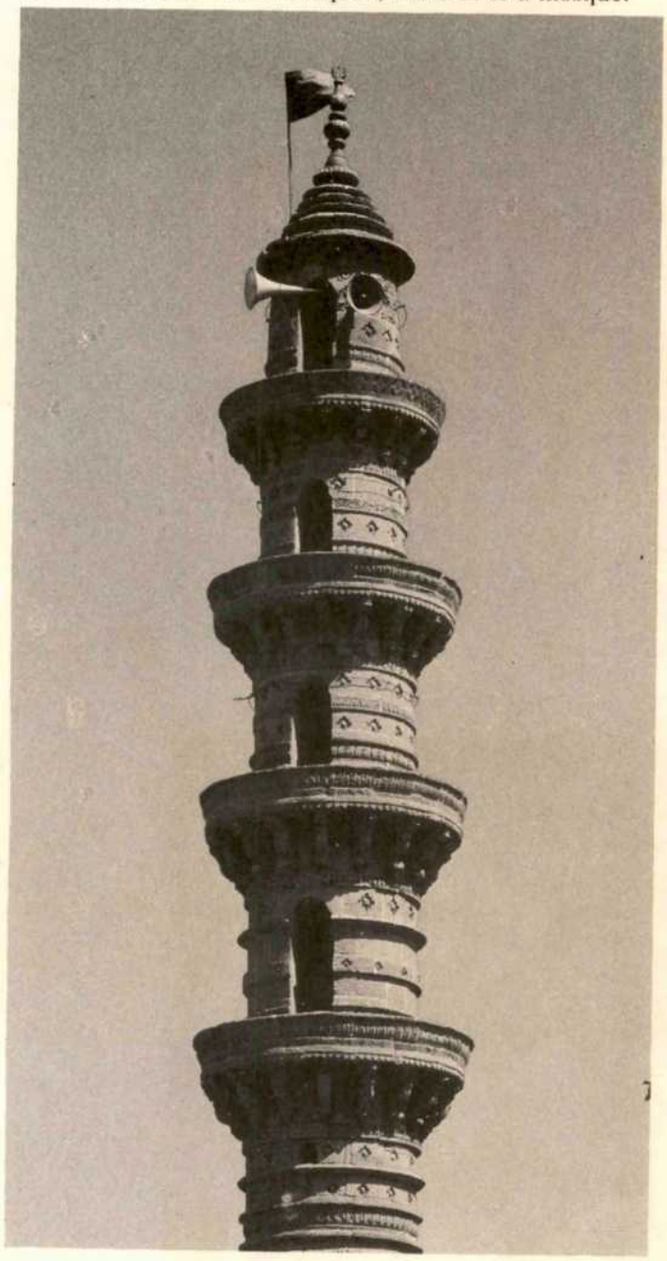
THE SUPREME INDUSTRIES LIMITED
'Supreme — People who know Plastics best'

17/18, Shah Industrial Estate, Veera Desai Road,
P.O. Box 7381, Andheri (W), Bombay-400 058.
Phones: 571441/2/3 Telex: SIL IN 011 4013, SIL IN 011 71856
Gram: SILPRODUCT Andheri, Bombay-400 058.

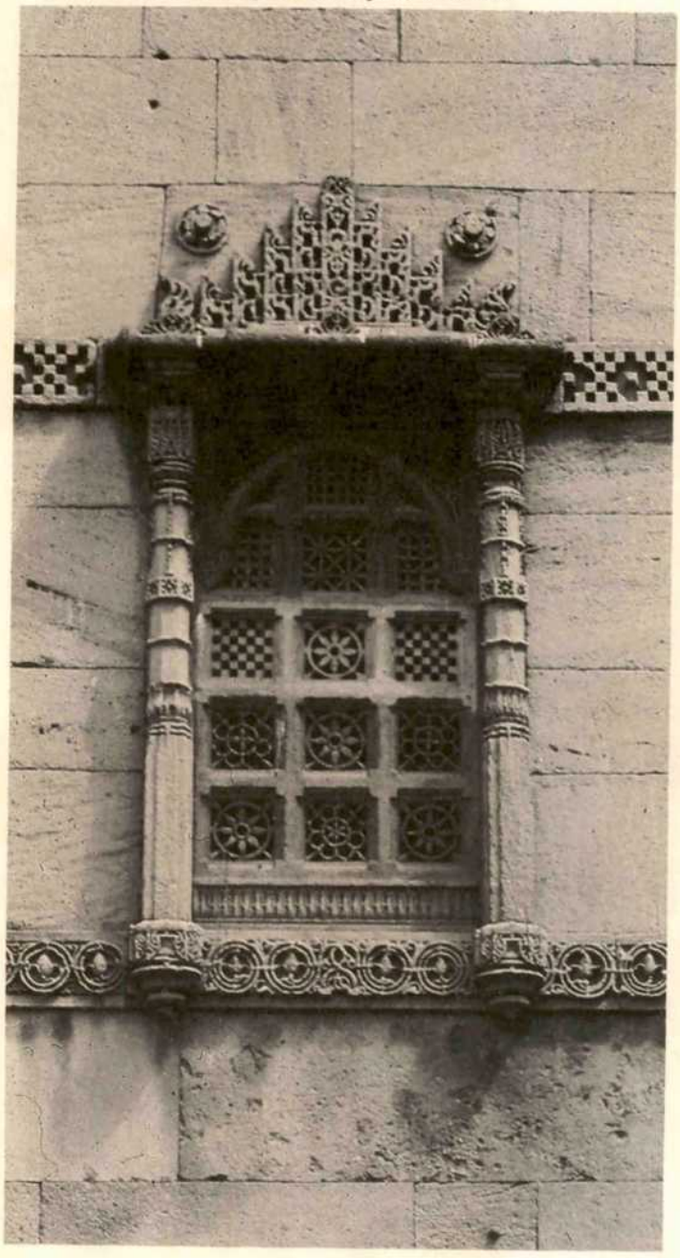
TATA ROBINS-FRASER LIMITED
Materials Handling And Processing Engineers

11, Station Road, Burma Mines, Jamshedpur-831 007.
Gram: TAROSER □ Phone: 25246-49, 26175-77
Telex: TRF IN 0626-206.

Maninagar, Shah Alam complex, minaret of a mosque.



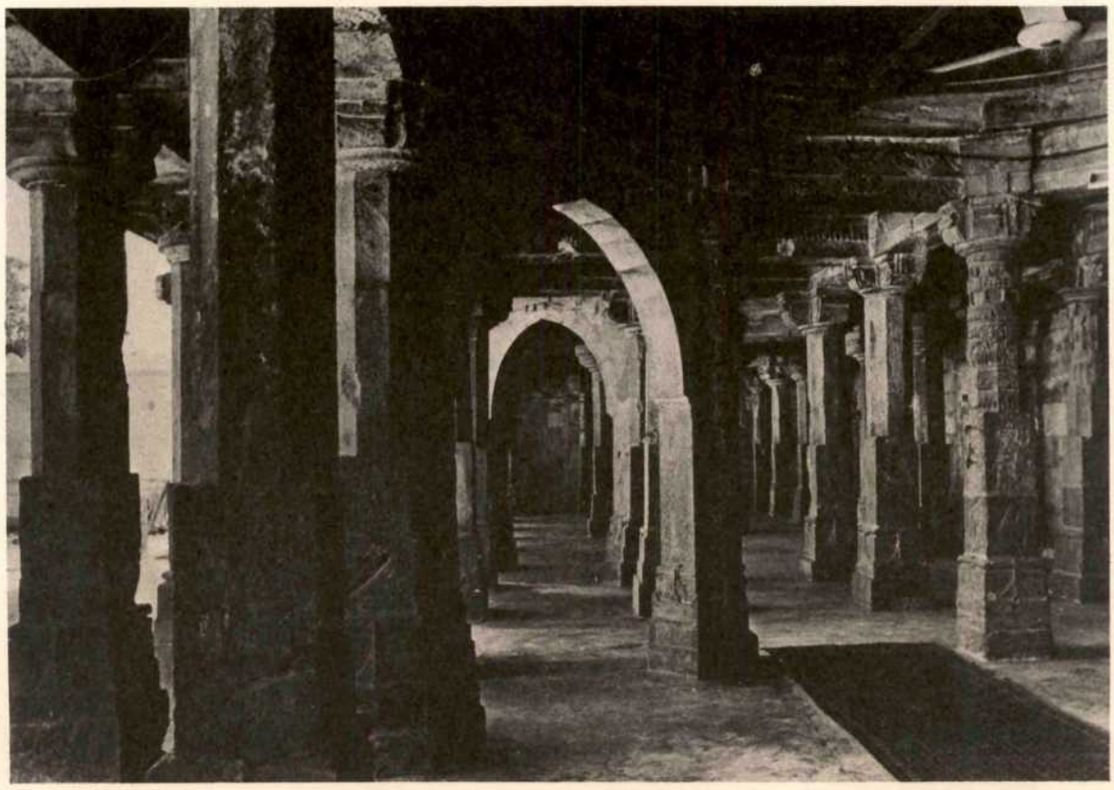
Rani Rupavati's mosque, Mirzapur, window.



THE CHASE MANHATTAN BANK, N.A.

New India Assurance Building, P.O. Box 1961, Bombay-400 023, India.
Telex No.: 11-2715 CMBI

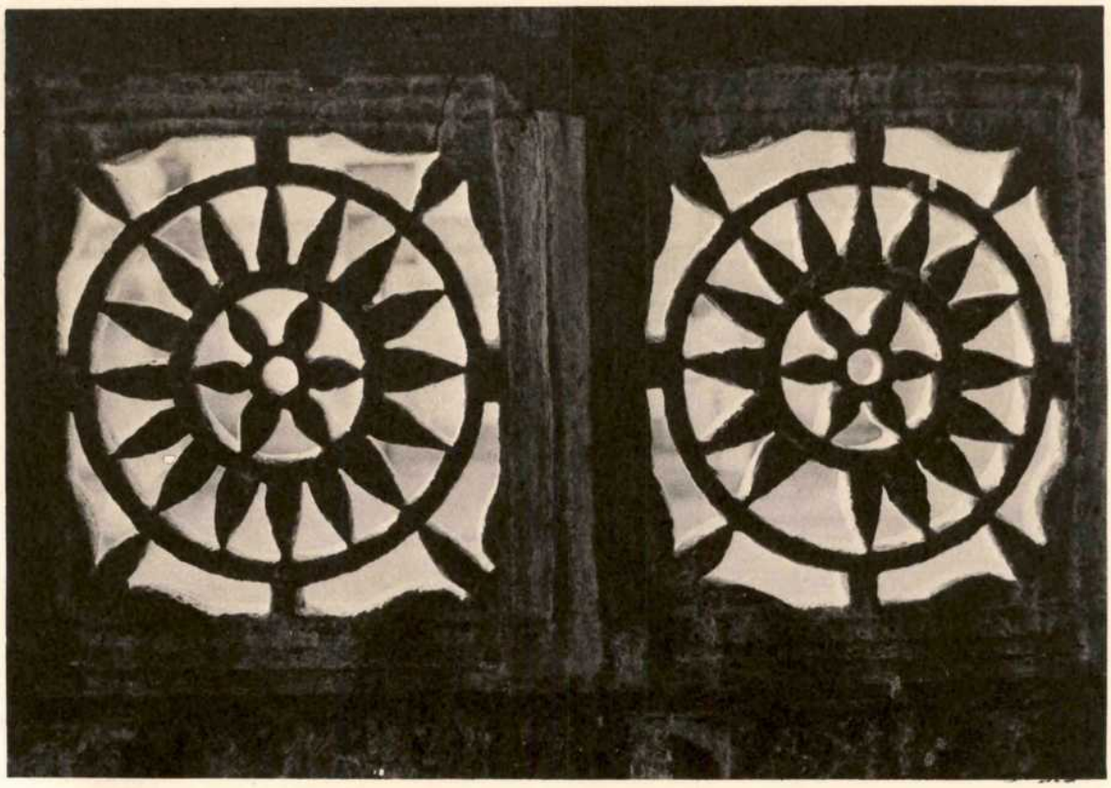
Fateh Masjid, Dariyapur, interior.



SRI KRISHNA PROCESSORS

Ramkumar Mills Compound, Saraspur Darwaja, Ahmedabad-380 018.
Tel.: 371276.

Sarkhej, detail of a jali.



Colour-Chem

Where chemistry takes many hues.

Maninagar, Shah Alam complex, mosque, general view.

ANIL BAKERI—DESIGNS

Architects—Engineers

Sanskrut, Highcourt Road, Ahmedabad-380 009.
Tel.: 464441 (5 Lines).

Step-well at Adalaj, general view.

ARE YOU SURE?

SUBSCRIBE TO

Oriental Art

THE LEADING QUARTERLY DEVOTED TO ALL FORMS OF ORIENTAL ART

THE MOST authoritative and lavishly illustrated articles by contributors of international repute on the arts of the Near, Middle and Far East appear in ORIENTAL ART—the most widely read periodical in its field.

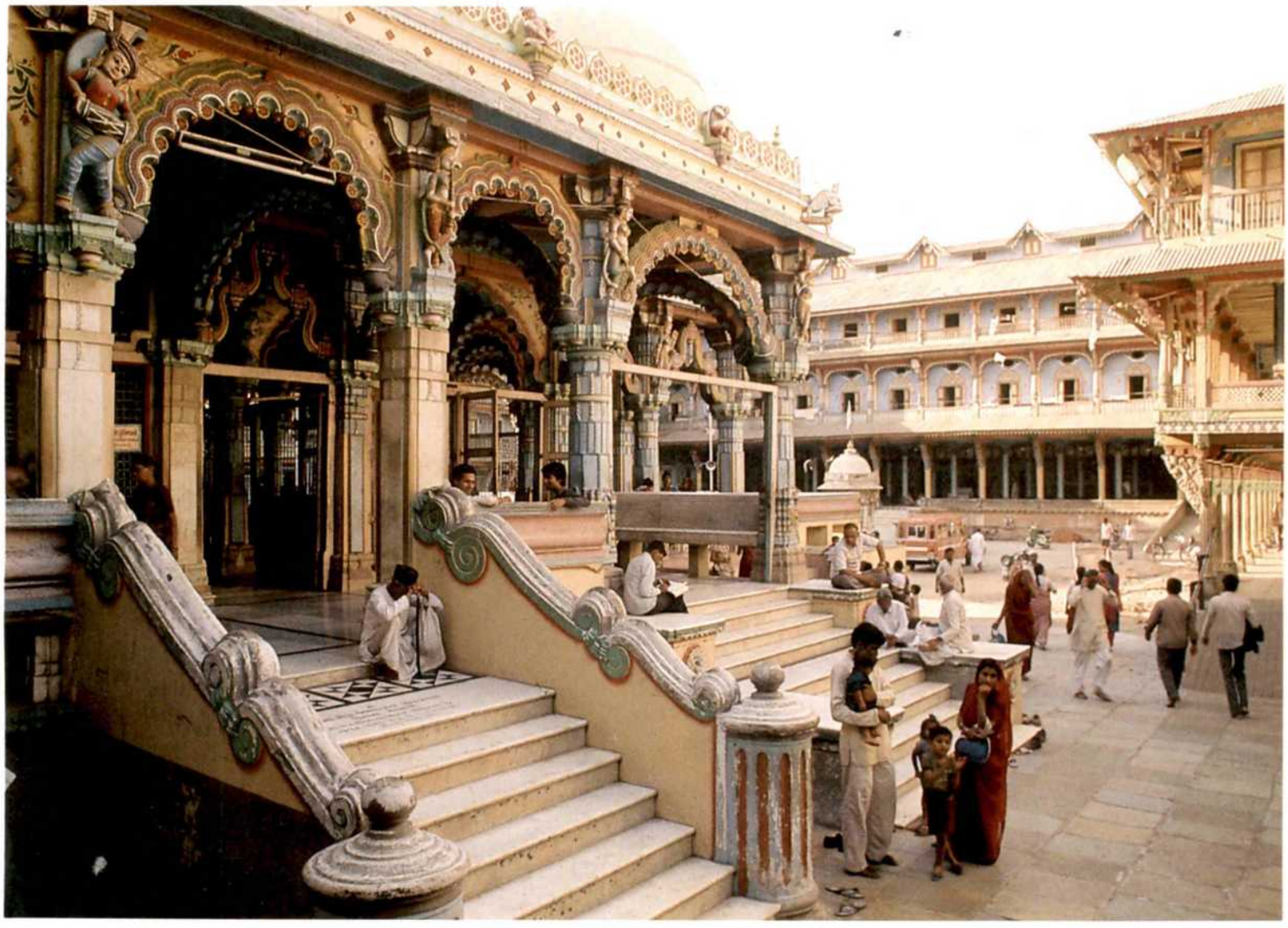
Other informative features are the illustrated Sales Reports from Britain and the U.S.A. that reflect the tone of the Dealer's market, and the scholarly Book Reviews.

To be well-informed on Oriental Art a subscription to this unique Quarterly is essential: £**16.00**, USA $**30.00** (air-speeded) as remittance.

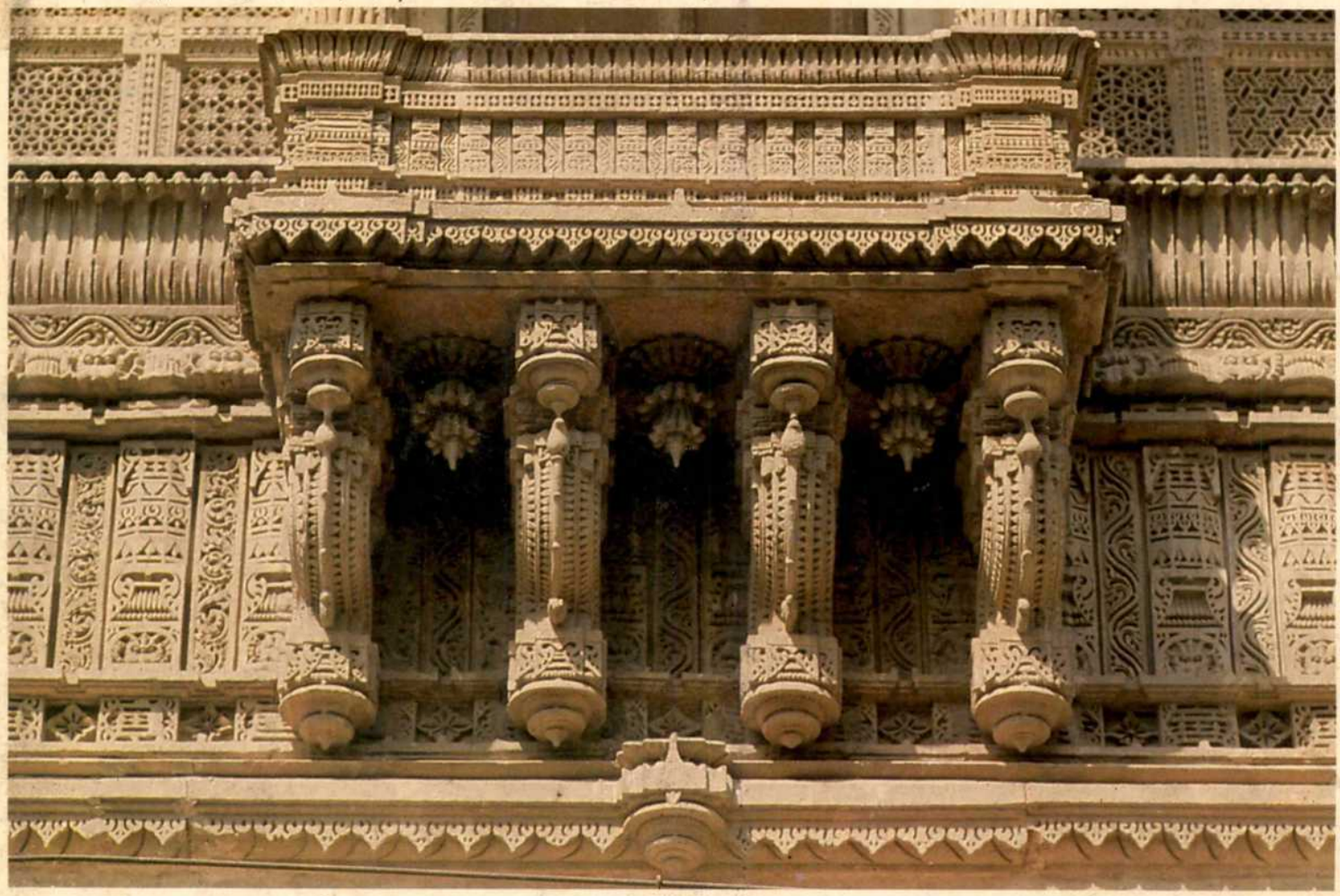
Dept A **THE ORIENTAL ART MAGAZINE LTD**

12 ENNERDALE ROAD RICHMOND SURREY ENGLAND

Swaminarayan temple, Kalupur.



Registered with the Registrar of Newspapers
for India under No. 14157/57

DIRECTORATE OF INFORMATION,
GOVERNMENT OF GUJARAT,
Sachivalaya, Gandhinagar-382 010.

Sheth Hathisingh's temple, Shahpur, brackets, 1848.